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FATEH JANG, SULTAN-UL-ULUM, FAITHFUL ALLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,
G. C. S. I., G. P. F., NIZAM OF HYDERABAD AND BERAR.
PATRON.

FOREWARD

I have pleasure in presenting the Transactions of the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress. The session was memorable in a number of ways, for besides being held in the historical capital of the premier Indian State, it broke all previous records both in the number of registered members (277) and in the number of papers offered (147). Moreover the session saw the final ratification of the Constitution of the Indian History Congress Association (p. 21), which put the Congress on a sound and permanent footing, and also the definite inception of the work on the great History of India which the Indian History Congress has undertaken (p. 16).

I regret that the Transactions are being published fully twenty months after the Hyderabad Session. This was mainly due to the fact that in spite of all our efforts, the press — or rather presses — in which the work was done failed to realise the need of performing it within the allotted time. As a matter of fact we had to take away our typescript from the first press at the end of 1942 as its work was much too slow.

I am indebted to the Sectional Secretaries for being good enough to correct the proofs of their respective sections and also for looking after the proofs of Section V in the absence of Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan who was away from Hyderabad while the material for his section was in the press. It is to be greatly regretted that in spite of all their efforts a number of misprints have somehow crept in.

I have to apologise to the members that I have not been able to give them any off-prints of their theses nor include any photographs connected with them owing the extreme shortage of printing paper in the market. It was also not thought possible to print all the papers in extenso, and I have to thank the Sectional Presidents for indicating which of them should form part of the Transactions in full and which in a summarised form.

H. K. SHERWANI,
Local Secretary.

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Indian History Congress, Fifth (Hyderabad,) Session December 21, 22, 23, 1941.

Constitution of a Local Executive Committee

It was in December 1940 that Prof. H. K. Sherwani was deputed by the Osmania University to Lahore, where the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress was being held, in order to invite the next session of the Congress to Hyderabad, and although there were a number of invitations from other centres of learning, Hyderabad was preferred, no doubt owing to its central position and its historical importance. On his return to Hyderabad Prof. Sherwani approached the authorities, especially Mr. Qazi Muhammad Husain, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, for the constitution of a small Working Committee which should act as the Executive of the Reception Committee and also a body to coordinate the acts of smaller Sub-Committees which might function. The following were appointed members of this Working Committee:—

Mr. Qazi Muhammad Husain, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Chairman.

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, Constitutional Secretary, H.E.H.
The Nizam's Government.

Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, O.B.E., Director, Archaeological Department.

Mr. Qadir Husain Khan, Principal, Nizam College.

Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Professor of History, Nizam College.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Reader in Modern Indian History, Osmania University.

Dr. I. N. Topa, Reader in Ancient Indian History, Osmania University.

Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, Lecturer in Medieval Indian History, Osmania University.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Local Secretary, All India Oriental Conference.

Dr. Syed Husain, Registrar, Osmania University.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Local Secretary.

This Committee held its first meeting on 11th February 1941, when, among other things, it accepted and recorded the election of the President and Sectional Presidents of the next session, the names of whom had been formally communicated to it by the General Secretary, Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. It had been further decided at Lahore that there might be a section devoted to local history (in this case, Deccan History) pro-

vided the Local Committee so desired, and the choice of its Sectional President was left to the Local Committee. The Local Committee resolved that there should be a section devoted to the History of the Deccan, and selected Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur as its Sectional President. It may also be mentioned that originally Prof. S. H. Hodivala was elected President of Section IV (1526—1764), but he excused himself owing to old age and Khan Bahadur Prof. M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S. (Retired) was elected President in his place.

The final panel of **Presidents and Secretaries** was as follows:—

General President:—Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University.

Section 1. President:—Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.

Secretary:—Prof. Hanumantha Rao, M.A., L.T., Professor of History, Nizam College, Hyderabad.

Section 2.

(711—1206) President:—Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of History and Director of Archaeology, Mysore.

Secretary:—Dr. I. N. Topa, Ph.D., Reader in Ancient Indian History, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Section 3.

(1206—1526) President:—Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of History, Allahabad University.

Secretary:—Professor Agha Muhammad Husain, M.A., Professor of History, Nizam College, Hyderabad.

Section 4.

(1526—1764) President:—Khan Bahadur Professor M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S., (Retired), Bombay.

Secretary:—Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in Medieval Indian History, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Section 5.

(1764 onwards) President:—Professor J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Secretary:—Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, D.Litt., Reader in Modern Indian History, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Section 6.

(Dn. History) President:—Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, M.A., Secretary, Constitutional Affairs, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad Deccan.

Secretary:—Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali, M.A., City College, Hyderabad Deccan,

According to a resolution of the Working Committee an Arzdasht was humbly submitted to H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to condescend to become the Patron of the Session, while Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Sir Akbar Hydari, President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, was requested to become the Vice-Patron and Hon'ble Dr. Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education and Finance Member, H.E.H. The Nizam's Executive Council, was requested to become the Chairman of the Reception Committee. His Exalted Highness was in due course, graciously pleased to accept the Patronage of the Session, while Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari accepted the post of Vice-Patron and Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur became the Chairman of the Reception Committee. When Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari relinquished his post to become a member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, his Successor, His Excellency Colonel Nawab Dr. Hafiz Sir Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., LL.D., was requested to become the Vice-Patron. Two important changes in the constitution of the Central Executive Committee were effected when Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan was replaced by Dr. Tara Chand, Principal of the Kayastha Pattshala University College Allahabad, on his appointment as agent to South Africa, and Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena of Allahabad was selected Treasurer in place of Prof. J. F. Bruce, resigned. The following is the full list of officers of the Indian History Congress functioning on the eve of the Fifth (Hyderabad) Session:—

Office-bearers of the Hyderabad Session.

Patron :—HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, SIPAH SALAR, ASAFJAH, MUZZAFFRAU'L MULK WAL MAMALIK, NIZAMU'L MULK, NIZAMMU'D DOWLAH NAWAB SIR OSMAN ALI KHAN BAHADUR, FATEH JANG, SULTAN-UL-ULUM, FAITHFUL ALLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., NIZAM OF HYDERABAD AND BERAR.

Vice-Patron :—His Excellency Lt. Colonel Nawab Dr. Hafiz Sir Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., LL.D., President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Chancellor of the Osmania University.

Chairman of the Reception Committee :—Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, M.A. (Oxon.), Education Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University.

Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee :—Qazi Muhammad Husain Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University.

Central Executive for 1940-41.

President :—Dewan Bahadur Rajasevasakta Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R. Hist.S. etc., Madras.

Vice-President:—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.
 Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Bharata Itihasa Samshodak Mandal, Poona.

General Secretary:—Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal Kayastha Pattshala University College, Allahabad.

Local Secretary:—Professor H.K. Sherwani, M.A., (Oxon.), F.R.Hist. S., Bar-at-Law, Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Osmania University.

Assistant Secretary:—Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Allahabad.

Treasurer:—Dr. B. P. Saksena, M.A., Ph. D., Allahabad.

Members:—Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.
 Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., New Delhi.
 Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.
 Prof. M. Habib, M.A., Aligarh.
 Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University.
 Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., Mysore.
 Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Travancore.

Importance of the Session.

It was no doubt partly due to the place which H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions hold in the polity of Modern India and partly to the inherent importance of the Session that the Local Secretary was able to get a good response from scholars all over India. A Sub-Committee had been formed at the Lahore Session to frame rules for the Indian History Congress association with the following as members

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.
 Professor H. K. Sherwani.
 Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
 Dr. B. P. Saksena.

and these rules were to be put up before the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress. Even more important than this was the question of implementing the Lahore Resolution about the Comprehensive History of India. The Lahore Resolution was as follows:—

“The Indian History Congress regards the scheme for the writing and publication of a comprehensive History of India on scientific lines

as feasible and entrusts its execution to a Committee consisting of the present and past Presidents of the Congress, and authorises it to take all necessary steps for the purpose. The Congress authorises the Committee to enter into negotiations with such individuals or associations as it may deem necessary for promoting the above scheme."

It was these factors which helped to make the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress a record one in many respects and as many as 147 papers were offered while 277 enrolled themselves as members.

Local arrangements.

In order to see that the guests were comfortable and their time was spent in a useful manner the following local officers were elected by the Local Working Committee:—

Joint Local Secretary:—Professor Jamilur Rehman, M.A., Osmania University.

Local Treasurer:—Professor K. C. Roy Saksena, M.A., Osmania University.

Assistant Local Secretary:—Mr. S. Sirajuddin, M.A., Osmania University.

Exhibition Secretary:—Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., M.F., Curator, Hyderabad Museum.

Excursion Committee:—Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Osmania University.

Mr. S. M. Yusuf, M.A., Assistant Director,
Archaeological Department, Hyderabad.

Standing Executive Committee. (Local).

Prof. Hanumantha Rao.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

Prof. Jamilur Rehman.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.

Dr. I. N. Topa.

Mr. A. M. Siddiqi.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani

Standing Finance Committee. (Local).

Dr. Syed Husain.

Prof. Jamilur Rehman.

Prof. Wahidur Rehman.

Prof. K. C. Roy Saksena.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Boarding and Lodging Committee.

Prof. Wahidur Rehman.

Mr. Khalilur Rehman.

Dr. I. N. Topa.

Prof. Subba Rao.

Mr. Latif Ahmed Faruqi.

Prof. Jamilur Rehman.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

Mr. Shiv Mohan Lal.

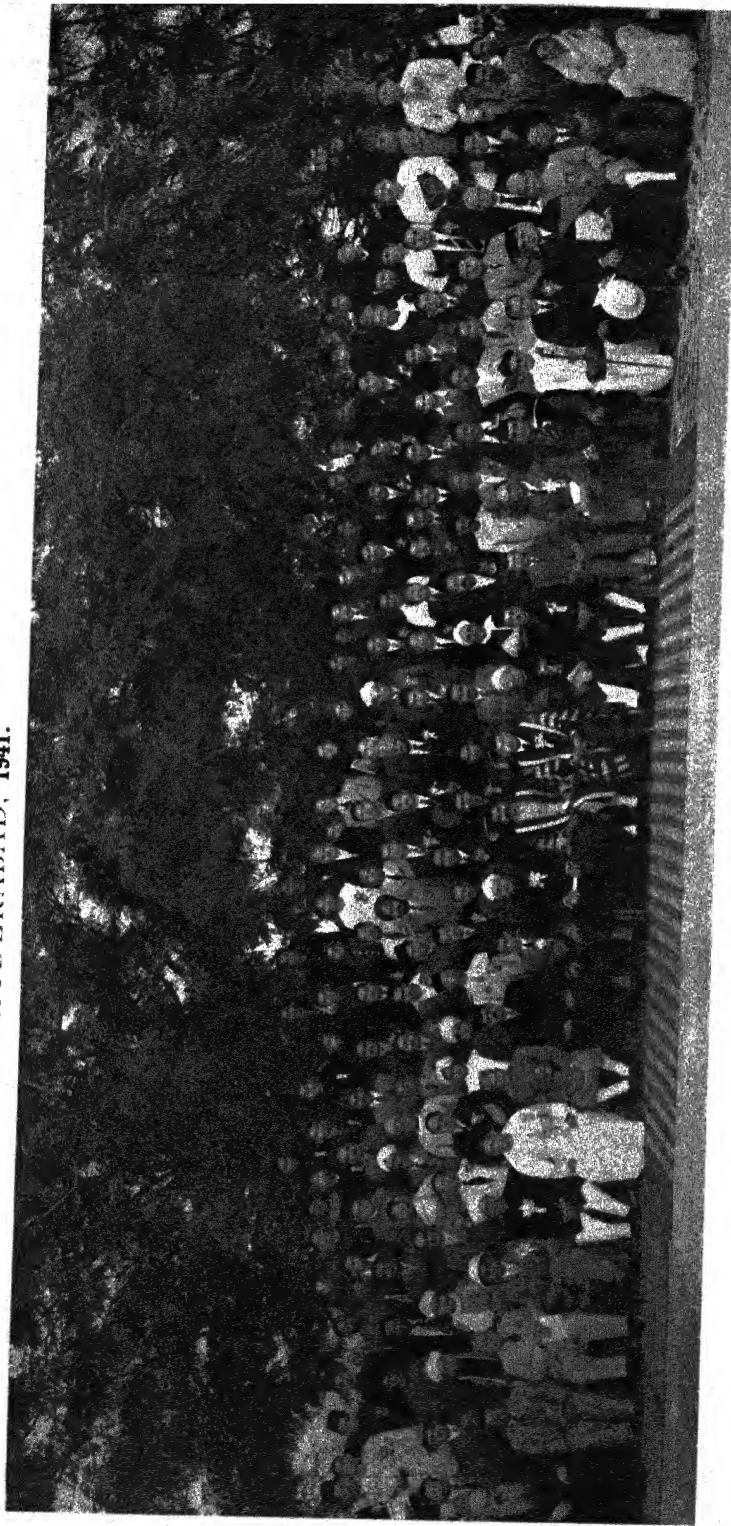
Prof. H.K. Sherwani.

An elaborate programme of academic functions and other matters was drawn up which is appended to the report. The Local Committee is thankful to the State Rationing Board to sanction extra petrol rations for the Office-Bearers of the Congress as well as for the cars and buses which had to be requisitioned for the members, and also to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University for having forwarded the requisition in toto to the Board with his recommendation. Reference must also be made to the ready response of men of learning and culture of Hyderabad to the appeal for membership of the Reception Committee and donations, as will be seen from the lists appended. Special thanks are due to Hon'ble Sir Claude Gidney, Resident in Hyderabad, His Excellency Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, Chancellor of the University, the late lamented Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan Bahadur, Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Jung Bahadur, Hon'ble Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur Asafiahi, Nawab Mehdi Jung Bahadur, Hon'ble Sir Theodore and Lady Tasker, Mr. and Mrs. Crofton, Hon'ble Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz and others for their donations and fullest support.

The members coming from outside the Dominions were accommodated in the University Hostels A and C, and were the guests of the University, while the President and most of the Sectional Presidents were accommodated in the Government Guest House opposite the Public Gardens.

It might be mentioned here that all the members were furnished with two booklets; Booklet I containing a list of Office-bearers and summaries of papers received by the Local Secretary up to October 31 was sent to the members well in advance of the Session, while Booklet II containing the names of donors, members of the Reception Committee, members of the Indian History Congress and list of papers received up to December 1 was handed over to the members immediately on their arrival in Hyderabad. The members were also presented with two other books, one on "Some Aspects of Hyderabad" published by the Information Bureau of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and another on "Osmania University" by Mrs. Douglas Pulleyne.

OFFICE BEARERS AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,
HYDERABAD, 1941.



standing from left to right:—

Rev. Father Heras, Rao Bahadur Dikshit, Dr. Mozoomdar, Dr. Tripathi, Dr. Krishna, Dr. Ray-Chaudhri, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Mr. Yazdani, Mr. Qazi Muhammad Husain,
Rao Sahib Srinivasachari, H. E. Nawab Dr. Sir Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Hon'ble Nawab Dr. Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Dr. Aiyangar, Dr. Tarachand, Khan Bahadur Prof.
Commissariat, Prof. Bruce, Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, Prof. Potdar, Dr. Sen, Prof. Sherwani, Dr. Sakseena, Mr. Podaval, Miss Padma Misra.

The Inaugural Ceremony.

A few members of the Indian History Congress arrived on the 19th in order to be able to attend the inauguration meeting of the Indian Oriental Conference which was to take place on the 20th of December. The actual session of the Indian History Congress began on the 21st of December with the inauguration ceremony. His Excellency the Chancellor who, as has been mentioned, was also the Vice-Patron of the Session arrived at the Library of the Engineering College at 9-30 and was received by Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro Vice-Chancellor, the Local Secretary and other Local Officers. After His Excellency and Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, had put on their academic robes they were photographed along with members of the Indian History Congress and the Volunteers. Immediately after the photograph had been taken, the members proceeded to the Address Hall where the inauguration of the Congress was to take place, while a procession was formed of the following in the reverse order:

Vice Patron: H. E. the Chancellor of the Osmania University.

LEFT

RIGHT

Chairman of the Reception Committee:

Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur.

Vice Chairman of the Reception Committee:

Mr. Qazi Muhammad Husain.

Vice-President:

Dr. S. C. Majumdar.

General Secretary:

Dr. Tarachand.

Sectional Presidents:

Dr. Ray-Chaudhri.

Dr. Tripathi.

Professor Bruce.

Other members of the Central Executive:

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Prof. M. Habib. (Absent).

Other members of the Local Executive:

Mr. G. Yazdani.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

President Elect:

Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari.

President, 1940-1941.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.

Vice-President:

Professor D. V. Potdar.

Local Secretary:

Professor H. K. Sherwani.

Sectional Presidents:

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

Khan Bahadur Prof. Commissariat.

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur.

Other Members of the Central Executive:

Dr. B. P. Saksena.

Dr. S. N. Sen.

Mr. R. V. Poduval.

Other members of the Local Executive:

Principal Qadir Husain Khan.

Dr. Syed Husain.

Sectional Secretaries:

Professor Hanumanta Rao.
 Prof. Agha Muhammad Husain.
 Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.

Secretary Exhibition Committee:

Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.

Local Assistant Secretary:

Mr. S. Sirajuddin.

Sectional Secretaries:

Dr. Ishwar Nath Topa.
 Mr. M. A. Siddiqi.
 Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali.

Joint Local Secretary:

Prof. Jamilur Rehman.

Local Treasurer:

Prof. K. C. Rai Saksena.

This procession arrived at the Address Hall punctually at 10 A.M. where the members of the Reception Committee, members of the Indian History Congress, members of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and nobles of Hyderabad were already seated. As this procession entered the Hall, those who had taken their seats beforehand got up and remained standing till His Excellency the Chancellor had taken his seat.

The proceedings began with the reading of the gracious message which the Patron of the Session, H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar had condescended to send, by His Excellency the Chancellor, which was followed by the inauguration address of His Excellency himself. Then Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur delivered his speech as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. After this had been concluded, the Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, read out the following messages he had received:—

MESSAGES.**I. Governors.**

- (1) His Excellency the Governor of Madras:

"Best wishes for the success of the Conference."

- (2) His Excellency the Governor of Bombay:

"Greetings to the Fifth Session Indian History Congress and wish it every success in its deliberations."

- (3) His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces:

"I wish the Indian History Congress a successful Session at Hyderabad."

- (4) His Excellency the Governor of Bihar:

"I send my sincere good wishes for the success of your Congress."

- (5) His Excellency the Governor of Free French India:

"My best wishes for the success of the Congress."

II. Rulers of Indian States.

- (1) His Highness the Maharajadhiraj of Patiala:

"I have much pleasure in wishing the Fifth Session of the All India History Congress all success. History in-as-much-as

it is based on the investigation and discovery of truth is a branch of science and in so far as it is the literary representation of the result it is an art. The historian who is both a scientist and an artist has a very important role, and we owe him much for providing us an objective representation of our past. I am deeply interested to learn that the Congress has one of its objects the promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of the Indian History in all its branches. Although historical research in this country has made considerable progress, India's Historical and Archaeological wealth still remains untapped and there are important gaps in our History that still remain to be filled up. There is therefore ample scope for Historical Research in India which must be properly coordinated if the fullest advantage is to be derived from the individual efforts. The Congress meets this year at the capital of the Hyderabad State the historical landmarks of which would provide a very appropriate background for the deliberations of the Congress. I sincerely hope the country will benefit it by the results of the ripe scholarship of the eminent historians participating in this Session."

(2) His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Panna :

"The occupation of delving deep in the hoary past to bring out to the mortal the gems of the forgotten ages in the shape of historical truths symbolic of the life then in existence in its varied aspects cannot sufficiently be praised, and I send my hearty congratulations to those who have made this occupation the joy of their life. I also wish success to the Congress which deserves goodwill and encouragement at the hands of all those who have the cultural development of their country at heart."

(3) His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Cambay :

"History is, to my mind, a study of life through millions of years until it reaches the tragic confusions and perplexities of the world of today so full of fear and yet so full of promise and opportunity.

It is, indeed, a matter of pride that Hyderabad, the capital of the premier State in India, is selected as the venue of the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress.

While expressing my thanks for the kind invitation extended to my State I wish the Session a brilliant success."

III. Ministers.

- (1) Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Sir Akbar Hydari Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Kt., P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council :

A "I hope all of you will always bear in mind the essential unity of our history and the necessity to keep Indian History free from communal and every other bias. I hope that point of view will always be borne in mind in the writing and editing of the History of the Dominions which is now being undertaken in Hyderabad. There have been currents and cross currents in our history and past times have shown action and reaction, the play of opposite forces, the effects of diversity and of centrifugal tendencies. Even today they exist, but they existed and exist all the world over and nowhere have they prevented the acknowledgement and the due appreciation of the synthesis which, notwithstanding all these tendencies, has worked its way in the history and development of nations. Thus, so much in common has emerged, so much that suffices for each of us to take pride in the legacy of the other and to claim it as his own, so much that makes of this land a common heritage, that it would be a violence to realism itself if the essential unity of our history is either neglected or ignored. That same unity, if not the requirements of history itself, dictates the elimination of all communal bias in the treatment of events, the estimate of personalities and the drawing of conclusions, and I have every confidence with scholars from all parts of India in the forthcoming session of the Indian History Congress in the capital of these Dominions, this point of view will not only be borne in mind but will be promoted and developed."

B. "I wish the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress every success. What an opportunity I am missing for meeting the leading students and exponents of history and other branches of learning."

(2) Hon'ble Sardar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan Bahadur, Kt., Prime minister of the Punjab:

"Wish the Conference every success."

(3) The Prime Minister, Government of Assam:

"Best wishes for the success of the Congress."

(4) Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.I.E., Dewan of Travancore:

"Please accept my best wishes for success of Meeting."

(5) Home Minister, Alwar State:

"I wish that this noble endeavour to remove the gloom enveloping the past and that too in the nobler attempt to make the future bright may be a success,

IV. Vice-Chancellors.

- (1) Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Kt., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh :
“Vitaly interested History Congress, wish you success.”
- (2) Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University :
“Wish Congress unqualified success.”
- (3) Sir Radhakrishnan, Kt. Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University :
“Best wishes for success.”
- (4) Vice-Chancellor, Agra University :
“University of Historic City Agra sends felicitations and good wishes.”
- (5) Sir Muhammad Usman, K.C.S.I., Vice-Chancellor, Madras University :
“Wishing the Congress every success.”

V. Prominent Persons.

- (1) Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., Kt., B.L., Allahabad :
“Wish the Conference every success. True Indian History dealing with social and intellectual influences and movements in India has yet to be written dispassionately. I think Indian scholars should interpret our history to us and undertake this work..’
- (2) Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Kt., High Commissioner for India in South Africa :
“I wish the Hyderabad Session every success. I am confident that under the patronage of a gracious prince, whose love of culture and scholarship are proverbial in India, the History Congress will receive an accession of strength which will make it supreme organ of Indian historical scholarship. The office has collected a large amount of material on different periods of Indian History, which may well serve as a nucleus for the comprehensive history of India on scientific lines. Many scholars were adressed on different periods, their views in important points were written, and syllabuses have been tentatively drawn up, on almost every period. If the History Congress succeeds in organising a stable machinery for carrying this project into effect, and provides the financial implications of proposals, it will have admirably served its purpose, and realised our expectations. It is my earnest prayer that God bless your enterprise so that you may fructify”

(3) Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Prime Minister of Madras:

“Most cordial good wishes to Congress.”

(4) Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed, ex Education Minister of the Government of Bombay, Poona:

“Regret inability attend. Respectfully stress importance of Hyderabad as an inexhaustible storehouse of Historical Research. Recent examination of Peshwa Daftar by orders of Bombay Government yielded much useful result; similar action might be urged upon Hyderabad Government and correspondence between Sir Salar Jung and Sultan of Turkey for rendering help to British in 1857 might be released by permission of his family.”

The formal election of the new President now took place. Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar proposed, Mr. Ghulam Yazdani seconded, and Prof. D. V. Potdar and Dr. S. N. Sen supported the proposition that Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari be elected President of the Session. Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur now conducted the President to the Chair.

After the President had read his address the General Secretary Dr. Tara Chand submitted his annual report which was adopted. Prof. Sherwani now got up to thank all those who had in any way helped to make the effort a success. He said:—“I am extremely grateful to His Excellency Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, who represents my august master, H.E.H. Sultanul Uloom the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, for having taken the trouble to come and inaugurate this Congress today inspite of his many important engagements. Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur is the Chairman of the Reception Committee and thus is one of us, but I cannot help thanking him with all my heart for guiding me in every step and for helping the Reception Committee in every way possible. I have to thank you ladies and gentlemen, who have come from all over the country from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Assam to Sindh. This is truly a most significant gathering, representing as it does all the Universities, all the Provinces and most of the major States, and I make bold to say that at Hyderabad as nowhere before, has the Congress demonstrated its India-wide importance and also that no other institution can claim to represent Indian History as does this Congress. I am most grateful to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur for having thrown open his unrivalled collection to our members and to Nawab Zahiruddin Khan Bahadur for having invited them to dinner, as also to those nobles and gentlemen who have taken the trouble to come and assist in today's function.”

The inaugural meeting came to an end punctually at 12 noon and after the Session of the Numismatic Society of India, which took just half an hour, His Excellency the Chancellor went to the large Osmania University Library Reading Room to open the exhibition which had been arranged in connection with the Indian History Congress and the Indian Oriental Conference.

It might be noted that while the meeting was going on Messrs the Historical Pictures of Bombay took a number of Movie 'shots', while some of the speeches were kindly recorded by H.E.H. The Nizam's Wireless Department. The loud-speakers were also installed by the same department and were in perfect working order.

Sectional Presidential Addresses and function of December 21.

Differently to all previous sessions of the Indian History Congress it had been decided that all the Sectional Presidential Addresses should be read one after another in the same hall so as to give all the members ample opportunity to hear all of them. It had also been decided to begin sectional meetings and reading of papers only after all the Presidential Addresses had been read. The experiment was highly successful, and the learned discourses which were given under the Chairmanship of the President, Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivaschari were attended not only by the office-bearers, members and Delegates of the Congress but also by members of the Reception Committee including distinguished scholars and prominent citizens of Hyderabad. The following was the order and timing of the respective addresses:—

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| December 21 | 2—2-30 P.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section I.—Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhri. |
| | 2-30—3 P.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section II.—Dr. M. H. Krishna. |
| | 3—3-30 P.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section III.—Dr. R. P. Tripathi. |
| December 22 | 9-30—10 A.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section IV.—Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat. |
| | 10—10-30 A.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section V.—Prof. J. F. Bruce. |
| | 10-30—11 A.M. Presidential Address |
| | Section VI.—Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur. |

It might be mentioned that when Nawab Ali Yawar Jung had sat down, the President of the Indian History Congress moved a vote of "unanimous acclamation" from the chair for what he said was an "inspiring Address".

In the afternoon of the 21st a large number of delegates and members took advantage of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur's kind invitation to visit his collections of rare historical works, unique manuscripts and curios of a most unequalled variety. At 4.45 His Excellency the Chancellor gave an At Home to nearly one thousand guests to meet the members and delegates of the Indian History Congress and the Indian Oriental Conference at his residence, the Shah Manzil. At 6 p.m. Mr. Ghulam Yazdani gave an interesting and instructive lecture at the Town Hall, Public Gardens, on excavations at Kondapur, an Andhra town nearly forty miles from the City of Hyderabad. At 8-30 p.m. the delegates proceeded to Bashir Bagh Palace to the sumptuous dinner given by Amir-e-Paigah Nawab Zahiruddin Khan Bahadur.

Meetings and the functions of the December 22.

The day began with general Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress at 8-30 a.m. As the business meeting went on for a whole hour, and the Sectional Presidential addresses were timed for 9.30, the meeting had to be postponed till the next day.

The Sectional meetings were held on December 22 from 11—1 p.m. and from 2—4 p.m. and on December 23 from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. The reports of the Sectional meetings will be found in their places.

After the morning Session of the Sectional Meetings Mr. Qazi Muhammad Husain, Pro Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University was good enough to invite a select number of the more prominent guests to lunch with him at the Pro-Vice-Chancellor's Lodge at 1 p.m.

At 3 p.m. a large number of the members again took advantage of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur's invitation to visit his collection. At 4.30 Hon'ble Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur Asafjahi was At Home to the members and delegates on behalf of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Hyderabad where they had the occasion to meet some of the foremost nobles, officials and citizens of the State. Welcoming the guests Hon'ble Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur Asafjahi delivered the following speech:—

“On behalf of the citizens of Hyderabad, the members of the Municipal Corporation, I, in my capacity as the Meer of the Corporation at this opportunity, extend to the delegates of the All-India Oriental Conference, the All-India Historical Congress and the All-India Numismatic Society, most hearty welcome to this city. A marked feature of this city is that it has among its inhabitants people from nearly every town and every city of India. Considering this representative character of Hyderabad, its geographical position and historical and cultural background, it is in all fitness that the All-India Oriental and Historical Conference and the Numismatic Society should have met here.

This city happens to be almost the first in India for the area it covers, fourth for its population, and the very last for its low rates of municipal taxes, yet is not behind any other municipalities for the municipal services and the civic amenities it has provided to the citizens. This has been possible due to the close co-operation of the City Improvement Board of which Walashan Prince Nawab Muazzam Jah Bahadur is the President. An instance of this co-operation is this garden, wherein members of the corporation have the delight to entertain you.

Our guests, we are really proud to have amidst us such learned and distinguished scholars of History and Oriental learning as yourselves. We only wish that your stay in Hyderabad was a longer one, so that we could make your stay more interesting. We do hope you will visit this city again and give us the pleasure of receiving you as our guests.”

The President of the Indian History Congress replied as follows:—

“Your Excellency, Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am greatly honoured by the privilege given to me to give expression of our sense of gratitude and thankfulness to the Municipal Corporation and its honoured President, to His Excellency the Chancellor and Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University both of whom are present at this function, and the other authorities of the University, who were responsible for the conduct of these Sessions of the learned bodies assembled under their auspices so efficiently and on such a magnificent scale. We feel particularly honoured for the kind reception given by the Municipal Corporation to the delegates and members of these Conferences, in token of the appreciation of our work and of the centuries-old tradition of patronage of learning and arts extended by the rulers of the Deccan from past ages and continued undiminished and greatly enhanced by our noble patron, His Exalted Highness, Sultan-ul-Ulum, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. This great city, which has been ever so hospitable to scholars irrespective of the particular branches of learning that they follow, is a most admirable embodiment of the spirit of the harmonising of cultures and literatures that mingle together in India and particularly in the Kingdom of the Deccan.

The pleasing prospect of the river-garden with vistas of noble buildings rising all round, recall to my memory the glorious description of this city given by Meadows Taylor over a century ago and by W. S. Blunt over half a century form now; the former described the city as the essential meeting-ground of all streams of Indian life, the latter pictured it as a great flower-bed dotted with noble palaces situated on its spacious gardens. Now we see a city enhanced in its attractiveness by all the fruits of town-planning efforts and ingenuity of the most modern and efficient type. This has, however, not made Hyderabad lose one jot its old charm of historic interest and attractiveness. Our hosts have made the city the fitting embodiment of the old and the new, of the progressive, and of the preservation of Hindu and Muslim features in their full conjoint beauty and of the addition of all the amenities of modern civic life.

This party which we owe to the generous appreciation of learning characteristic of the Raja Bahadur and of the unforgettable, Municipal Commissioner Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung Bahadur reminds me of the happy blending of the many-sided scholarship that is visualised in this gathering and that has always been an inherent feature of the patronage extended by the ruling dynasty from the time of their advent into the Deccan and sustained in ever-growing measure by H.E.H. the present Nizam, Asafjah VII, as well as by the aristocracy both Muslim and Hindu, that has been a source not only of inspiration and support of scholars and

artists, but has ever been most useful and instrumental in elevating the condition of the people and in preserving and enhancing the reputation of the State.

Once more, on behalf of all the guests assembled here, I deem it a great privilege to tender our thanks to our hosts.

He was followed by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, President of the Indian Oriental Conference who replied in suitable words on behalf of his organisation.

At 6-30 Khan Bahadur Dr. Commissariat delivered an interesting lantern lecture in the Town Hall Public Gardens on 'The glories of Ancient and Mediaeval Gujrat,' at the conclusion of which, the Chairman, Prof. Sherwani thanked the learned lecturer in suitable words. After the lecture the members and delegates divided themselves into two groups, one proceeding to the Hyderabad Industrial Exhibition which was being held in the Public Gardens and the Executive Committee of which had very kindly made special arrangement for the reception of our members and delegates, while the other group consisting mainly of office-bearers, went to attend the sumptuous buffet dinner given by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur at his city palace. Nawab Saheb had invited not only the delegates and members but also Hon'ble the Resident, officers of the Residency and the Secunderabad Cantonment, His Excellency the President and Members of H.E.H. The Nizam's Executive Council and the gentry of Hyderabad.

Mention must be made here of the kindness of the management of Nishat Cinema for having invited the members and delegates of the Indian History Congress to view the Minerva picture, "Sikander" at their 6-30 and 10 p.m. shows. A very large number of the members including the President took advantage of the invitation.

General Business Meeting.

The next day, December 23 was the last day of the Congress, and at 2 p.m. the postponed general business meeting of the Indian History Congress was held in the large Economics lecture Room. The report of the general business meeting is as follows:—

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. "The Indian History Congress records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Shamsul-Ulema Khan Bahadur Hidayat Husain."
3. The following two resolutions as recommended by the Executive Committee were adopted:—

Resolved that the following Committees consisting of the following members, with powers to coopt., be appointed to plan out chapters, to select writers, and to do all other work necessary for the writing and editing of the History of India.

- (a) Committee for Ancient Period.
- (b) Committee for Mediaeval Period.
- (c) Committee for Modern Period.
- (d) Coordinating Committee.

Members

(a) Ancient Period: Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari.

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

Dr. R. K. Mukerji.

Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Prof. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri.

Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Convener*)

(b) Medieval Period: Prof. M. Habib.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad.

Mr. G. Yazdani.

Dr. Tara Chand.

Dr. K. R. Qanungo.

Dr. B. P. Saksena.

Dr. R. P. Tripathi (*Convener*).

(c) Modern Period: Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

Prof. D. V. Potdar.

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

Principal Sita Ram Kohli.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datt.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Dr. S. N. Sen (*Convener*).

(d) Coordinating Committee: Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Dr. R. P. Tripathi.

Dr. S. N. Sen.

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Dr. Tara Chand.

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. (*Chairman*).

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad will act as the Secretary of the Committee:

Resolved that an Executive Committee Board with the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman and the members of the Coordinating Committee as its members with powers to add names in consultation with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be constituted for the purpose of collecting funds, sanctioning expenditure and arranging for the publication, sale and disposal of the volumes of History of India.

4. "The Indian History Congress records its high sense of appreciation of the service rendered by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the General Secretary, to the History Congress."

5. The invitation of the Aligarh Historical Institute to the Congress to hold its next session in 1942 at Aligarh was gratefully accepted,

6. The constitution of the Indian History Congress as recommended by the Executive Committee was finally considered and adopted.

7. The following office bearers were elected for 1942:—

President:	Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari.
Vice Presidents:	Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
General Secretary:	Dr. Tara Chand.
Joint Secretary:	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
Treasurer:	Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena.
Members:	Rev. Father Heras. Prof. H. K. Sherwani. Prof. D. V. Potdar. Dr. S. N. Sen. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari. Dr. M. H. Krishna. Mr. R. V. Poduval. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Dr. Rama Rao. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.

President for 1942 Session: Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

Sectional Presidents for 1942 Session:

Section I (upto 711 A.D.) Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar.

Section II (711 to 1206) Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

Section III (1206 to 1526) Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Section IV (1526 to 1765) Dr. K. R. Qanungo.

Section V (1765 uptodate) Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

Local History Section, if necessary.

After this the President, Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, rose to propose a vote of thanks to the organisers of the Reception Committee for the pains that they had taken to make the Congress the success that it was. He said that apart from the fact that the session had been a record one, both as regards the number of members and the papers read, it was the first time that the meeting of the Congress was held in the capital of the largest and the most important Indian State. We are extremely grateful to His Exalted Highness Sultan-ul-Uloom the Nizam of Hyderabad and

Berar for having accorded his patronage to this session of the Indian History Congress. The great progress which Hyderabad has made during the reign of its present sovereign is an indication of the interest which His Exalted Highness has taken in the welfare of his people and it is this interest which has earned him the honoured title of the Sultan of Learning. We are also thankful to the Prime Minister of these great Dominions, His Excellency the Nawab of Chhatari for having agreed to become the Vice Patron. The Reception Committee, with Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur as Chairman and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University as Vice-Chairman, has done all that was necessary to make our stay here most comfortable and home-like and I heartily congratulate the genial Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, for the success he has achieved in making this Congress a success both on its academic and its material side. I, therefore, propose a most hearty vote of thanks to the Osmania University and the Reception Committee."

Dr. Ray-Chaudhary, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University, associated himself with the President's remarks and said how he and his brother were made most comfortable in the University Hostel, thanks to the yeomen service rendered by the untiring efforts of the volunteers of the Indian History Congress who were always at the beck and call of the delegates and members. He was sure he was voicing the opinion of his brother Sectional Presidents when he said that never before they found a more efficient set of Sectional Secretaries as they had here in Hyderabad, and he thanked the organisers for having put them in charge of the various sections.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, the **doyen** of South Indian Historians, said that it was well that this session at which the scheme for the writing of a comprehensive History of India had reached its culmination and a Board set up under the Chairmanship of no less a distinguished personage than the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru should be held under such auspicious patronage as that of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. He associated fully with the remarks of the President.

The Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, then rose and thanked those present for the kind thoughts they had conveyed in their speeches. He repeated the remarks he had made in the inaugural meeting that it was mainly owing to the support he had received at the hands of all, especially His Excellency the Chancellor and Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, that he had been able to fulfill the object he had in view, that is, of making the stay of the delegates comfortable. The times, through which they were passing, were difficult indeed, and in spite of their efforts he was aware that he could not arrange everything to his own satisfaction, for instance, in the matters of conveyance he was very much handicapped by the problem of petrol. He expressed his thanks to all those, who had made contributions towards the expenses of the Reception Committee and was profoundly grateful to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, the noble Scion of a Historic House for having invited the office-bearers of the Indian History Congress to a most sumptuous dinner at his City Palace, and to Nawab Zahiruddin Khan Bahadur. Amir-e-Paigah, for having invited all the delegates to dine with him at Bashir Bagh. In

the end, he requested those present to kindly everlook any in convenience that they might have experienced.

The resolution was further moved by a Delegate from the United Provinces and carried with loud cheers and acclamation.

The Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress came to a close at 4 p.m.

December 24.

All the functions connected with the members had come to an end on the 23rd of December, but mention must be made of the At Home given by the Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, to all the Professors and Volunteers who had so kindly helped him to make the session the success that it had been. Among the present were Prof. Wahidur Rehman, Prof. P. K. Ghosh, Dr. Syed Husain, Mr. Khalilur Rehman, Prof. Jamilur Rehman, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Dr. I. N. Topa, Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, Mr. Sirajuddin, Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Mr. Asad Ali and about 50 Volunteers. After tea had been served, Prof. Sherwani in a suitable speech thanked all those who had in any way helped him, to which Prof. Hanumantha Rao and Dr. Syed Husain replied. The pleasant function came to an end at 7 p.m. with three cheers for H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

General Secretary's Report.

Since we met last at Lahore I have to report considerable progress in our work in several directions. The Constitution Sub-Committee, appointed by the Congress after a good deal of discussion, has drafted a set of rules which are laid on the table for your kind approval. Another important matter to which the Congress has been giving its very serious thought at its successive sessions is the writing of a comprehensive history of India. Our ex-President, Diwan Bahadur Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, and Dr. Bhandarkar, drafted two schemes separately and on the basis of their common features a tentative scheme was formulated, which was circulated for opinion to a large number of scholars who very kindly helped us with their valuable suggestions and advice. I am very glad to say that now the prospects of the materialisation of our history scheme are almost certain. The scheme is, for all practical purposes, ready. It represents the largest measure of agreement among those to whom the Congress entrusted the task. Further I have good reasons to believe that our work will not be hampered for want of adequate funds. I am sure that the generous sympathy of our countrymen will help us in undertaking this most important task with confidence and courage. What is required more is that the members of the Congress will make our success complete and unqualified. I would appeal to all to lay aside all personal feelings and undertake the work in a spirit worthy of this Congress and of great scholars who are assembled together here to give their time and thought to the problems of India's past, in the correct interpretation of which depends the well being of future generation.

Sd/- Tara Chaud.

THE CONSTITUTION

OF

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Association shall be the Indian History Congress Association.
2. The Objects of the Association shall be:
 - (a) Promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Indian History.
 - (b) Holding of congresses and publishing of the proceedings, bulletins, memoirs, journals and other works.
 - (c) Co-operation with other organisations in India and abroad holding similar objects.
 - (d) Encouragement to the formation of provincial and state organisations affiliated to the central body.
 - (e) The securing, management and disposal of funds, property and endowments for the purposes stated above.
 - (f) Performance of all other acts conducive to the fulfilment of the objects of the Association.

Membership.

3. The membership of the Association shall be open to all persons interested in the study of Indian History.
4. Members shall be of two kinds: Ordinary members, and Life members. Ordinary members shall pay a minimum fee of Rs. 10 per annum. Persons paying Rs. 100 shall become Life members of the Association.
5. Ordinary members and Life members shall be entitled to submit papers, take part in the discussion and be eligible for various offices of the Association. Every member shall be entitled to receive free of charge a copy of the abstract of papers and the proceedings of the Congress.
6. Persons contributing Rs. 500 and more shall be deemed Patrons of the Association and shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership.

Meetings.

7. The meetings of the Association will be of two kinds:

- (a) Academic Conferences and Congresses.
 - (b) Business meetings of the Association.
- (A) The Congress will be the academic gathering of the Association and will be divided into sections, each with a president presiding over it. The following sections will be recognised for the present:
- 1. Ancient India, Part 1, up to 711.
 - 2. Ancient India, Part II, 711-1206.
 - 3. Early Medieval India, 1206-1526.
 - 4. Later Medieval India, 1526-1764.
 - 5. Modern India, 1764 onward.
 - 6. Local History, where necessary.

The Executive Committee will be authorised to make changes in the classification of sections whenever necessary.

- (B) (i) Only such members of the Association as have been members of the Association for three years including the year of the session in which the election is being held, and have paid up their membership fees up to date, shall be eligible for holding office and participating in the business meetings of the Association.
- (ii) The following business shall be transacted at the business meeting of the Association held along with the session of the Congress of the Association:
- (a) adoption of resolutions on matters of general policy.
 - (b) consideration of the budget, report, business rules, etc.
- and (c) election of members to serve on the Executive Committee.

8. The quorum for the business meeting of the Association shall be 20.

The Executive Committee.

9. There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following (a) a President, (b) two Vice-Presidents, (c) a General Secretary, (d) a Joint Secretary, (e) , Treasurer, (f) a Local Secretary and (g) ten other members.
10. The Executive Committee shall have the following duties:
- (a) giving effect to the resolutions of the Association.
 - (b) framing the rules of business and placing them before the business meeting of the Association for confirmation.

- (c) management and control of the funds of the Association,
 - (d) consideration of the budget prepared by the Treasurer in consultation with the Secretary and laying it before the business meeting of the Association,
 - (e) sanctioning of expenditure,
 - (f) consideration of the report prepared by the Secretary and laying it before the business meeting of the Association,
 - (g) the taking of all measures relating to the realisation of the objects of the Association,
- and (h) appointment of an auditor or auditors for auditing the accounts of the Association.
11. The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be seven.

Election of Office Bearers and members of the Executive Committee.

- 12. (i) The office-bearers (a) to (e) and the Sectional Presidents shall be elected at the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the session of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till the election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.
 - (ii) Ten other members of the Executive Committee [9 (g)] shall be elected by the Association at its business meeting.
 - (iii) The Local Secretary and the Reception Committee, if any, shall be nominated by the institution inviting the next session of the Congress.
 - (iv) All elections shall be by ballot.
13. In case any elected office-bearer or member of the Executive Committee dies or resigns or is otherwise unable to perform his duties, his post shall be filled up by the Executive Committee and the incumbent shall function till the next general election.

President.

- 14. The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observation of all rules, regulations and bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote.

Vice-President.

15. One of the Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the President or the Executive Committee to act for the President, whenever necessary, and shall perform such other functions as are assigned to him by the President.

Sectional President.

16. The Sectional President shall preside over the section of the Congress assigned to him, shall scrutinise papers of his section and shall edit them for publication. He shall decide whether a paper is to be read or published in extenso or in summary or is to be rejected.

General Secretary.

17. The duties of the General Secretary shall be:
 - (a) to conduct all correspondence of the Association.
 - (b) to make arrangements for the meeting of the Annual Congress in collaboration with the Local Secretary,
 - (c) to frame the agenda of the meetings of the Association and the Executive Committee, and to issue notices for the meetings thereof.
 - (d) to keep the minutes of the Association and the Executive Committee,
 - (e) to conduct all elections.
 - (f) to keep charge of the office, books and registers of the Association except accounts books,
 and (g) to keep the register of the members up to date.

Joint Secretary.

18. The Joint Secretary shall assist the General Secretary in the performance of his duties and in lieu of him when he is unable to function.

Local Secretary.

19. The Local Secretary shall be responsible for the holding of the session of the Congress, and for making suitable arrangements for the accommodation of members, the programme of meetings and other functions.

Treasurer.

20. The Treasurer shall be the financial officer of the Association and shall keep charge of all accounts of the income and expenditure of the Association. He shall prepare the annual budget in collaboration with the General Secretary and place the accounts and the Budget before the Executive Committee.

Amendment of rules.

21. The rules of the Association may be amended in the following manner:

- (a) proposals for additions to or alteration in the Constitution shall be addressed to the General Secretary two months before the meeting of the next Congress.
 - (b) such amendments shall be circulated among the members of the Executive Committee by the Secretary at least one month before the session of the Congress.
 - (c) the Executive Committee shall consider the amendments and make such recommendations to the Association as it may deem desirable and shall place them at the business meeting of the Association for final decision.
22. All papers intended for reading at a session of the Congress shall embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts. The summaries of papers should reach the Local Secretary at least two months and the papers at least one month before the date of the session. No paper should ordinarily exceed 10 typed foolscap pages. The summary, outlining the main points of discussion or controversy, should not exceed 2 foolscap pages.

Enrolment of members.

23. (a) Applications for membership of the Association shall ordinarily be made to the General Secretary and shall be accompanied by the prescribed fee. Each name shall be duly proposed and seconded by existing members of the Congress.
- (b) Membership of the Association shall cease unless renewed by the payment of the annual subscription at least one month before the meeting of the Association.
- (c) The Local Secretary may at his discretion stop the enrolment of new members at least one week before the session.
- (d) Clause (a) will not apply to the representatives nominated by the Governments, Indian States, Universities and other institutions recognised by the Congress, if they pay the prescribed fee for membership.

Publication of the Transactions.

24. The Executive Committee will make necessary arrangements for the publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Congress.

Privileges of Members.

25. The Local Secretary shall make arrangements for the accommodation of the members attending a session of the Congress on payment of such charges, if any, as he may determine.
26. All bonafide students may be admitted to the meetings, other than business meetings, of the Indian History Congress on payment of Rs. 2/-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held on the 21st December 1941, at 6-30 p.m. in the Drawing Room of the Rocklands Guest House, Hyderabad Deccan.

The following members were present :—

1. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari.—**President**
2. Dr. Tara Chand
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
4. Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
5. Prof. H. K. Sherwani
6. Dr. M. H. Krishna
7. Mr. R. V. Poduval
8. Dr. S. N. Sen
9. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari
10. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
11. Prof. D. V. Potdar
12. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena.

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. Condolence resolution on the death of Khan Bahadur Hidayat Husain was adopted.
3. New members enrolled during the year 1941 were admitted and the action of the Local Secretary was confirmed.
4. The accounts of 1941 were presented and adopted.
5. The following resolution was adopted :—“That the Local Secretary of the Lahore Session 1940 be requested to pay up the arrears of the last session due to the Central Committee.
6. The estimates of income and expenditure for 1942 were approved.
7. The proposal “that the Indian History Congress do meet once in two years instead of annually” was withdrawn by the mover.
8. The proposal that the Indian History Congress should run a journal was taken up and a committee consisting of the President, Prof.

H. K. Sherwani, Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena and Dr. Tara Chand was appointed to consider the proposal.

9. The proposal to consider the ways and means for the execution of the History of India Scheme was considered and the following resolutions were recommended to the Congress:

1. Resolved that an Executive Board with the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman and the members of the coordinating committee as its members with powers to add names in consultation with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be constituted for the purpose of collecting funds, sanctioning expenditure and arranging for the publication, sale and disposal of the volumes of History of India.
2. Resolved that the following committees consisting of the following members, with powers to coopt, be appointed to plan out chapters, to select writers, and to do all other work necessary for the writing and editing of the History of India :
 - (a) Committee for Ancient period
 - (b) Committee for Medieval period
 - (c) Committee for Modern period
 - (d) Coordinating Committee

Members.

- (a) **Ancient Period:** Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
 Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar
 Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari
 Dr. M. H. Krishna
 Dr. R. K. Mukerji
 Dr. A. S. Altekar
 Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri
 Mr. K. N. Dikshit
 Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Convener*)

- (b) **Medieval Period:** Prof. M. Habib.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani
 Dr. Ishwari Prasad
 Mr. G. Yazdani
 Dr. Tara Chand
 Dr. K. R. Qanungo
 Dr. B. P. Saksena
 Dr. R. P. Tripathi (*Convener*)

(c) **Modern Period :** Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai

Prof. D. V. Potdar

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari

Principal Sita Ram Kohli

Dr. Kalikinkar Datt

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

Dr. S. N. Sen (*Convener*)(d) **Coordinating Committee :**

Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Dr. R. P. Tripathi

Dr. S. N. Sen

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari

Prof. H. K. Sherwani

Dr. Tara Chand

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (*Chairman*)

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad will act as the Secretary of the Committee.

10. Draft constitution as reported by the Sub Committee appointed at the Lahore session along with amendments thereto proposed by members of the Congress was considered and recommended to the Congress for adoption.
11. Resolved that the following resolution be moved from the Chair at the Congress:—"The Indian History Congress records its high sense of appreciation of the services rendered by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the General Secretary, to the Indian History Congress".
12. The General Secretary was empowered to get the Association registered under the Act XXI of 1861.
13. The invitation extended by the Aligarh Historical Research Institute to the Indian History Congress was recommended to the Congress.
14. The following were elected office-bearers for 1942.

President :	Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari
Vice Presidents :	Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar
	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
General Secretary :	Dr. Tara Chand
Joint Secretary :	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

Treasurer :	Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena
Members :	Rev. Father Heras
	Prof. H. K. Sherwani
	Dr. S. N. Sen
	Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari
	Dr. M. H. Krishna
	Mr. R. V. Poduval
	Dr. B. R. Bhandarkar
	Dr. M. Rama Rao
	Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.

President for 1942 session : Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

Sectional Presidents for 1942 session.

- Section I (Upto 711 A.D.) Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar.
- Section II (711 to 1206) Prof. V. V. Mirashi.
- Section III (1206 to 1526) Prof. H. K. Sherwani.
- Section IV (1526 to 1765) Dr. K. R. Qanungo.
- Section V (1765 to present day) Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.
- Local History, if necessary.

(Sd.) Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary.

PROGRAMME

Sunday, December 21, 1941.

[Room 57 of the Arts College was reserved for Presidential Addresses and General Business Meeting, and Room No. 72 for Committee Meetings]

- 9-30 a.m. Photograph of Officers and Members of the Indian History Congress.
- 9-50 a.m. Procession of the office-bearers to the dais.
- 10 a.m. Inauguration meeting begins.
 - H.E.H. the Nizam's Gracious Message and inauguration of the Session by H.E. the Chancellor.
 - Welcome Address by Hon. the Vice Chancellor.
 - Messages to be read by the Local Secretary.
 - Election of the President :

Proposer: Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.

Seconder: Mr. G. Yazdani.

Supporters: Prof. Potdar & Dr. S. N. Sen.

The President-Elect to be conducted to the Chair by Hon. the Vice Chancellor.

Presidential Address by Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasa-chari.

Presentation of the Report by the General Secretary.

Vote of Thanks.

12 Noon. Inauguration Meeting ends.

The Historical Exhibition will now be open to Members and Guests.

2 to 3-30 p.m. Sectional Presidential Addresses:

2 to 2-30 Presidential Address, Section 1: Ray-Chaudhri, Calcutta.

2-30 to 3 Presidential Address, Section 2: Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore.

3 to 3-30 Presidential Address, Section 3: Dr. Tripathi, Allahabad.

(3-30 to 4 Presidential Address, History Section A.I.O.C.).

(4 to 4-30 Presidential Address: Archaeological Section A.I.O.C.).

4-45 p.m. H.E. the President's At Home, Shah Manzil.

3 to 5 p.m. Visit to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur's Palace and his collection of illustrated MSS., jade, old China, etc.

6 p.m. Popular Lecture on Kondapur excavations by Mr. G. Yazdani, Town Hall, Public Gardens.

6-30 p.m. Committee Meeting.

8-30 p.m. Nawab Zahiruddin Khan Bahadur's Dinner at Bashir Bagh Palace.

Monday, December 22, 1941.

8-30 a.m. General Business Meeting of the Congress.

9-30 to 11 a.m. Sectional Presidential Addresses:

9-30 to 10 Presidential Address, Section 4: K. B. Prof. Commissariat, Bombay.

10 to 10-30 Presidential Address, Section 5: Prof. J. F. Bruce, Lahore.

10-30 to 11 Presidential Address, Section 6: Nawab Ali Yawar Jang Bahadur, Hyderabad-Dn.

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|-------------------|--|
| 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. | Sectional Meetings of all sections. |
| 2 to 4 p.m. | Sectional Meetings of all sections. |
| 3 to 4-30 p.m. | Visit to Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur's Palace and his collection of illustrated MSS., jade, old China etc. |
| 4-30 p.m. | Hon. Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur Asafjahi's At Home, River Gardens. |
| 6-30 p.m. | Popular Lecture on "The Glories of Medieval Gujrat" by Khan Bahadur Prof. Commissariat, Town Hall, Public Gardens, illustrated with Lantern Slides. |
| 7-45 p.m. | Visit to Hyderabad Industrial Exhibition, Public Gardens. |
| 8-30 p.m. | Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur's Dinner to the Office-bearers of the Indian History Congress and the All-India Oriental Conference (by special invitations), at his City Palace. |

Tuesday, December 23, 1941.

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|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 8-30 a.m. | Executive Committee Meeting. |
| 9-30 a.m. -1 p.m. | Sectional Meetings of all Sections. |
| 2 p.m. | Excursions to Kondapur. |
| 2-30 p.m. | Business meeting of the Congress. |
| Evening | Departure of other excursion guests. |
| | Departure of all other guests. |

(Sd) H. K. Sherwani
Local Secretary.

EXCURSIONS

NOTICE

The following excursions have been arranged. Members who intend to join any of the excursions are requested to pay their expenses (meals and bus-fare, excluding railway fare) in advance to the Officers-in-charge of the Excursions. Arrangements will be made only in the case atleast 20 members desire to take part in individual excursions.

- I. Kondapur :** Old Andhra site of 1st and 2nd Centuries A.C. Archaeological excavations in progress, yielding valuable results. Expenses—conveyance and tea—Rs. 2 per head.

23rd December 1941.

2-00 p.m.	Leave Hyderabad by Bus.
3-45 p.m.	Arrive Kondapur.

5-15 p.m. Leave Kondapur.

7-00 p.m. Arrive Hyderabad.

II. Bidar:

Capital of the Bahmani and Baridi Dynasties. Famous for its fort, tombs and Bidri-ware. Expenses—bus fare, lunch and tea—Rs. 3|8 per head.

23rd December 1941.

8-00 a.m. Leave Hyderabad by Bus.

11-15 a.m. Arrive Bidar.

11-30 a.m. Visit Bidar Fort.

12-30 p.m. Visit Sa'adat Spring.

1-00 „ Lunch.

2-00 „ Visit Barid Shahi Tombs.

2-45 „ Visit Mahmud Gawan's
College.

3-15 „ Visit Farh Bagh.

4-00 „ Visit Bahmani Tombs.

4-30 „ Leave Bidar by Bus.

7-00 „ Arrive Hyderabad.

III. Aurangabad, Ellora, Ajanta Etc.,

Noted for Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical Caves and also for other Monuments such as Daulatabad Fort, Tomb of Aurangzeb, Bibi-ka-Maqbara, etc. Expenses bus fare, dinner, breakfast, lunch, tea Rs. 10|per head.

23rd December 1941.

8-10 p.m. Leave Secunderabad by train.

24th December 1941.

9-40 a.m. Arrive Aurangabad.

9-45 „ Visit (and halt) Sonehri
Mahal.

10-30 „ Visit Bibi-ka-Maqbara.

11-00 „ Visit Aurangabad Caves.

11-45 „ Visit Panchakki.

12-30 „ Visit Daulatabad Fort.

2-00 „ Lunch at Daulatabad.

3-00 „ Visit Khuldabad Monuments.

4-00 „ }
to „ } Visit Ellora.
5-30 „ }

6-30 „ Return to Aurangabad (Sonehri Mahal) for Dinner and sleep.

25th December, 1941. 7-30 a.m. Leave for Ajanta.
 10-00 „ Arrive Ajanta.
 12-00 „ Lunch at the Caves.
 1-00 „ Leave for Aurangabad.
 3-15 „ Arrive Aurangabad.
 3-37 „ Leave for Hyderabad by train.

IV. Warangal:

Capital of the Kakatiya Dynasty, 11th to 13th Centuries A.D. Famous for its fort, Thousand Pillar Temple and Palampet Temples and tanks. Expenses Railway and bus fare, lunch, tea and dinner Rs. 4|8- per head.

23th December, 1941. 8- 9 a.m. Leave Hyderabad by train.
 11-30 p.m. Arrive Kazipet.
 8-09 a.m. Breakfast at Kazipet T. B.
 9-10 „ Visit Thousand Pillar Temple.
 10-12 „ Visit Warangal Fort.
 12- 2 p.m. Lunch at T. B.
 2- 6 „ Visit Palampet Temple and
 Tank.
 6-00 „ Leave Palampet.
 8-00 „ Arrive Warangal.
 8-00 „ Dinner.

Departure G. T. Express
 for Madras and Nagpur.

Officers-in-Charge of Excursions:—

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2. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc. (London), Head of the History Department, Allahabad University.
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., History Department, Allahabad University.

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2. Dr. Parmatma Saran, M.A., Ph.D., Department of History.

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2. Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian, Bombay University.

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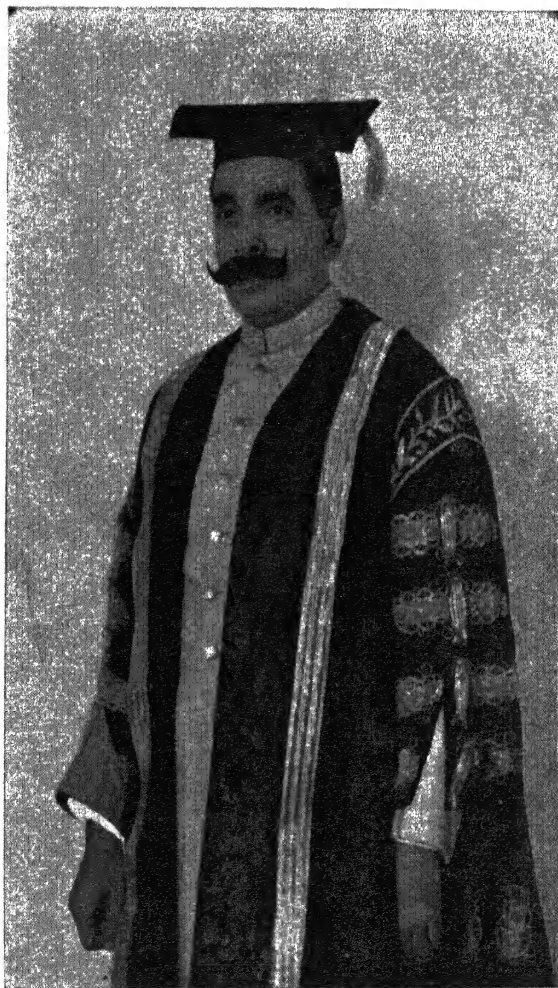
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Inaugural Address by His Excellency Colonel Sir Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., LL.D., Nawab of Chhatari, President, Executive Council, Chancellor, Osmania University and Vice-Patron, Indian History Congress.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cannot make a happier beginning than by discharging the first duty entrusted to me, that of delivering the gracious Message sent to you by the distinguished Patron of this session, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. The Message reads:—

“I HAVE MUCH PLEASURE IN WELCOMING THE 5TH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS TO THE CAPITAL OF MY DOMINIONS. I AM PLEASED TO LEARN THAT DURING THE COMPARATIVELY SHORT PERIOD OF ITS EXISTENCE THE HISTORY CONGRESS HAS PLAYED A VERY IMPORTANT PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND IS TAKING PRACTICAL STEPS FOR BRINGING OUT A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA SPONSORED BY SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT OF OUR HISTORIANS. A SIMILAR SCHEME FOR THE COMPILATION OF AN AUTHORITATIVE HISTORY OF THE DECCAN IS BEING CONSIDERED BY MY GOVERNMENT, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT IT WILL RECEIVE THE CO-OPERATION OF THOSE OF YOU INTERESTED IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

“I WISH SUCCESS TO YOUR LABOURS AND DELIBERATIONS WHICH I AM SURE FURTHER FOSTER THE SPIRIT OF UNBIASSED SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY.”

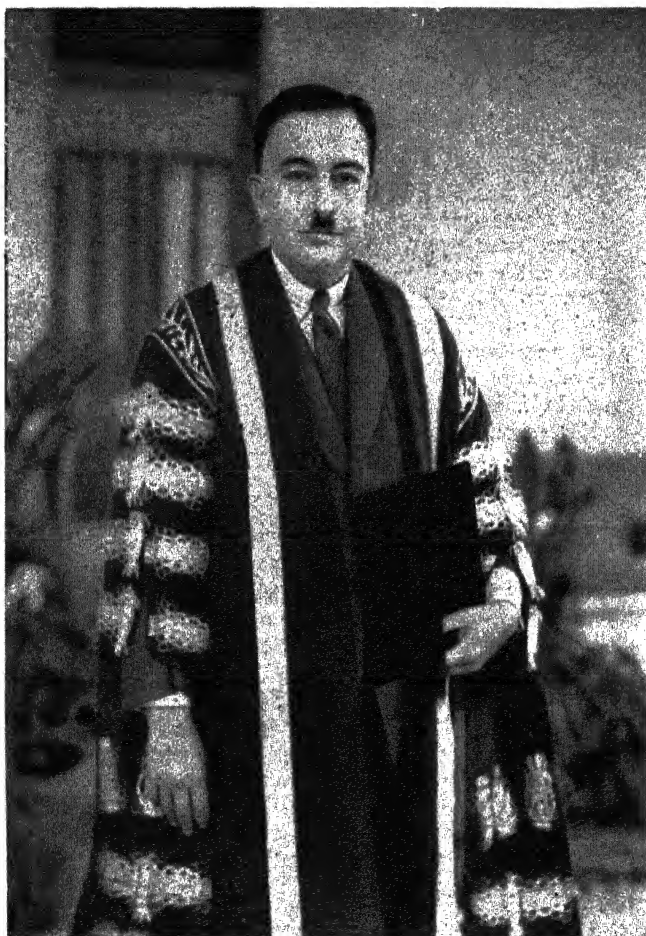
Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a matter of great delight for me to see you all assembled in Hyderabad. It is the first time that your Congress is holding its session in this city which, together with the Dominions of which it is the Capital, provides in more ways than one a suitable environment for the deliberations of a body devoted to the pursuit of history. You will see age-long burial cairns here with their wealth of deposits; Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanic caves and temples; mosques and tombs of the Tughluq, the Bahmani, the Qutub Shahi and the Moghal periods, one of the principal seats of the Sikh faith; Christian churches and Parsi houses of worship. They are the symbols of a long rule of tolerance which has given to all the diverse cultures of the peoples of India a homely soil in which to grow, and grow in harmony. A similar synthesis will be seen in the growth of this city; heir to the traditions of the Mughals in the hey-day of their glory, it is undergoing a process of healthy modernisation, and presents a picture of the glorious old marching side by side with the progressive new.

The University itself, whose guests of honour you are, is a conscious embodiment of the same process, for, while it imparts the teaching of ancient learning and languages and the humanities, it also teaches modern sciences and arts—all in the most widely understood language of India. Even its buildings signify an endeavour to harmonize the best features of Hindu and Muslim architectural conceptions.

Our long history has not only left traces in ancient monuments like the rock-temples of Ellora, the frescoes of Ajanta and in the forts and tombs of Golconda and Aurangabad, but also in old arts and industries, like the hand-made paper of Kaghazipura, the silver filigree of Warangal, the Himru of Aurangabad, the gold-lace of Pattan and the silver inlay of Bidar. Evidences of our history are also preserved carefully, even jealously, in the magnificent palm-leaf collection housed in the University Library, the priceless documents of Qutub Shahi, Mughal and Asafiah times in our Record Office and in the valuable manuscripts of the Asafiah Library. There are innumerable private collections too, while the relics assembled in the Hyderabad Museum also bear witness to our rich and varied past.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are living in anxious and critical times. The historian of the future, passing judgement on our days, may obtain a better view and see also much more than we, at this proximity of time, can notice. But his judgement on one aspect of what is happening around us, both within and abroad, may well be anticipated, that we have never been closer to a graver menace for centuries and there has never been a greater need for unity in our ranks. A little over a year ago, we witnessed the fateful fall of one of the mightiest nations through disunity. The fiendish power which struck that deadly blow to France has since hurled itself against the might of Russia, our neighbour. When all else has failed, it may be that this enemy knocking at our gates may serve to



HONBLE NAWAB MEHDI YAR JUNG BAHADUR, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D.
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CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

unite us in defence of our common heritage and all that it implies and holds. In that task you historians can help your country and the future generations more perhaps than can any one else, for you are the interpreters of a past which we all share alike. To present that past, its glories and its achievements, its failures and its disasters, without bias but with sympathy, without malice but with understanding, is an aim worthy of attainment, for on such a rendering and treatment of our past depends largely the future of the Indian perspective.

I have now much pleasure in declaring open the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress. You have all my good wishes for successful session and I trust that when the time comes for you to leave our city you will take back with you the best of memories, and friendships which may last.

Address by the Hon' ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education and Finance Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University and Chairman, Reception Committee of the Indian History Congress.

Mr. President, Members of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasant duty to welcome the members and delegates of the Indian History Congress to Hyderabad, and I do so not only as Chairman of the Reception Committee but also as Vice-chancellor of the Osmania University whose guests they are, and as Member-in-charge of Education in the Government of this State. It is the first time that the Indian History Congress has met in the Capital of these Dominions; I hope it will come again and that we shall have an opportunity of reviving the friendships and associations created to-day.

History has a special place in any course of education as it is essential both as a basis and for completion of education. Similarly, historical research is of national importance. You will no doubt be interested, from both these points of view, to learn that our Education Department has prepared special text-books based on what Sir Akbar Hydari had called "decommunalisation." We are also about to undertake, with the help both of local and outside scholars, the preparation of a History of these Dominions which will not consist of the narration of purely political history but will contain also a detailed survey of our social, economic, administrative and cultural development.

In these as in other respects, these Dominions provide an interesting subject for study. Like Urdu, the language of this University, which is the outcome of the meeting of two great peoples and cultures, these Dominions have been the common meeting-place of different cultures and different peoples. Within their boundaries are to be found the capitals

of the Chalukyas, the Yadhavas, the Kakatiyas, the Bahmanis and the Quth Shahis. Aurangabad, which was the virtual capital of India for 25 years and of the Deccan during the early Asaf Jahi rule, is now the headquarters of one of our revenue divisions. These powerful States have left their traces, and the statesmanship of the Asaf Jahi dynasty has retained and fostered the best that was found in their traditions.

It is this richness and variety of our history which makes me welcome in particular the inclusion in your session this year of a section devoted to local history, and the number of papers which, I understand have been received for that section from other parts of India show that the Deccan continues to attract scholars. This is as it should be, for, in addition to interest in our history as such, there is also a vast field open for historical biographies as the Deccan has produced great statesman and warriors, saints and writers, painters and poets, and one of the greatest historians of India, Ferishta, had his home in the Deccan. The recent steps we have taken by the appointment of a special Committee to deal with the Preservation and publication of historical documents, and personal contacts with scholars of history like yourselves, not to mention the deliberations of bodies like yours, are certain to promote and intensify interest among our own students and scholars and lead to a wider co-operation in historical research.

Apart from the excusable zeal of a host who always wishes to accommodate his guests with him, one of the further reasons for our having made arrangements for your stay within the campus of the University and in the University hostels is that you still remain and would no doubt like to remain students in spirit and ideals, even though many of you may have forgotten the hostel life of your earlier University days. We thought that the academic atmosphere suited to scholarly pursuits and functions connected with them would be a sufficient set-off against such small inconveniences as you may experience. We are also making you travel in crude-oil buses where we would have much liked to give you better conveyances, but for that you must blame the Nazis and Japanese who have sprung a war on us and appreciate our endeavours to make economies in the use of such essentials at this time as petrol.

Local response to our invitation to membership of the Reception Committee has been, I am glad to say, considerable and I would like to mention the fact of our having received substantial donations towards our expenses, in particular from the Hon'ble Mr. Gidney, the Resident at Hyderabad, from Sir Ahmed Said Khan of Chhatari, President of our Executive Council, from the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Theodore Tasker, Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, Mr. R. M. Crofton, Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur, Nawab Kamal Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab Shaukat Jung Bahadur, Nawab Dost Mohamed Khan, Nawab Akbar Yar Jung Bahadur, Khan Bahadur Ahmed Alladin and others. Further, we are all deeply conscious of the trouble which Sir Ahmed Said Khan of Chhatari, President of our Executive Council, has taken in coming to us to-day and inaugurating this session; we shall be enjoying his kind hospitality at tea this afternoon. Our



DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL.
General Secretary.

cordial thanks are also due to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur for his kind invitation to the office-bearers of the Congress to dinner with him and for his having so kindly agreed to throw open his magnificent collection of manuscripts, documents and other treasures for inspection by the members of this Congress. Nawab Zahiruddin Khan Bahadur, who has recently succeeded as an Amir of the Paigah, a young gentleman of high attainments and with the culture of a great and noble house, has also been kind enough to invite the members to dinner. Our thanks are also due to the President and members of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation for having invited us to tea.

Finally, our thanks are due to all of you for having accepted our invitation and honoured us with this visit. You have my best wishes for a very successful session. As hosts we will try our best to make it successful.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Rao Saheb Professor C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,

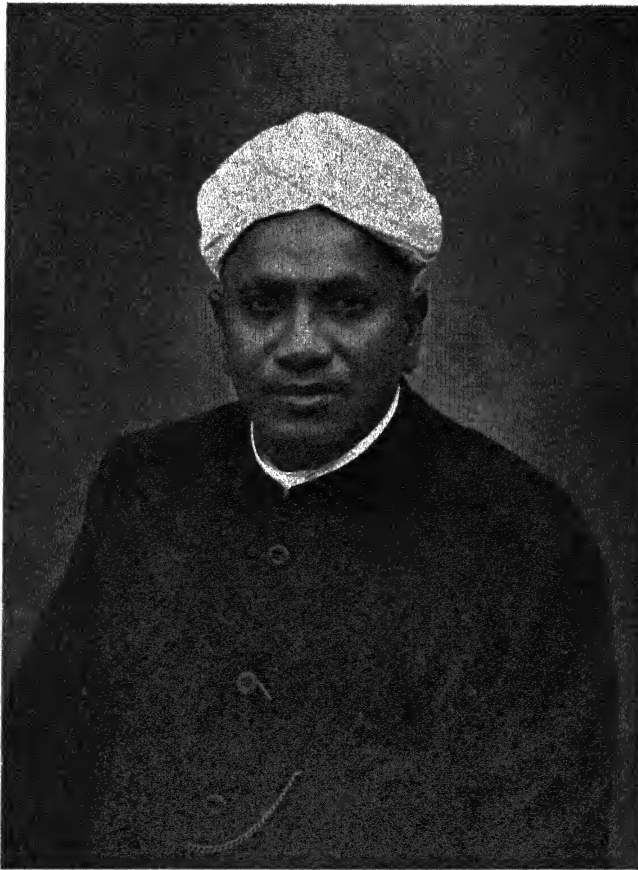
Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University.

I am deeply grateful to you all for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this, the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress, under the auspices of the Osmania University and of its noble Patron, His Exalted Highness, Sultan-i-Ulum, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

I am conscious that I am unequal to the task assigned to me, and the small amount of work I have done in a limited field of Indian History cannot constitute in itself any valid claim to preside over a distinguished body of scholars and research workers of varied experience. I feel that my choice to this chair has proceeded from a conviction of the fundamental equality of all workers in the democracy of scholarship. I am sustained in the discharge of the onerous burden laid upon me by the consciousness that I shall most readily receive your indulgence and kind support in the performance of my duties.

The very first idea that strikes me and, indeed, should be uppermost in the mind of every student of the history of our land, is how best to harmonise the energies of all workers and their output of historical material of every kind so as to evolve some order from the prevailing disarray, on account of which the growing mass of scholarship finds it difficult to develop into definite and fruitful shape. The materials of study have become extensive and are growing in volume and variety with every passing decade—nay, every year.—with such giant strides that the best hope and prospect of securing a real advance in the study lies in its being left to be synthesised by a syndicate of scholars acting on the principle of a harmonious division of labour in exploring the original sources of information relating to every topic and every period.

Great indeed has been the progress of our knowledge of Indian History since the day when Sir William Jones lighted in 1793 upon the sheet-anchor of Indian Chronology, and since James Prinsep ushered in a new epoch of invigorated studies by his decipherment of the forgotten alphabets of ancient Indian inscriptions. Certainly, the vista of our History has been receding more and more into what may be regarded as pre-history which was widened on an unparalleled scale by the epoch-making discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization. The most pressing need of to-day is a correct, impartial and just interpretation of the material which has thus accumulated and many parts of which still require re-interpretation or even new interpretation, a task that urgently calls upon the best minds of the land to save history "from being tied to the chariot wheels of perverted sectionalism and to



RAO SAHIB C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.
President.

remove the miasma of suspicion, insinuation and downright untruth that have been growing up in the land." This disease of insidious growth has been apparent to observers for some time. Against it the teacher, the researcher, the general scholar and, above all, the writer of text-books, have to most carefully guard themselves. History is not propaganda, nor is it rude and vulgar publicity. That it runs the serious risk of being made to subserve propaganda purposes is plain, particularly to those who are conversant with the conscious, but highly condemnable, attitude of writers who deliberately try to hold up to ridicule great and honoured personages, whether Hindu or Muslim, Indian or European. The exploitation of historical resources should always be conducted with a critical mind and with judgement, and the building of conclusions should be made on the most thorough and unprejudiced bases possible. Pictures of the past occasionally lend themselves to the possibility of getting refined by the charm of guessing ancient motives from the records of ancient deeds. But to a much larger proportion they come out distorted from the true and proper perspective by a projection consciously, or even unconsciously, made of more modern and even contemporary ideas at work in the mind of the writer. This is a defect to which writers on the history of ancient epochs are prone.

Another equally potent and insidious danger is that which has been described by G. M. Trevelyan as a sort of reaction as much marking the method of historical as of political progress. Conclusions which have been accepted for a great length of time and have consequently become stereo-typed, may in some cases be found to be based upon insufficient data; and such conclusions to which faddists become, in their manner, indissolubly wedded, grow to be formidable obstacles in the way of even an initial examination of new theories that may go against them. This danger is particularly marked in those aspects of Indian historical studies that are associated with questions of race and culture-contacts and an examination of the social order and changes affecting them. They also bring into delicate and complex reflection the principles of nationality and patriotism. Again, the difficulty of interpretation of the lines of true historical development in these fields is rendered all the greater by an ideal that some historians have in view, namely, the reflection of the spirit of the period of study taken up in the light of a conception of truth, which concerns more the spirit than the letter of the recorded word. It may be pointed out that several Indian writers, particularly those working on the period of British rule, have expressed a disproportionately stressed admiration for English political and administrative ideals, while the European historian of the same epoch is in danger of falling into a tilted national or racial bias that must necessarily warp the formation of balanced conclusions. This danger of impaired judgement and deficiency of a balanced vision operated in the minds of a large number of the Hindu historians of the age of Muslim domination, as well as in those of their Muslim counterparts. It is these that have made many otherwise able pieces of work sink in value in the developing web of historical scholarship of our country.

Statements about past events are in reality re-statements made after the examination of the available evidence accumulated by the writer concerned; and in most cases, the restatement "is a selection dominated by

ideas current now from the restricted contents of the original statements.” Every statement involves a subjective presentation, as the personal element will colour, in a greater or less measure, each restatement made though care may be taken by the individual author to avoid the projection of any positive personal bias into his conclusions. The personal bias is most natural and inevitable in the treatment of recent events, but is possible even in the study of the past. The historian of ancient times has, indeed, a very cardinal duty to live through, in his own mind, into the past, and he generally runs the risk of subordinating facts that might have had fundamentally different spiritual and contemporary significance. Mommson has pleaded that history should be neither written nor made without love or hate. We know that in many cases the intensity of personal feeling inseparable from patriotism and politics, has given history its specific quality of intellectual, moral and emotional excellence and at the same time has been a formidable obstacle to the development of true, accurate and impartial historiography. The golden mean between these two extremes is difficult to arrive at, particularly for those who are engaged in presenting the history of formative epochs and constructive forces; and it is still more difficult to portray historical personalities and their impelling energies, in all complete accuracy of their lives and ideals, without trespassing into either of these antithetic dangers. Such has been the experience even of our most scholarly historians of personalities like Akbar, Asoka and Sivaji and of national movements like that of the Marathas.

In the field of British Indian History the danger of such insidious forces is particularly marked. The question may be asked: ‘Is it possible to combine the scholastic, frigid and unemotional spirit of sober scholarship with the enthusiasm that should mark the avid interpreter anxious to find out energising ideas and present them in forceful form?’ Will it not be good that every historical composition should be marked by an intensity of personal feeling that should be inseparable from patriotism and politics? But we should be also aware of the obstacles to the development of true historiography that lie behind this assumption. To take only a single-example:—It is a most delicate and difficult task to decide when and how Sivaji came to be animated by the goal of a Maratha **Padshahi**, and when, if at all, the subsequent ideal of a Hindu **Pad-Padshahi** dawned on him. In the guise of dealing with the **Zeitgeist**, some writers have unconsciously put their own mental texture and environment into their pictures of the past.

Similar and related questions whether History can justifiably help the realisation of the highest aspirations of the national or the human spirit, and whether it should consciously aim at presenting a wide philosophic vision comprehending a clear synthesis of forces wider than those of one's own country or age, are intriguing problems for historians to attempt to solve but would appear to be impossible of final decisive solution. The danger of a representation of our ancient history by exaggerated pictures of the achievements of earlier generations with a view to infusing in us a feeling of pride, is that it will take the writer very near to the place where he will become fatally coloured by avowed partisanship and by passions of ideology. Nor have we unanimous advice from our venerable teachers on this subject. The learned Bishop Stubbs stresses the

great value that should always be attached to the drawing of a moral by the teacher and the student of History, and would hold that the marrow of civilised History is ethical and not metaphysical, and the underlying motives of progress as manifested in the march of the Historical Muse through the corridors of time, should pass along the maze of the shades of right and wrong. We are also bound to hold as the highest truth that the object of all right research in History should be its freedom from every partiality of ideas and ideology and its entire dependence on its material for its conclusions.

According to Lord Acton, the historian should never debase the moral currency or lower the standard of rectitude. Lord Haldane, the embodiment of Liberalism in the field of historical and philosophical thought, thus says:—"The historian will fail hopelessly if he seeks to be a mere recorder. For the truth about the whole, the expression of which is what matters, was not realised in its completeness until time and the working of the spirit of the period had enabled the process developed in a succession of particular events to be completed His business is to select in the light of a larger conception of the truth. He must look at his period as a whole and in the completeness of its development. And this is a task rather of the spirit than of the letter."

A further examination of the question of partiality, racial or cultural or even institutional, which has coloured the work of historians in the field of Indian History, leads one to an examination of the views expressed by different master-minds of History from the days of the Greek Polyhistor, Polybius, to Bishop Mandell Creighton and G. M. Trevelyan. Polybius put forward an impassioned plea for impartiality in historical judgments. He urged that directly a man assumed the moral attitude of a historian, he should forget totally all considerations of friendship and patriotism. Bishop Creighton, on the other side, warns the historical worker against the cult of impartiality which would develop dullness and paralyse the judgment. Professor Trevelyan has opined that "History must be thought about from some stand-point, and the cant of pure impartiality in History only equalled by the cant of pure historical facts having value except as food for thought and speculation."

The ideal of impartiality is perhaps far more easily attainable by men writing on the histories of foreign countries and of distant periods of time widely removed from their own days, as such distance provides the mental and moral isolation, deemed to be necessary between the historian and the subject matter of his work, for enabling him to attain an ideally impartial temper. This positive distancing should be done by the historical worker with the conscious skill of the trained artist. I may well repeat here what I have urged on another platform. Cannot one justifiably ask that this distance of attitude arising from a rigid impartiality of mind and judgement should be kept up on a most rigorous scale and should never be allowed to be lost by any consideration of pride or by a natural desire to gild the past? How often have pictures of the past based on preconceived ideas been drawn by writers, largely Indian, but including foreigners also, on the genesis of Dravidian and Aryan civilisations, the effect of the Aryan invasion on the inhabitants of South India and the

consequent inter-twining of cults and beliefs, the bearings of the impact of the one civilisation on the other and even the less uncertain, but more elusive, inter-action of the forces of the North upon the South and *vice-versa*? Similar dangers are to be avoided by interpreters of the Indian culture into the central, western and south-eastern regions of Asia, our knowledge of which has been growing by leaps and bounds in the last two decades, and to which some of our eminent scholars both in Bengal and in Madras have been making valuable contributions. The culture-contacts of India with the outside world are fields which are particularly susceptible to the manifestation of the symptoms of such an outlook.

In this connection one may with advantage remember the warning given by Dr. Finot, the distinguished Director of the Indo-French School of Oriental Research at Hanoi, that "it is impossible to trace clearly the evolution of Indian civilisation in Indo-China in all its definite stages without great precaution being taken and to show how the ideas and social institutions of India came to be transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind."

A two-fold point of view is to be kept up by investigators in these fields, particularly the view that should be taken as an almost axiomatic assumption, namely, that a faithful representation of the spread of Indian culture abroad should be free from the leanings inherent in the historian and student prone to look at new facts from their accustomed point of view. Sir Denison Ross has thus drawn attention to this lurking danger. "The detachment that is really called for in an effort at the understanding of an extraneous culture is not perhaps always possible in the fullest measure. Nobody, therefore need be held to blame; but it is none the less necessary to remove the defect and perfect the knowledge that we possess of ancient Indian culture in its evolution down to modern times." He has shown that such defects are possible, particularly because of the operation of the author's affection for the subject of his study.

The principle of continuity has complicated in the field of Indian History by the varying margins between historical and pre-historical times and peoples of our land, as well as by numerous breaks caused by lack of adequate sources and by the *lacunae* that occur from the operation of this and other factors in the early history of the different regions and dynasties.

Equally important is the question of what distinctively marks the evolution of life in historical times from that which marks the epochs of pre-history. Researches into pre-history can be regarded in one sense as the reading of the present into the past. Thus the immortal discoveries of R. D. Banerji, Sir John Marshall and Sir Aurel Stein have established much more authoritatively than Freeman's dictum could ever do, about the continuity of history of which earliest enunciation was made by the Stoic writer, Diodorus, in the memorable words, that all men living or who once lived belong to the common human family though divided from one another by time and space.'

True history should be comprehensive, and not merely be nation-wide, but also extend particularly in the portrayal of cultures, their origin and dispersion, to a continental and even inter-continental background. Many phases of Indian History, markedly those relating to filiations of Dravidian culture and origins, and the spread of Indian civilisation in Indonesia and Serindia, require that the historian should extend his understanding from the conventional, narrow, and possibly sub-national, and project it on a truly international, background.

At the present day, international problems of various kinds are occupying a large place in men's minds, and their solution demands, among other factors, a degree of intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the complex of historical tendencies which have produced them. Many of us Indians have no other background than that of Indian and British Histories or at the widest, portions of European History. The difficulties which we have to grapple with are the complex results of current and past contacts between cultures far removed from one another and the reaction on our life produced by the intensified internationalism of the present time. If History is to be fruitful in this respect, it is essential that it should move away from its conventional background and get in a marked manner into the lines of a truly international approach.

Apart from the increasingly appreciated importance of the pre-historic evolution of human cultures, the year 500 B.C. as the lower limit, or perhaps, 1000 B.C. as the starting point, may be held to have witnessed the emergence of full-fledged religious creeds like the Prophetic School in Israel, Mazdaism in Persia, Brahmanism and Buddhism in India and Confucianism in China; these major philosophies and creeds may well form the starting point of later currents of interaction that have formulated ideas which have exercised a definite influence on the history of subsequent ages. By that date, the Semitic, Aryan, Mongolian and Dravidian races might well claim to have made their basic and stable contributions to culture; and India may be deemed to have become by that time not only the basis of a growing synthetic culture of its own, but also the meeting and focussing point of similar trends from different directions. This idea can be well put before the constructive historians of Ancient Indian epochs, pre-historic and historic; and it will help in the analysis and synthesis of all the results of their investigations. The task of stressing this view is all the more imperative, because Hindu and later Indian cultures have been marked by a broad, comprehensive and absorbing character that has enabled them to cover a steadily widening area in the chess-board of human evolution, and to display a capacity for adapting and absorbing foreign elements into themselves. In the region of Further India and Indonesia, the process of absorption of Indian culture by the indigenous races stopped so soon as their contact with India ceased in an active measure; but its effect is seen even now, after several centuries of Islamization, in the fact that the cultural background of some parts of Indonesia has remained essentially Hindu. If Hindu culture has thus demonstrated its firm hold in foreign lands, it should be easy to perceive how much more its inherent strength should have operated in India and how much more important its influence should have been on the peoples and cultures that have been absorbed in the course of ages into the web of Indian life. In

the interaction between the essentially Hindu and the essentially foreign elements in the evolution of Indian culture may be seen those features that have been at once the glory and the weakness of our land. One line of research and approach that may be suggested to scholars is the inquiry into the widening stream of Hindu life flowing into the ocean of the interaction of peoples.

One difficulty that is of fascinating, but baffling, interest to the student, is the contentious question of the division of the peoples of our land into race groups and their cultures. We have not arrived at any definite conclusion and are not even agreed as to where the distinctions of the one type, ethnic or cultural or otherwise, should properly begin and where the corresponding features of the others should end. More likely to be profitable than this search after the mirage of race-origins and culture-contacts, Aryan and Dravidian, is the quest of data concerning the development of social institutions like the village community, tillage, irrigation and social economy. We are on relatively safe ground in assuming that in India the work of regular tillage, though it has been often interrupted to some extent by successive invasions, has not only maintained its hold upon the people, but developed in some remarkable directions through the ages. The series of external invasions and internal eruptions, so far from breaking down either the complication of the caste system or the involutions of land tenure and village rights, has, on the other hand, added to the complexity of the situation: the divisions of caste organisation have consequently tended "to dip, clash, combine and interpenetrate into one another" and not merely stand super-imposed, one upon another, like the skins of an onion.

A kindred topic that may well occupy the attention of the historian is the proper explanation of the stratification that has marked Indian society, and the possible elements that may have operated to limit and modify the rigidity and turgidity of social activity in all its phases. Equally attractive is the less pressing but perhaps more interesting problem of the existence of fundamental differences between social evolution in India and similar processes in neighbouring lands like Burma, Tibet and Central Asia. The great challenges that have come down like avalanches on the slope of time, like Buddhism, the Huna and Scythian invasions and settlement, and the advent of Islam, have tended to modify the lines of social progress and alter even their bases. In this field the duty of the historian is to show that progress has not always been absent as has sometimes been imagined, but has positively been made possible by these great operating forces.

On the history of Islam in India and the mutual influence of Islamic culture and Hinduism in their widest aspect, the student is faced with a number of questions clamouring for solution, or at least an attempt at correct interpretation. The military and political achievements of the Muhammadan conquerors and rulers, the genius of Muslim writers, artists and builders, these and other related topics have been adequately dealt with; but the problem that still awaits definite interpretation is how far Islam has really entered into the web of Indian life in some of its remote

phases and what historians have done to depict the Muslim peoples themselves in their religious and social life, apart from conquests and court connections and superficial contacts.

We can easily refute the charge generally made that all our indigenous historians have not lived into the life of the common people and have not given pen-pictures of their everyday activities and difficulties or of the changing features of society. To take but two shining examples, Kalhana's famous *Rajatarangini* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Shaikh Abul Fazl: Kalhana's work is something far more than a record of kings' doings, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, describing the scope of his work, in his "Foreword" to R. S. Pandit's Translation of *Rajatarangini*, (the Saga of the Kings of Kashmir (1935) (p. xii), points out how the historian has revealed the old order changing in Kashmir and the economic structure collapsing and thus shaking up the old Indo-Aryan polity and rendering it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest.

The learned Blochmann, in his estimate of the value of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives us a true picture of what a full-told history, at the hands of a polyhistor ought to be in scope. Apart from the trustworthiness, the love of truth and the marvellous powers of expression that marked the great minister, we see in his writings "the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and success then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and therefore vivid colours." Abul Fazl's "wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man and the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom."

Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has pointed out many a time the significance of the history of the British period for the understanding of present-day problems. The material at the disposal of the student for what may be called the British epoch is staggering in quantity and bewildering in its range, and the difficulty of co-ordination that it presents is likewise formidable in many places. The dross of romanticism and common place sentimentalisms, which occasionally permeates research in more antique epochs can affect this period only in a smaller measure; but there is also operating the more serious and, in reality, the more insidious, danger of researchers trying to read, either by reason of an unconscious bias or by force of subconscious analogy, a great deal more than is justifiable in a rigidly objective process that should mark the study of the causes of the decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment of the British, in preference to other European, domination.

The facilities provided by the rich treasure-houses of archives in the capitals of those European States which have indulged in Eastern enterprise, have been made increasingly available not only to those scholars who have the ability and the facilities to study *in situ*, but also to others unable to study on the spot, by means of printed lists of calendared documents,

photoprints of manuscripts and other facilities of recent invention which reproduce, cheaply and in *facsimile*, manuscripts and records treasured in the different museums and record offices both in India and abroad. The enormous quantities of records, despatches and other kinds of manuscript material pertaining to the activities of the European Companies in our land are largely the result of the almost Venetian supervision exercised by the home authorities over their servants and settlements in India. These have been supplemented by an astonishing amount of pamphlet literature embodying the passions and prejudices of persons who played a part in the great drama of eastern enterprise. Besides these, we have a very large collection of correspondence received and despatched, which it was usual for men in high office in those days to keep themselves. Above all, there is the difficulty of co-ordinating these official sources with the indigenous output of material, like *bakhars*, chronicles, diaries, genealogies, local tracts, news letters, letter-books and *shakavalis*, most of which have been utilised by the enterprising scholars of Maharashtra who dug them literally out of the earth in which they remained buried so long.

The correct method of using such material, a great quantity of which still lies buried far away from the ken of even the keenest researcher, was most difficult for our pioneers, particularly when they lacked knowledge of some of the intricate phases of Indian life necessary for the right understanding of their subjects of study. That this defect characterised the work of even such an acute student of Maratha history like Elphinstone, has been made clear to us by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who urges that, even for the most intensive student of any particular period or topic, a search is essential for the further acquisition of the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and of those who were in immediate contacts with the events they describe. The idea of a corpus or consolidated body of every kind of first class original records in all the different languages in which they were written, collected and arranged in volumes according to subjects and periods, has come to be accepted as the desideratum for any really constructive historical work in Maratha History. One can very earnestly advocate the accumulation and careful edition of such a collection for each period or topic, in which every concerned paper of primary importance in whatever tongue it may be, should be assembled along with others equally important. The *Peshwa Daftar* at Poona has been analysed and made to serve as a sort of corpus for the Peshwa period by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

Thus the dangers that confront the worker in arriving at a correct and impartial evaluation of the achievement of the builders of the British dominion are many. To illustrate one such danger against which the student should guard himself, and can quote the ever accumulating literature about some fateful heroes like Clive and Warren Hastings. From the days of Carraccioli down to the recent biography of Mervyn Davis, the whole chain of writers on Clive can be cited as illustrating the frequent changes of sympathy and opinion that beset the Muse of History in her never-ceasing advance. Similarly, with regard to the discreditable period of British rule in Bengal and Madras which lasted, in the former province, down to the administration of Warren Hastings, and persisted in the latter for some more years, the student should guard himself against

the dangers of a ready acceptance, at its face value, of the pamphlet literature of various types that thrusts itself forcefully, at every turn, upon his attention. The enigmatic figure of Warren Hastings serves even at the present day to cast spell upon biographer and reader alike. Compared with the charm that has always attached itself to the ever widening literature on Warren Hastings and despite its varying value, the books published on later personages like Cornwallis, Wellesley and Lord Hastings fade into relative dullness or prolix rigidity.

If personalities have claimed, in a disproportionate manner, the attention of historians and researchers in the modern period, a fundamental factor explaining this feature lies in the lack of a proper co-ordination between different aspects of national life, military and political on the one hand, and social and industrial on the other. As for the eighteenth century which has had no adequate treatment, monographs and pictures of its society and economy are exceedingly rare, except perhaps in the field of Maratha history in which a larger and more intensive quantity of work has been done and a higher level of research and presentation has been attained than in others. Even in respect of the military and political history of the British period, partisanship of varying character has been abundantly in evidence. The main existing accounts of the First Afghan War are largely tainted by controversy. "The amount of controversial literature is fairly extensive, but an intelligible and impartial history has not yet been written." is the verdict of one acute writer on the history of many of the wars and conquests of the British power. Another feature of British Indian History is that a large section of the Indian *intelligentzia* and of our historical writers have been unconsciously developing a quasi-English mentality and a disproportionately stressed admiration for current English political and administrative ideals. This lack of proper vision has resulted in a lack of really accurate subjective treatment of the topics as ascertained at first hand; and this feature is accompanied by their presentation "with a facility that seemed quite natural in the nineteenth century but now appears somewhat obsolete in these resurgent days of nationalistic feeling."

In this connection one may ask:—Are we better than the warped Hindu historians of the age of Muslim domination of whom Sir H. M. Elliot wrote in regret that the average Hindu historian of Muslim rule totally displayed "a lack of the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings of his subject race and showed nothing to betray his religion or nation except perhaps a certain stiffness and affection of style which show how ill the foreign garb befitted him." Such a total condemnation of our historians will not at all be justifiable at the present day. Most of us are impressed and influenced by British political practice and European ideology and literature; and the growth of Indian nationalism has accentuated this bias which has, however, strangely enough, worked both ways. One class of our writers are apprehensive of the possible political repercussions of their views and consequently deny themselves that full freedom of expression which is their right. Another class go the other way and display a bias consciously strained so as to please the administration. It is only very rarely we get the historian that will naturally become indifferent to the effect that his views and judgements may produce upon the administration

or the world outside. As has been well remarked by E. Thompson and G. T. Garrat:—"The writer of to-day inevitably has a world outside his own people, listening intently and as touchy as his own people, as swift to take offence This knowledge of an overhearing even eaves-dropping public, of being in *partibus infidelium*, exercises a constant silent censorship, which has made British-Indian History the worst patch in current scholarship. Orme, Elphinstone, Montgomery Martin, Marshman, Thornton, Keene, Beveridge, Mill and Wilson, and most of the earlier historians of separate episodes are vivacious reading and kept the subject alive."

The ideal historian should not also display any tendency to weave destiny round his heroes, instead of allowing the story of their destiny to unfold itself in a natural manner. Every piece of his work should be primarily based on an impartial interpretation of data, which should be subjected to strictly scientific tests in their qualitative selection, as these alone would ensure their indicative value. Every epoch has got to be studied not only in its physical and material aspect, but also in its cultural and moral life; and the main task of the historian is to make history as much of a reality as possible, concrete and alive—"combining in it both the actuality of the field of treatment and a justifiable and well-founded morality of analysed conclusions; and he should avoid making his narrative degenerate into one kind of romance or another.

Such model and normative work has been effected by several tall historians of our land, of whom, to indicate only a few, among those fortunately still with us and active may be mentioned Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Father Heras, Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. Sir S. A. Khan, Dr S. N. Sen and Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who may be deemed to be the highest representatives of the different fields in which they have been working and all of whom enjoy a goodly heritage of both work and following.

The genius and activity of Indian historical scholarship at the present day are many-sided. The different Universities of the land are developing individual historical schools devoted to research in particular fields. Of these, the Calcutta school nurtured into vitality by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Madras school initiated by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and sustained by Professor K. A. Nilankanta Sastriar, the Allahabad school developed into full stature by Dr. Sir S. A. Khan, the Punjab school devoting itself, among other work, particularly to the field of Sikh History, the Osmania school intensively engaged in the elucidation of Deccan history and the Aligarh school dedicating its talents to the bringing out of a comprehensive history of India under Muslim rule, should be noticed. In South India much valuable work is being done towards the resuscitation of Ancient Dravidian and Tamil culture by scholars like Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, who has, by his recent translation of the great Tamil Classic, *Silappadikaram*, (the Lay of the Anklet) revealed one of the treasure-houses of Ancient Tamil civilisation. Similarly, in Bombay, the Indian Historical Research Institute of Father Heras has been turning out solid, valuable and continuous work. We, the historians of India, owe a tribute of homage to the learned bodies which have been assisting us in

one way or another, like the venerable Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the fountain-head of all Indological research; its sister institution, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Bharat Itihas Shamshodhak Mandali of Poona, which has shown what enlightened nationalism could achieve in the resuscitation of the past; the Indian Historical Records Commission that has so much of solid and unpretentious, but very valuable, work to its credit; the Bihar and Orissa Research Society that was enabled to burst into efflorescence by the genius and labours of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal; the youthful Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, which has in a few years put forth an abundance of published work; the Historical Societies of the Punjab, Assam, Gujarat the U. P. and Bombay, the Mythic Society of Bangalore, one of whose foster-parents is the venerable Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the Andhra and Karnataka Historical Research Societies and the Rama Varma and the Tirupati Oriental Research Institutes, as well as periodicals like the *Journal of Indian History*, the *Indian Historical Quarterly* and *Indain Culture*. Let us also acknowledge with kindly feelings of appreciation the good help that we have received from the monumental publications of the Archaeological Survey of India in all its branches, for a period of nearly three quarters of a century, as well as from the Archaeological Departments of great states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Baroda. Foreign institutes of Indology are bringing out journals dealing with subjects of Indian historical interest in centres extending from New Haven in America to Leyden and Oslo and to Hanoi and Batavia in the Far East; these have assisted us in a considerable measure with material, new points of view and fresh fields for exploration and invigorated us with most sustaining food. To all these various agencies of help, it is the duty of the historians of India assembled in their Congress to pay a meed of praise and appreciative gratitude.

Surveying the progress made by our Congress in furthering the scheme of a Comprehensive History of India, we are happy that syllabuses of the various periods have been framed for discussion. The Secretaries will now submit the complete skeleton syllabus of the proposed History, spread out over twelve volumes, for its consideration by the Committee appointed at the last session and also for eliciting the views of the members of the Congress. At this stage it will be useful if this session can give its countenance and approval to the scheme, and to provide for the appointment of committees and editorial boards for pushing through the work. A considerable headway still remains to be made before the scheme can be actually put into execution. Finance is a most important factor for the effective fruition of our aim, and it is high time that an appeal be definitely made to Governments, both British and Indian, and to generous patrons, in the name of this Congress, which is fully representative of historical scholarship hailing from every part of the country, in order that we may get a satisfactory response.

Our scheme of a Comprehensive History to be written on scientific lines was first mooted in the Allahabad Session in 1938. Preparations were made for implementing these proposals both at the Calcutta Session in 1939 and at the subsequent meeting at Lahore in 1940. The Congress has approved of these basic proposals at these two Sessions.

The plan has for its object the stimulation of research and the bringing of light of the results of such research made by scholars in the various branches and periods of our country's history. The treatment is intended to be on an ample and comprehensive scale and not merely to be popular and to satisfy the need of the lay reader. The appeal for support to our effort goes forth in the name of our Congress which is a most representative organisation and whose roll of membership includes scholars coming from all parts of the country, and from the different Universities, Historical Associations, the Central and Provincial Governments, Indian States and the Imperial Government in their Archaeological and Record Departments. Membership of our Congress is open to everyone interested in the scientific study of Indian History and its attention has been concentrated on the cultivation of research and its encouragement as can be seen from the published volumes of our Proceedings. Our aim in this great effort is not at all to invite or encourage any competition and rivalry among scholars and writers, but solely to bring about a co-ordination of effort among all interested in the furtherance of a truly scientific historical work. The Congress has made it perfectly clear again and again through Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and other spokesmen that it has not identified itself with, nor in any way would filiate itself to, any political, social or sectarian organisation and that it would not feel itself to be under any special obligation on the ground of any expectation or actual receipt of financial support from individuals, associations or Governments, both of the Indian States and of British India. I cannot help in this connection quoting Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan who has untiringly been stressing the non-sectarian and non-partisan character of our Congress and its vital individuality:—"It has maintained its individuality and integrity intact, and this has ensured the complete independence of its members, etc. Consequently, the history it has projected will be written by scholars who are imbued with a single-minded devotion to scientific pursuit of knowledge and are not influenced by any other consideration in the pursuit of this aim."

Emphasis should be laid on the wholly scholarly and specialised nature of our enterprise which should be an irreproachable embodiment of ripe research work and intensive specialisation. Our aim is not the mere popularisation of a knowledge of Indian History, but the production of an authoritative series of volumes, which should be both creative and original in the best sense. For this aim the co-operation of all scholars, Indian, English, American or European and of other nationalities is required. "Scholarship should not be bound by ethnic or political frontiers and all scholars interested in any field of Indian History should be linked together throughout the world by masonic fraternal bonds which should serve as the strongest, spiritual and intellectual links." We should invite in the name of the Congress the co-operation of all scholars, both Oriental and Western, though, naturally enough, the contributions of foreign scholars will be very small relatively to the output of Indian writers. The best talents available should be utilised, and help and co-operation from every scholar, who has established his position "by the integrity, impartiality, independence and judicial spirit of his researches" should be sought.

We are indeed bold enough to claim that at the present day Indian historical scholarship has attained a growth when we could dispense with

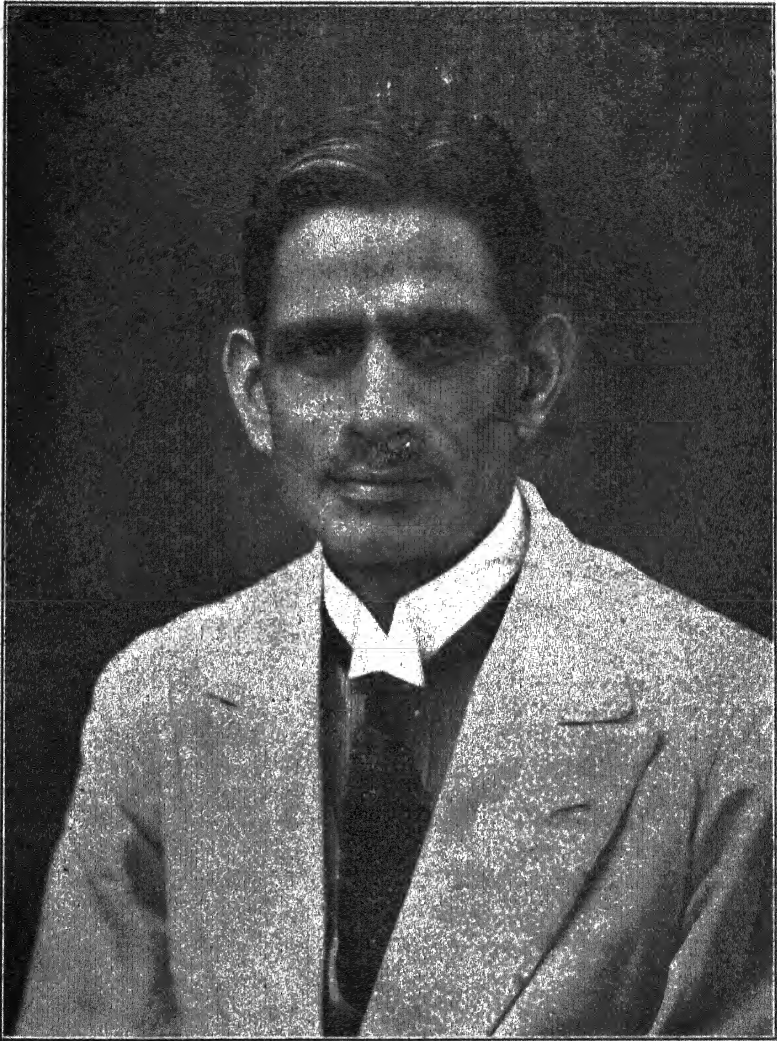
the services of European scholars for most periods of Indian History. The Congress aims, in its scheme, at having the maximum number of Indian contributors, but does not exclude English and foreign scholars and historians who have made a special period or a particular subject, their life-study, and we will most emphatically avoid requesting contributions from those who have shown any manner of racial, political or imperialistic bias.

While the Congress should necessarily allow the utmost latitude and freedom of expression to writers on the various aspects of our history from the earliest epoch, we should faithfully portray all filiations of Indian culture with culture movements outside and draw the attention of students and scholars to the fact that so far as the last three centuries of our history are concerned, it behoves us to treat this period much more from the point of view of the Indian people than before and less from the point of view of the rulers of the land, as has been hitherto the practice. It is our duty, as Dr. Tara Chand has pertinently observed, to eliminate from historical scholarship the reproach that "the culture and life of India and its independent existence and growth should have been merely treated as an incident of British rule, nay, merely as an effect of the activities of the British government, British political parties and British ideologies." This corrective to the general trend of our historiography should be particularly applied in the treatment of our latest period of reconstruction and renaissance extending from 1765 to the present day. We ought to keep this ideal before our vision and, in the process, contrive to give unequivocal expression to the individuality of our life and culture. Again, our treatment of mediaeval history should be completely scientific in its accuracy and objectivity. Besides, it should be infused with its appropriate spirit and present history as that of the people of the land and not as the chronicle of the doings of foreign dynasties. The truth has sometimes been indicated that the rulers of the middle ages never regarded themselves as foreigners and should not be treated by us as such, as they had but few interests outside the land. The middle age should be interpreted as but continuation of the ancient period and should not be hedged in by any terminal or dividing line on either side. Such lines of separation would be purely artificial and not in accordance with the continuity of historical evolution.

The learned Professor Freeman was greatly perplexed as to the particular point at which he should fix the end of the classical world and whether it should be in 476 or 800 A.D. or at any intermediate date between these two. Our difficulties in this respect seem to be whether the Huna settlement in Northern India can be regarded as the first symptom of the fundamental alteration of the polity and society of the land that marked the end of the classical epoch. Various dates have been suggested as closing our ancient and mediaeval epochs like 712, 997, 1192, or even 1526—all these start, it is true, new currents; but they do not at all alter the fundamental course of evolution. That they lack what may be deemed a fundamentality of issue can very well be appreciated if we should take in what Dr. Tara Chand would hold as marking the life of the people and not the happenings at royal courts, nor the movements of armies and battles. Our middle age is thus a continuity from our ancient period

and our modern age beginning with the initiation of European enterprise is certainly a continuity of and projection from the so-called middle age. Our social, cultural and political developments run really on continuous lines and cannot in ultimate analysis be regarded as revolutionary and catastrophic new beginnings. We should neither slur over, nor apologise, for the middle age, but do full justice to this period and give a full account of its variegated life through the co-operation of scholars of different languages and communities joining together in this coordinate enterprise.

A history of India written with this aim and on the basic idea of the continuity of our national life will be "not merely the expression of our learning and scholarship but also of our faith in the destinies of our people." I would finally urge that it is of supreme importance that our minds should be guided by large ideas and generous principles and not moved by narrow and particularistic impulses; and the members of the Congress owe a duty to the country and they should not only make available fresh material hitherto unutilized but also try to subject the data at their disposal to the canons of true historical criticism.



MR. QAZI MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, F.A., LL.B.
*Pro Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University & Vice-Chairman,
Reception Committee.*

SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA PART I

(Up to 711)

President :

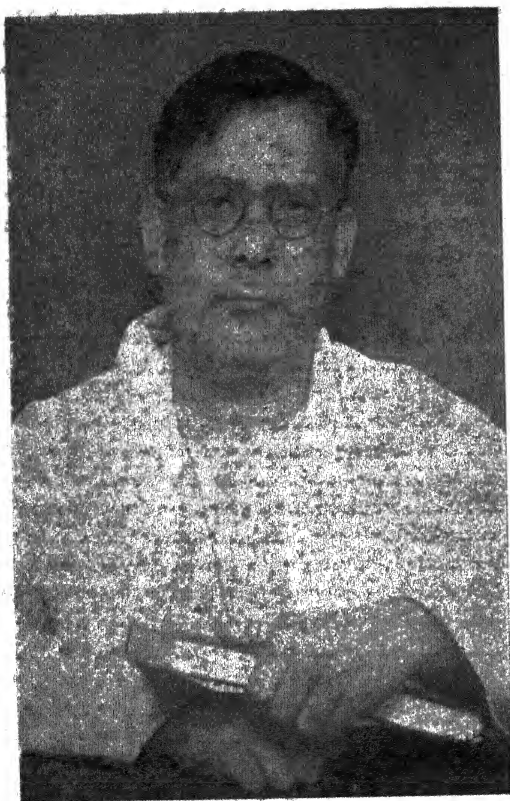
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**Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History,
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**Professor of History, Nizam College
Hyderabad Deccan.**



DR. H. C. RAY-CHAUDHRI, M.A., PH.D.,
President, Section I (Ancient India. Part 1).

Presidential Address (section I) by Professor Hemchandra Raychauri, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.

Dear Friends and Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first words must be expressive of a most cordial welcome to the distinguished band of scholars, investigators and lovers of learning whom I am privileged to see around me to-day. I am using no conventional words when I tell you how much I value this opportunity of serving my co-workers and fellow-workers. It is the kindness that I have often received from my confreres that emboldens me to undertake a responsibility which, but for their good-will and co-operation, it would be beyond my power to discharge.

We meet to-day in the Deccan—*Agastya namo jyotsnāpavitre Dakṣiṇāpathe*—in the historic city besprinkled by the waters of the Musi, endowed with the mural crown by the Qutbshahi sultan of Golconda, and rendered illustrious by the far-famed house of Asaf Jahi. The fourth largest city in Bharatavarsa, Bhagnagar or Hyderabad, as it has been styled since the middle ages, is the metropolis of a realm which embraces within its boundaries the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, the shrines at Hanamkonda and Tuljapur, the mosques of Bodhan and Gulbarga, the capital cities of Paithan and Warangal, the ramparts and battlements of Mahur and Raichur, of Mudgal and Nuldrug, of Daulatabad and Bidar, of Parenda and Golconda. The recorded history of the people, whose hospitality we enjoy to-day, dates back to the age of the Rg-Vedic Brahmanas. Beautiful monasteries, charming frescoes, solemn temples, lofty minars, gorgeous palaces, splendid *madrasas* and majestic mosques added lustre to the names of the successive dynasties that presided over the destinies of the land in by gone times—the Satavahanas, the Vakatakas, the Calukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Kakatiyas, the Bahmanids—to name only a few of them. The monuments that they have bequeathed to posterity are no insubstantial pageant that fades leaving not a rack behind. The faith that urged the master-builders to constructive endeavour, the fire that burnt within their soul, are of the people of this land by heritage and may yet add an illumined page to its chequered annals.

But here I recall to my mind the admonition of a high authority, presiding over an all-India gathering of scholars. "The chief duty of a president is to keep silence and to listen." This maxim claims a hoary antiquity as it seems to have been followed in the main by the *kulapatis* in the gemotes of the heroic age that met to hearken to "stirring tales of war and moil," to *Itivrttam nareudranam Rsinancha mahatmanam*.

The procedure preferred by the *sabhapatis* of later generations named in the Kavva *Mimamsa* may not have been much different. What a welcome relief would it have been for me to tread in their foot-steps. But gone are those halcyon days. We have to face the iron laws in an iron time. It has been the custom in these congresses and conferences for the president either to address to the assembled scholars a discourse upon

some subject of importance or review in outline the activities of those who in the recent past continued the work of tracing the threads which have gone to the making of the multicoloured tapestry of Indian history.

The presentation of the briefest outline cannot fail to take note of the irretrievable loss we have sustained by the passing away of not a few of the great figures that towered like tritons in our midst, Tagore, poet, artist, essayist, philosopher, prophet of a new vision, was at the same time a keen student of Indian History and a revealer in his own inimitable manner of the inner soul of this ancient people. Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, scholar, educationist and administrator, has left works that are indispensable to the student of social and legal history. Sir George Grierson, linguist and philologist, made brilliant contributions to the study of the history of languages and the evolution of religion in India. Shams ul Ulema Muhammad Hidayet Hussain, teacher and investigator, whose benign smile is to me a memory to be treasured, dived deep into Arabic and Persian lore and threw a flood of light on many problems of our country's past.

The transformation of the All India Modern History Congress into the Indian History Congress whose horizon was no longer bounded by the limits of the modern age, but embraced within its orb all epochs of Indian History, Ancient, Mediaeval as well as Modern, closed the eventful century that had been ushered in by the publication of *Rg Vedic Texts* by Friedrich Rosen and the unravelling of the mysteries of the Brahmi alphabet by James Prinsep. The years that have since passed by have, on the whole, seen substantial progress in the onward march of historical research in several directions. The work of resuscitating the past and of chronicling the kaleidoscopic changes that marked the annals of our country have gone apace. To the aid of the historian have come the spade of the archaeological explorer, the discerning eye of the trained numismatist and the patient scholarship of the student of Anthropology, Mythology, Comparative Religion and Philology.

Fruitful works of excavation and exploration have been undertaken not only by the central Department of Archaeology, but by several States including Hyderabad, and non-official bodies in the provinces of British India. The spade is busy in unravelling the secrets of Ramnagar. Valuable antiquities have been discovered at Rajghat, Kurkihar, Baraganga, Jajpur and other places. The University of Calcutta has undertaken the exploration of the historic site of Bangarh. The Bangarh excavation and the expansion of the Asutosh Museum which was recently started by the University under the guidance of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, have been of immense help in giving students of history much needed lessons in practical Archaeology. The recent collection of art objects in the Museum by Messrs D. P. Ghosh, K. G. Goswami and their co-workers includes notable specimens of sculpture and painting which point to interesting phases in the art tradition of eastern India. The discovery of new images, stone and bronze inscriptions, copper plates and coins through individual enterprise and the effort of universities and other learned bodies, has thrown welcome light on the history of several dynasties including the Satavahanas, the Kusans, the Vakatakas, the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Palas, the Candras and the early kings of Kamarupa who claimed Bhagadatta's lineage.

The keen interest felt in historical studies is well attested by the work of learned societies whose number has multiplied considerably in recent times. Their activities are sometimes persistent, at times remittent, and on occasions rather intermittent. Mention may be made here of the work that is being done not only by the time-honoured Royal Asiatic Society which, like the *vyagrodha*, threw off in the past healthy offshoots in many directions, but also by the Bharata Itihasa Samasodhaka Mandala, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Research societies of Bihar and Orissa, Andhra and Karnataka, the historical societies of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and Mahakosala, the Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti, the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, the Varendra Research Society, the Greater India Society, the Mahabodhi Society, the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the Indian Research Institute, the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, the Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, the Numismatic Society, the Bharata Itihasa Parisad and similar bodies.

The literary output of the recent past has not been inconsiderable. Each epoch or aspect of our period claims the attention of a number of scholars and enquirers who have made it the object of their special study. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that some of the contributions come from the pen of ladies. The promising career of one of them, Dr. Minakshi, has been cut short by the cruel hand of death. But others are still amongst us and doing work that merits attention. Two of them, Miss Padma Mirsa and Miss K. Virji have submitted papers for this section. Another distinguished lady, Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, recently explored the history of the Nagas while Miss D. N. Bhagvat, Mrs. Jyotirmayee Bose and Dr. P. C. Dharma dealt with Buddhist Monachism, Saivism and Ramayanic Studies respectively.

The period coming within the purview of our section extends from the earliest times to 711 A.D. It is not necessary here to discuss the principle followed in suggesting the lower limit. Delimitation of periods is to the historian what parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude are to the geographer—imaginary lines invented for the sake of convenience. One historical period often imperceptibly fades into another. In a country of the size and dimensions of India landmarks that hold good for the entire sub-continent are not easy to find. Nevertheless the eighth century A.D. did introduce new warps and woofs in its political and cultural texture, specially in the north-west. The preceding ages had seen the birth, efflorescence and transformation of many types of civilisation. History can hardly take any note of the earliest of these, when man first set the stage in India. The story in the present state of our knowledge must open with the dawn of Chalcolithic culture in the valley of the Indus. Further excavations at the pre-historic sites in this region brought to fuller view the links that bound the ancient civilisation of our country with the contemporaneous culture of Anau and Elam, Sumer and Anatolia, Egypt and Crete. The researches and investigations of Hrozný, Herzfeld, Arthur Keith, Mackay, Frankfort, Corbier, Hackin, Carleton and a host of other scholars have emphasised the value, for the elucidation of our own pre-historic antiquities, of the study of the ancient civilisations of Iran, Iraq and the eastern Mediterranean lands. We have acquired a new interest in the golden helmet of Meskalamdug, the Stela of the Vultures

of Eannatum, the relics of pre-dynastic Egypt, the seals of the middle kingdom, the vaulting feats pictured in Cretan art, the legends of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the eagle and the club of Ningirsu, the hymns of Nergal, the representations of the Hittite Teshub and of the mother goddess at Ephesus and Susa, references to Dakash, Shuriash, Maruttash and Shimalia in Kassite documents and lastly to "the ships of Meluhha, the ships of Magan and the ships of Dilmun" which anchored at the quay in the front of Agade in the days of Sargon.

Indus culture claims the close attention of the Archaeological Department. It has attracted investigators like the Rev. Father Heras and many other workers. It may be of interest to our own antiquarians who attempt to determine early chronology, or reconstruct ancient history, on the basis of very late bardic or priestly tradition, and persist in clinging to dynastic designations not supported by contemporary evidence, to know how Assyriologists and Egyptologists treat the king-lists and chronicles of Nur-Ninsubur, Berossos and Manetho, and how attempts at a solution of the riddle of Egyptian writing fared before the discovery of the Rosetta Stone. Diligence and enthusiasm deserve praise and encouragement, but are not likely to produce the best results unless chastened by critical caution and discerning judgement.

Valuable work in the domain of Iranian studies useful for the student of Indian antiquities has been done by the excavators of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and by the colleagues of Arthus Upham Pope, the learned editor of *A Survey of Persian Art*. It gives me pleasure to refer in this connection to the recent work of Dr. Sukumar Sen which deals with old Persian inscriptions. Important Achaemenian records also find a place in a corpus of inscriptions that is being prepared by Dr. Sircar. An interesting discovery in recent years is that of several stone tablets east of the great palace terrace at Persepolis where Xerxes records his victories in lands in which the *daivas* were worshipped.

Vedic studies have found in recent months workers in Mr. V. M. Apte, Mr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Mr. Pusalkar and others. The Great Epic is being dealt with by Dr. Sukthankar and his colleagues and has recently claimed the attention of Professor H. C. Seth who is already well known for his somewhat daring dissertations on the Maurya period. The light thrown by epigraphy, the early Pali canon and Trans-Gangetic sources on the date and development of the heroic as well the didactic epic needs further exploration.

The early records of the Jains and the Buddhists have been made to yield interesting information by Drs. B. C. Law, Malalasekera, Barua, Prof. K. P. Mitra, Mr. K. P. Jain, and Mr. Ratilal Mehta, and have been utilised by Professor N. N. Ghosh for his monograph on Kausambi.

There are several problems connected with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties that await further investigation. The date of Mahapadma, the commencement of Candragupta's reign, the age and authenticity of the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*, the identity of Satiyaputra and of Alikasudara, Asoka's relations with Suvarnabhumi, the social organisation of his days, the detailed story of the later Mauryas—to name only a few of them—continue to tantalise the enquirer.

Not much has been done in recent times by Indian scholars, with very few exceptions, by way of exploring the Greek evidence for further elucidation of the history of the pre-Christian centuries for which reliable literary evidence is scanty. Some of the volumes published by the Loeb Classical Library deserve incisive study. In a work of Xenophon, who died about the middle of the fourth century B.C., we have notice of an Indian king who is described as a very wealthy man—a reference that may be compared to the Indian account of the Nandas, the reputed possessors of enormous wealth. The personality of Bindusara and his solicitude for Greek sophists as well as *Ajiva parivrajakas* deserve attention to appreciate the environment amidst which his more famous successor grew up.

The period of the Bactrian Greeks that followed the disintegration of the Maurya empire is the theme of a very learned and elaborate treatise by W. W. Tarn whose work has invited interesting comments from A. B. Keith, Johnston and Saurindra Nath Ray. The history and chronology of the Scytho-Parthian and Satavahana rulers remain much vexed questions. The ghost of Kaniska has not been laid, or the riddle of the eras of 58 B.C. and 78 A.D. solved, to the satisfaction of all. But the note of Dr. Luders on the era of the *Maharaja* and *Maharajaratiraja* and the astronomical calculations of Mr. Probodh Chandra Sengupta deserve attention. The problems of the eras used by the Traikutakas, the early Ganges of Kalinga and a Kadamba prince at Halsi, also present difficulties, though not all of the same character. Much new information regarding the Kusans and the Satavahanas has been vouchsafed to us in recent times. The researches of Mr. M. N. Nagar and Professor V. V. Mirashi may be mentioned in this connection.

Several obscure spaces in the spectrum of Gupta history and the annals of the Vakatakas and the Maukharis remain to be illumined. The researches of Dr. Altekar, Professor Mirashi, Dr. D. C. Ganguly, Dr. Sircar and Messrs. Jagannath, Y. K. Deshpande, Akhil Bandhu Biswas and A. Ghosh merit close study. In regard to the problem of the earliest Guptas of the fourth century A.D. tradition embodied in dramas and works on poetics of a late date, or even in epigraphs composed some five centuries after the incidents, can hardly be given equal weight with contemporary inscriptions and coins. The problem of Baladitya is scarcely to be solved by ignoring the Sarnath record of Prakataditya as is done in a recent publication. The relation of the line of Maharaja Srigupta with Vainyagupta and Krsnagupta also demands study. The role of the early Guptas and the dynasties with which they are known to have come into contact, in popularising Sanskrit and the cult of "the victorious Bhagavat" in the south, deserves as much study as their endeavour to revive sacrificial rites in the north. Sufficient attention has not, I believe, also been paid to the notice in the Allahabad *prasasti* of the relation of the imperial government in the Ganges valley with the "dwellers in islands" in tracing the history of Indian colonial and cultural expansion in the Gupta age. The reference in a Malayan epigraph to a *Mahanavika* from Raktamrttika may be recalled in this connection.

As to the Vakatakas, the need of re-examining some of their known records, and of bringing out the full significance of the term **rajya** used in reference to territorial divisions of their realm, in the light of the Vatsagulma grant, is apparent.

The identity of the Maukhari capital remains, I believe, still a mystery. Evidence adduced on the point is neither unanimous nor conclusive. Among other important problems may be mentioned the origin and order of succession of the early Pallavas, the earliest chronology of the Gangas of Talakad and the relations of the Gurjaras of the Malharaja *Karnanvaya* with those of the *Pratiharanvaya*.

The history of Harsa, which was elucidated by Drs. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, R. C. Majumdar, Niharranjan Ray, and R. S. Tripathi, has in recent times attracted a good deal of attention and an interesting dissertation has been contributed by Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta.

The period from the death of Harsa to the advent of the vanguard of the army of Hajjaj early in the eighth century A.D. offers another promising field for research.

A notable feature of historical investigation in recent years is the attention paid to provincial history. The Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti has taken in hand the reconstruction of the past history of Assam. Welcome light is thrown on the early annals of this eastern province by the Baraganga epigraph of Bhutivarman brought to notice by Dr. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum. The University of the last mentioned city is making good progress with a comprehensive history of Bengal with the co-operation of several teachers of the Calcutta University besides other scholars. Shorter dissertations on the province proceed from the pens of Drs. B. C. Sen, Nihar Ray, Mr. Adris Banerji and Mr. P. Paul. The study of the history of eastern India has been facilitated by the new edition of the *Ramacaritam* with commentaries and an English translation by Drs. Majumdar, Basak and Pandit N. Banerji.

Gujarat claims the attention of Professor H. D. Sankalia and Messrs. D. B. Diskalkar and P. C. Divanji, and Rajput history that of Pandit G. H. Ojha, Dr. H. C. Roy, Pandit Bisheshwar Reu, Mr. Subimal Datta and others. The Central Provinces form the subject of a detailed study by Professor Mirashi. Orissa has assiduous workers in Messrs. K. C. Panigrahi, P. Acharya, B. Misra, and Kumar B. S. Deo, Parts of the Kanarese Country and South Konkan continue to claim the attention of Dr. Saletore and Mr. Moraes, and Travancore that of Messrs. Poduval, C. Achyuta Menon and their co-workers. The great Andhra country has investigators like Messrs. Krishna Rao, Rama Rao and Subba Rao and Dr. Venkataramaiah. The history of Tamil land is being explored by Dr. Aiyangar, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, Professor Nilakantha Sastri, Mr. Dikshitar, Mr. Aravamuthan and their colleagues and co-workers.

In the dim mists of antiquity some scholars discern a movement to India of peoples from Malayan and Polynesian lands. The waves, if they really came from those regions, rolled back, possibly breaking into ripples,

in historic times, and some of the most thrilling chapters of our early history are filled by the story of Hindu colonial and cultural expansion in the countries and isles of gold (*Suvarnabhumi* and *Suvarnadvipa*) beyond the Ganges. These lands are gradually yielding relics which though not so old as those of Elam and Sumner, have already proved to be of absorbing interest. The history of the little bits of ancient Indian soil set in the silver sea of the Far East, and the neighbouring lands whose shores it laves, is being elucidated with great industry and devotion by Dr. Majumdar, Professor Nilakantha Sastri, Professor Bijan Raj Chatterji, Drs. U. N. Ghoshal and Niharranjan Ray, Mr. Himangsu Sarkar and others.

Geography, which competent critics regard as an indispensable foundation for historical studies, is receiving attention from Drs. Law, S. C. Sarkar and Mr. Sudhakar Chatterji. A geography of India which takes full note of epigraphic evidence is a desideratum. The study of Numismatics, a valuable source of history, and the only source for the history of certain periods, is being pursued amongst others by Mr. J. N. Banerji, Professor Mirashi, Dr. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Chakravarti, Messrs. Rabischandra Kar and D. D. Kosambi.

There are other branches of history, besides the story of political vicissitudes, which, though hardly capable of vying with the latter in satisfying the crave of the human mind for whatever is exciting and romantic, have nevertheless greater attraction for those who are interested in the evolution of ideas and institutions in the fields of politics, education, sociology, economics, religion and art. The study of Indian polity had absorbed the energy of some of our most distinguished scholars since the publication of the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*. It will doubtless receive a fresh impetus from the publication of the recent works of Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Drs. N. C. Banerji and N. C. Ganguly. Education in ancient India is claiming the attention of Dr. R. K. Mookerjee. Social history is being explored by Drs. R. C. Hazra, J. B. Chowdhury and Mr. Sudhirranjan Das. Economic history has a devoted worker in Mr. Atindra Nath Bose, while religious history is being dealt with by Drs. Barua, Bagchi, N. Dutt, and Mr. Provat Mookerjee. Iconography, a subject closely connected with religious studies, is claiming increased attention in recent years and has attracted the patient industry and penetrating insight of Mr. J. N. Banerji, whose important work on Hindu Iconography will soon be in the hands of scholars. Among other workers in the field mention may be made of Mr. Sarasi Kumar Saraswati and Mr. B. C. Bhattacharyya. Painting, architecture and some of the minor arts have attracted the attention of Mr. G. Yazdani, Mr. O. C. Ganguly and several scholars of the younger generation including Messrs. D. P. Ghosh, Saraswati, C. C. Dasgupta and K. K. Ganguli.

The success attained by individual effort is, in not a few cases, encouraging. But this does not obviate the need for discussion and co-operation in conferences like the present one. "Historical thinking is", says Acton, "better than historical learning." It is difficult to conceive of a better method of stimulating thought than personal contact and exchange of ideas amongst scholars, students and enquirers interested in a subject.

But here a question may be asked as to whether historical discussions have any value for the community in the midst of which we live, move and have our being, whether they add anything to material power and the well being of man. It must be confessed that it is not the function of history to supply food and clothing to the poor or medicine to the sick. A student of history does not practise the commonly understood art of healing far less that of killing. The grand purpose of history is, as pointed out by Trevelyan, to emancipate man from the doom pronounced upon him at his birth, of life-long imprisonment in a single century and in a single set of material and intellectual circumstances. In the words of Acton and Southey it enables us to rise above the pressure of time, race and environment and live in the company of the mighty minds of old that no single country or age could produce. The past holds in its bosom a great store-house of knowledge and experience, a mass of material for the dilettation of the right-minded, indispensable to the man who, with Burke, wants to avoid a dull uniformity in mischief and the unpitied calamity of being repeatedly caught in the same snare. Historical studies are a powerful solvent of superstition and a useful corrective of misconceptions and exaggerations. To ignore these studies is to live in a twilight of fiction, on a sand bank of apathy, with the roaring currents of time eddying around, oblivious of the gems deposited by the stream of history, headless of the fact that the science of politics, of sociology, the historical romance and the drama are like grains of gold on the beach of the river of history.

Some regard history mainly as a form of literature to charm their leisure, or a prop to buttress time-worn ideas, or a thread on which to string some pre-conceived moral. To be useful history must never sever its relation to hard fact. The living truth about man, both the great and the common folk, must not be discoloured by individual fancy or disfigured by the heat of partisanship. The historian must not project his own broad shadow upon his pages too often so as to blur the picture he has taken so much pain to paint. "That man of merit alone deserves praise," says Kalhana, the eminent historian of ancient India, "whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past, has discarded bias as well as prejudice":

*slaghyah sa eva gunavan ragadvesa bahiskrta
bhutartha kathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvati*

History must be scientific in its method of collecting and collating evidence. But it need not be dull. A harmonious union of scientific precision, literary elegance and artistic skill should be the aim. It has, however to be admitted that ideal perfection is hard to attain. But the attempt is worth making. If we cannot vie with the man of science in enlarging the command of our species over nature, or with the literary artist in giving solace to the wearied mind or the worried soul, we can at least free it to a certain extent from the trammels of its surroundings and try to make man "the heir of all the ages". He may if he chooses

*From their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.*

He may learn how a great people first becomes conscious of its individuality and develops a soul. How history ceases to be a tale of isolated adventures, or a narration of the deeds of individuals or small groups engaged in a struggle, for bare existence—how it becomes a progressive manifestation of the mind of a nation, the process by which its soul unfolds itself in political and administrative achievement, moral and social regeneration, religious and literary endeavour, scientific and artistic efflorescence. Each great people of antiquity had its own characteristic marks of development. We may recall in this connection the moral fervour of the Hebrew psalmists, the sense of beauty and rhythm that marked Periclean Greece, the love of law and government that characterised ancient Rome, and the perception of unity in diversity that dawned in the India of yore.

The quest for unity with its concomitants of *metta*, *avihisa*, *anukampa*, in a land noted for the extraordinary multiformity of its physical aspect, bewildering variety of its ethnological and linguistic make-up, and wide divergences of its social and religious organisation, gives in my opinion the key to its history. There might have been cross-currents and under-currents but this seems to have been the, or at least one of the, main currents. The poet-theologians of the Rg Veda did not fail to take note of the multiplicity of rivers in the land of **Saptasindhu** all losing themselves in one vast sheet of water. The majestic heights with gold-hued crests, diademed with the starry sky of the north, were synthesised into a single being, Himalaya, compared to Visnu himself in later poetry.

Sthane tvam sthavaratmanam

Visnum ahur manisinah .

All the sacred shrines merge in one holy stream

Tatha devanadi ce 'yam

Sarvatirthabhisambhrta,

Gaganad gam gata devi

Genga sarvasaridvara

Transcending the superb mountain, the divine stream, the wonderful panorama of Indian topography, and the surging masses of Indian humanity, was conjured up the vision of a united country to whom the river was but a jewelled necklace (*Gangamaukti Kaharini*). the mountains but ear-ornaments (*Himavat-Vindhya-kundala*) and the inhabitants so many children (*Santatih*).

Uttaram yat samudrasya

Himavaddaksinancayat

Varsam tad Bharatam nama

Bharati yatra Santatih

It is not merely the geographical unity of the country that comes to be realised in the days of yore. The land of **varnas** and **jatis** of castes and

sub-castes, evolved the concept of the giant *Purusa* in whom all the social orders had their being, and the bold declaration is made in the Book of Peace of the Great Epic:

*Na viseso' sti varnanam
Sarvam Brahmanidam jagat*

The idea of oneness had its influence also in the sphere of politics. The concept of *Purusa* and *Mahapurusa* in the domain of sociology, philosophy and religion, had its counter part in the idea of the *ekarat* or *cakravartin*, a universal emperor, the lord of Jambubvipa.

A warrior duly crowned, the chief of men;
This earth he conquered and then justly ruled,
Needing no rod or sword or violence,
But ordering all impartially, he caused
The clans to grow in fortune, riches, wealth
Theirs were all pleasures, his the seven gems.

The idea of such a universal ruler—*rajarisvajanina* as he is called in the Vedas—was apparently before the mind of the Atharvanic poet who wrote the famous laud about Pariksit. The idea came very near realisation when Asoka welded together the Magadhas, Yonas, Aparantas, Andhras and other races inhabiting this land into one political unit. Such a *Cakravartin* many of his successors—Kharavela, the imperial Guptas, Harsa, to name only a few—aspired to be. The *Cakravartin* became what he was by *parakrama* tempered by a tender regard for the well being of all creatures that was enjoined by *dharma*—*Porana pakiti*, the ancient law of India, as it is termed by Asoka. It is to *parakrama* that the great Maurya attributed his success in making his influence felt throughout Jambudvipa (*pakamasi hi esa phale*). The famous Allahabad Prasasti speaks of *parakrama* as the only ally and mark of Samudra Gupta (*parakramaikabandhu, parakramanka*).

These great rulers of men did use their might to subject “the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to the grasp of a superior controlling force”—the one in Kalinga, the other in Arya-varta. But they never for a moment forgot that force divorced from *dharma*, *anukampa*, *lokanugraha*, the Law of Piety, compassion and kindness to mankind, was barren of fruits. The soul of India had responded to the call of suffering in ages past. Did not the heart of one of the poet-sages of old melt with grief at the sight of a bird being done to death by the cruel missile of a fowler? Did not another national poet loudly proclaim:

*Abhayam sarva bhutebhyo
Yo dadati mahipale
Sa gacchati param sthanam
Visnoh padamanamayam*

“He who grants assurance of safety to all beings goes to the highest station, the holy step of the Supreme Spirit, the home of bliss”?

We need not dilate on the kindred teachings of the Jinas and the Buddha. These lessons were not lost upon the universal rulers. The agony of the **Kraunca** in the woods brought into being the **Ramayana**. The agony of the men of Kalinga was responsible for an *avadana* not less instructive and inspiring than the story of Ramacandra's deeds.

Many of the successors of Dharmasoka did not fully share his religious convictions. Nevertheless they too held up before their minds the ideal of Piyadasi in its essentials. A queen-mother of the second century A.D. takes pride in the fact that her royal son who had warded off the incursions of barbaric intruders, whose chargers had drunk the waters of the three oceans, was at the same time "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy", *kitaparadhe pi satujane apanahisa ruci*. Two centuries later a warrior-poet speaks of his master whose fame had, it is said, reached the four seas, as "full of compassion, possessed of a tender heart, (*mrduhrdaya, anukampavat*) the personification of kindness to mankind" (*lokanugraha*). The tiger-claws of *Vyaghraparakrama* were it seems exchanged for the velvet glove. For was he not *Dharmapracirabandha*? Three centuries roll on and we meet another great ruler, who seeks to unite the five Indies and proclaims his faith in the following words,

*Karmana manasa vaca
Kartabyam pranibhirhitam
Harsenaitat samakhyatam
Dharmarajjanamanuttamam*

These words give the clue to the influences that moulded the destiny of India during many a memorable epoch of our history—a quest for unity in a land of diverse colour and culture and attempts at its realisation in the domain of politics by a blend of strength, exertion, love and compassion and adherence to *Dharma*. These are some of the lessons which the ages bring to us as they come peeping in through the window of history. They teach us that the land of our birth has a noble mission. It is rich with its treasures of varied experience, and we should try to be worthy of so precious an inheritance.

Hemchandra Raychaudhuri.

PROCEEDINGS OF SECTION I.

(Ancient India Part I, upto 711).

The section met under the Presidentship of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, at 11 a.m. on 22-12-41. The following papers were read and discussed in the morning session.

Practical Aspects of Education in Ancient India, by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.C., Lucknow. The paper tries to prove that the ideals of social service, the importance of arts and crafts and of residential institutions were anticipated by the Buddhist University of Nalanda and other ancient educational institutions. An interesting discussion followed on the influence of the Nalanda school of arts and crafts on the art of Java, in which Dr. D. C. Sircar took part.

The Mother Goddess Cult at Mohenjo Daro identified, by Mr. Baijnath Puri, M.A., Lucknow. The paper was followed by a discussion in which Dr. Raychaudhuri and Dr. Sircar opined that we should be careful about accepting the suggested identity.

Archaeological Excavations at Harappa, by N. M. Billimoria, Karachi. Dr. A. S. Altekar and Prof. Hanumantha Rao took part in the discussion.

Cyrus the Great and the Mahabharata Battle, by Dr. H.C. Seth, Amraoti. This was followed by an instructive discussion in which Dr. Raychaudhuri, Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Dr. D. C. Sircar and Dr. A. S. Altekar took part.

Vishnuguptas in the Gupta Dynasties by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares, Mr. D. N. Mookerji, Dr. Raychaudhuri, Dr. D. C. Sircar and Dr. A. S. Altekar took part in the discussion.

The place of Samprapati in the History of India, by Mr. T. L. Shah, Baroda.

History of Early Vaishnavism in Kamarupa, by Prof. B. L. Barua, M.A., B.L., Gauhati.

Samavaya and Niludhasi Pi Kalasi, in the Inscriptions off Asoka by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

These three papers were followed by some discussion that was instructive.

The Term 'Rajput', by Miss Padma Misra, Calcutta, Miss Padma Misra was congratulated for her very interesting paper.

The Section adjourned at 1 p.m. and met again at 2 p.m. on the same day, when the following papers were discussed:—

The Vratyas in Ancient India, by Mr. A. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B., Bombay. Dr. D. C. Sircar participated in the discussion.

Origin of Magadha, by Mr. L. B. Keny, Bombay. There was an interesting discussion in which Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. Sircar and Dr. Altekar took part.

South India as depicted in the Hamsa-Sandesa of Venkatnatha, by Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., Madras.

At the request of Mahamahopadya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur, and with the permission of the President, his paper submitted to Section II on '*New light on the History of Paramara Dynasty*' was also read and discussed.

The section met again at 9-30. a.m. on 23-12-41 when the following papers were read and discussed.

The Sangam Age, by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Madras. The discussion that followed was very lively and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Father Heras, Dr. Altekar, Prof. Mirashi, Dr. Sircar, Dr. Venkataramaniah and Prof. Seth took part in it.

A Note on Vishnukundin Genealogy and Chronology, by Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Guntur, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Prof. Mirashi, Dr. Venkataramaniah and Dr. Sircar took part in the discussion.

The Anu in India and in Egypt, by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay. A very interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. G. Yazdani, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Mr. Dikshitar took part. The discussion turned upon the Proto-Indian nation being regarded as the mother of the Sumerian and Egyptian nations.

The section adjourned at 11-30 a.m. to the science laboratory, where the paper on *Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle*, by Mr. J. P., De Souza, was read and illustrated on the screen. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Dr. A. S. Altekar took part in the discussion that followed.

The President, in bringing the proceedings of the section to a close, complimented the several contributors on the high level of the papers as also the large number of papers contributed to the section, especially Miss I'adma Misra, and Rev. H. Heras. Thanks were also conveyed to Dr. M. Qureshi, Head of the Department of Chemistry, Osmania University, for placing the Laboratory at the disposal of the section, at very short notice.

The other 23 papers whose authors were not present were taken as read.

Sd/-S. HANUMANTHA RAO,

Sectional Secretary.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT HARAPPA

By

Mr. N. M. Billimoria, Karachi.
(Summary)

1. Geographical position of Harappa.
2. Mounds of Harappa visited by Ch. Masson, Sir Alexander Burnes & General Cunningham.
3. Climate of Harappa and Mohenjodaro nearly the same; great rain fall in both places in former times.
4. Comparative age of Mounds at Harappa.
5. Wells of Harappa.
6. Great Granary at Harappa.
7. Find of two statues; no parallel of one of them can be found among Indian sculptures of the historic period.
8. Interesting seals found at Harappa, described.
9. Pre historic cemetery-potburials and earth-burial of babies.
10. Painting on jars.
11. Cremation and burial were both practised by Rigvedic Aryans.
12. Twelve circular platforms found.
13. Human and animal figurines.
14. Report on selected beads found at Harappa.
15. Racial types represented by the cemetery.

THE ANU IN INDIA AND IN EGYPT

By

Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay.

The word Anu, which we come across in the proto-history of India and Egypt, could not be properly explained before the discovery of the so-called Indus civilization. Now we may try to study its origin and its meaning with much greater hope of success in our undertaking.

I

THE ANU IN INDIA

The *Anu* are one of the five Rgvedic tribes⁽¹⁾. They are mentioned as having wrought a chariot for the use of Indra⁽²⁾.

*Under instructions from the General Secretary, the Sectional President indicated which papers were to be published *in extenso* and which in a summarised form.

(1) *Rg.* I, 108, 8; VIII, 10, 5. They are also called Anavas, *Ibid.* VII, 18, 14, VIII, 4, 7.

(2) *Ibid.* V, 31, 4.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has already said that the Anu, undoubtedly being an Aryan tribe, bear a name which "appears to be of non-Aryan origin"⁽³⁾. If so, what was the origin of their name? It is well known that very soon the Aryan tribes accepted a number of dogmas of their Dravidian predecessors into their own religion, first little by little and hesitatingly, but later openly and without fear, until finally the whole religion of the Dravidians was amalgamated with their own religion⁽⁴⁾, this amalgamation becoming the foundation of modern Hinduism.

That this process of amalgamation commenced in the Rgvedic period, though on a very short scale in the beginning, the very Rgvedic hymns bear evidence. That "*ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*", of the first *mandala*⁽⁵⁾ is only a practical way of expressing the truth of the Dravidian dogma of monotheism, but shaped in such a manner as would suit the polytheistic confusion of the Aryan religion.

But apparently this was not the only dogma accepted by the Aryans in those early days. If they had accepted the dogma of monotheism, it was but natural after all that very soon they had to accept the very name of this only God of their former opponents. How it happened that the name of God amongst the proto-Dravidians was *An*, that means "the Lord"⁽¹⁾ Probably not all the Aryan tribes accepted the worship of *An* at the same time. Those who accepted it first were called by the rest *Anus*; for as a text of *Niddesa* informs us, in ancient times peoples were named after the deity they worshipped⁽²⁾.

This custom the Aryas practiced once more, but in a contrary way, when later on all finally accepted the cult of *An*. Their contact with one of the Dravidian tribes who were inhabiting the neighbourhood of the

(3) Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 19.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 31-39.

(5) *Eg.* I, 164, 46.

(1) Cf. Heras, "the Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People according to the Inscriptions", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, pp. 1-5, where I have explained how I found out that this was the name of God in the Mohenjo Daro period. Later on I came to know that this name is still included in various names given to Siva in the historic period. The *Brahmanda Purana*, written in a period posterior to the identification of Siva and Rudra, narrates that Brahma asked Rudra to create beings. He did so and those beings were known as Rudras and Rudranis. Later on Brahma asked Rudra to create mortal beings, to which Rudra enjoined, "I shall not create beings subject to death. Here am I, standing, oh Lord createth Thou!" To which Brahma agreed. Hereafter therefore Rudra stopped creating, and remained standing nude with the *urdhva linga*. Now "since he had said to Brahma:" "Here am I, standing", learned people call him *Sthanu*". *Brahmanda Purana*, Purva Bhaga, Adhyaya 10, vv. 82-92. *Sthanu*, a compound word, the elements of which are *Stha* and *Anu* or *An*, evidently means "Anu who is standing". The Tamil speaking people call Siva even at present *Andavar* or *Andivanan*, and the Malayalis name him *Tamburan*.

(2) "The deity of the followers of Ajivakas is Ajivakas; that of the Nighanthas; that of the Jatikas is Jatikas", etc. The text belong to the 4th century B.C. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 3 (Strassburg, 1913).

Indus⁽³⁾, called the tribe of the Sivas, was the final reason for their accepting the old Dravidian god; and since this god was worshipped by the Sivas; he was named Siva without further inquiry; he was in fact the same An after whom the Anu had been named. Thus it came to pass that An was generally called Siva, though he still retained his original name in Sanskrit Literature⁽¹⁾.

II

THE ANU IN EGYPT

One of the feasts the Egyptians of Pharaonic times celebrated was "the feast of striking the Anu". The tradition of this feast, according to the studies of Egyptologists of great reputation, seems to be very ancient. Yet we do not know anything about "this striking the Anu". One fact nevertheless may be accepted without hesitation; the tradition of the feast being so ancient, the event commemorated in the feast must be one of the earliest in the history of Egypt, one in fact which is lost in the dawn of human history. This paper will try to elucidate this obscure historical event.

First of all, whom does the tradition refer to? Or, in other words, who were the Anu?

The great Belgian Egyptologist Mons. Jean Capart has already stated that the Anu most likely are the *Anumim*, mentioned in Genesis X. 13, as being descendants of Cham or Ham through Misraim, who had settled in the valley of the Nile.⁽²⁾ The word Anumim is only the plural Hebrew rendering of the word Anu. These Anumim have been acknowledged as a section at least of the primitive population of Egypt⁽³⁾. From this we may readily admit that they were Hamitic people, having therefore the same origin as the Proto-Dravidians settled in India from the time of the Indus civilization⁽¹⁾.

But why were they called *Anu* or *Anumim*? This is in fact the primitive name of this people, the origin of which we must investigate.

Mons. E. de Rouge has connected the Anu with the ancient city of Heliopolis and other Egyptian cities, the original name of which was An or Anu⁽²⁾. The city of Heliopolis, a name given by the Greeks meaning "city of the Sun", was named by the Egyptians as Anu⁽³⁾ and very likely

(3) They were still found there by Alexander the Great Cf. M|e Grindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 366-367. (Westminster, 1893.)

(1) *Harivamsa*, I, Adh. 23, 5. Cf. p. 8, No. 1.

(2) *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XLVIII pp. 23-31; *Actes du Premier Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions*, II, First fascicule, pp. 1-26.

(3) De Rouge, *Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manethon*, p. 67.

(1) Cf. Heras "The Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean Race". *The New Review*, XIV, pp. 185-196.

(2) De Rouge, *op. et loc. cit.*

(3) The name given by the Bible to this city is On: *Gen. XLI*, 45.

originally Anur, which name according to the Egyptians themselves, meant "the city of the Sun"⁽⁴⁾. Anu was famous all over Egypt, as the main seat of the cult of Ra, the sun-god, who was supposed to be the most ancient god of Egypt. Yet Ra being the most ancient god of the land of the Nile, he was nevertheless said in the ancient Egyptian texts to have come out of the abyss of Nu⁽⁵⁾. Who was this Nu? In Egyptain mythology Nu is said to be "the primordial God of the celestial waters and the ethereal space"⁽⁶⁾. This description of Nu referring to the other and to the celestial waters seems to point to the times when there was no earth as yet in the world. Hence Nu seems to have been the most ancient God for the Egyptians in point of fact, the God supreme and omnipotent as described in the *Texts of the Pyramids*. In fact Atum or Adam who is undoubtedly the first man, corresponding to the biblical Adam⁽⁷⁾, is said to have come out of Nu⁽¹⁾.

Now this Nu, of whose abyss Ra came out, is identified with Ra himself by the ancient Egyptians⁽²⁾. How is this apparent contradiction to be explained? A careful study of this crucial point will finally make us understand who Ra was.

We have seen that Ra was the Sun, and that his city, called Anu Anur, was also interpreted "the city of the Sun". Hence Ra and An seem to have the same meaning and consequently to refer to the same person. They are two names of one and the same god. Ra therefore is the same as An. In point of fact this An seems to be the same Ana who is mentioned by the *Texts of the Pyramids* as one of the archaic Egyptian gods⁽³⁾.

We know that the Proto-Indian people worshipped An⁽⁴⁾, who was identified with the Sun, named El⁽⁵⁾. The Egyptian name for the Sun, Ra, is of Dravidian origin. It means "light", and consequently "the Sun"⁽⁶⁾. We have therefore a perfect equation of the supreme god between India and Egypt in the proto-historic period.

(4) Thus the Greek name was a mere rendering of the Egyptian name.

(5) Wallis Bude, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, p. 400.

(6) Lefebure, *Les noms d'apparence semitique ou indigene dans le Pantheon Egyptien* p. 17.

(7) Lefebure, "Le Cham et l'Adam egyptiens" *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX (1887), 1 parte.

(1) Lefebure, *Le noms d'apparence semitique*, loc. cit. .

(2) Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, I pp. 134-135.

(3) *Ibid.*, I, p. 97.

(4) Heras, "The Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People", *op. et. loc. cit.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

(6) In Tamila the modern word *ira*, "night", is a contracted form of *il x ra*. *Il* is the negation "no". *Il-ra* therefore means "no light" "darkness" "night". Contractions similar to this which we have mentioned here are very common in Tamila: *pal nanru pananru* "the milk is good"; *il ninru ininru*, "standing from". The omission of *l* in front of *r* is not mentioned in the grammatical rules for these contractions, for the simple reason that in modern Tamila there are no words that start by *r*. Cf de Zilva Wichremasinghe, *Tamil Grammar Self-Taught*, p. 18 (London, 2nd ed.). In the old Proto-Dravidian language of the Mohenjo-Darians words

As regards Nu some scholars have already suggested that Nu and Nuit, the god and goddess of heaven, according to the doctrines of Heliopolis, correspond to Anu and Anunit, god and goddess of heaven, of the Chaldean pantheon⁽⁷⁾. Therefore Nu seems to be the same as Anu or An. And since An is the same as Ra Nu must be equated with Ra. It is therefore quite possible that Ra, being the most ancient god of the land of Egypt, came out of the abyss of another god, Nu. This only means that when the name Anu or Nu was practically forgotten, it was finally substituted by the name Ra. Connected with the name itself there was also perhaps a dogmatic belief, which in course of years was overlooked, and another tenet, which was little by little emphasized, till it finally took the place of the former. Thus the personal unmaterial god An was substituted by the material symbolism of Ra. Thus it could be said that the name Ra "came out of the abyss" of Nu when the name Anu or Nu passed into oblivion.

Though the name Anu or An, as a name for Ra, was lost in the temple of Heliopolis, it remained as the name of the city Anu; in *The Texts of the Pyramids*, as Ana; in the *Lamentations of Isis* for the death of Osiris, who is also called An⁽¹⁾; in the name of Anhur, the feudal god of the Sabennitic *nomos* mentioned in the Papyrus Harris⁽²⁾; in the name Anuke of one of the goddesses of the Triad of Elephantina⁽³⁾ and in the name Anupu of one of the two brothers in the ancient "*Story of the two Brothers*"⁽⁴⁾.

This is therefore settled, that An was the most ancient god of the Egyptians worshipped in the city of Anu or Heliopolis. Therefore the people called Anu connected with the city of Heliopolis, were not the descendants of An, as the partisans of the totemic origins of Egypt would make us believe⁽⁵⁾. They were the early Egyptians who worshipped An as their God, in the same way as the Proto-Indians worshipped the An of India.

started by *r* doubtlessly existed, for there are still some of them in other Dravidian languages. That *ra* "light" and "the Sun" was one of these words the name of the ancient Dravidian king Ravanna seems to prove. Accordingly the name of this king would mean "the eldest brother of the Sun".

- (7) Hommel *Die babylonischen Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur*, pp. 17, 39; Lefebure, *op. cit.* pp. 17-18.
- (1) Harrack, "Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys", *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, XVII, pp. 33-35 and 83-89.
- (2) Chabas, *Le Papyrus Harris*, pp. 147-148. The Etruscans of Italy a nation of the same Hamitic Dravidian stock, worshipped God under the name Ansur, in Terracina. Ansur means "the lordly Lord" or "the one who is Lord twice", i.e., above the lords of this world.
- (3) Maspero, *Les Contes Populaires égypte*, p. i ff (3rd ed).
- (4) Virey, *La Religion de l'Ancienne Et Egypt Ancienne*, p. 75 (Paris, 1910).
- (5) Totemic tribes used to worship their ancestors. Yet it has never been proved that the totemic society, as found among American Indians, existed also in Egypt. Moreover the pure theological ideas of the Egyptians are totally opposite to the vague and confused dogmas of totemic people. Cf. Pierret, *Le Pantheon Egyptien*, pp. V-VI.

Having come to know who the Anu were, an inquiry into the meaning of the expression "the striking of the Anu" in ancient Egyptian folk-lore may now be made.

The "striking of some people" evidently means a punishment for those people; and in this case "the striking of the Anu" clearly suggest a defeat of the Anu, and consequently a victory for their opponents. Have we any evidence in ancient Egyptian history about this victory and defeat?

Mons. Loret is of opinion that the story of the murder and resurrection of god Osiris may contain some recollections of the war between the Anu and their enemies. According to ancient traditions Osiris was a Pharaoh with a very successful career both as regards his administration of the country and as regards his conquests abroad. His brother Seth or Typhon treacherously murdered him and usurped his throne. But later on Horus, the son of Osiris, reappeared on the scene, defeated Seth, and occupied the Egyptian throne as the rightful heir of his father⁽¹⁾. Such briefly narrated, is the story of the death and resurrection of the Egyptian god of fertility, which afterwards became very important in connection with the Egyptian ritual and also in the famous *Book of the Dead*.

Loret is of opinion that this fabulous story is but a mythological crystallization of some early episodes of Egyptian history⁽²⁾. Three stages of history, quite different from each other, may be detected in this story:

First Stage. The reign of Osiris marks a period during which the Anu or worshippers of An (Osiris was also named An), were in peaceful possession of the land of the Nile. There is no possibility of ascertaining how long this period lasted. Apparently it lasted quite a long time, for during that period the cult of An Ra was firmly established in the land, so firmly, that it was able to withstand the onslaught of an invasion of enemies who appeared during the second period.

Second Stage. The assassination of Osiris opens a new period of history, which seems to be the result of an invasion of Northern Egypt from Syria. Loret thinks that the invader had the flag sign of the Asian greyhound, because that seems to be the animal which is one Seth's flag-staff. Seth in fact was the leader of this invasion. The invaders apparently did not belong to the same race as the Anu. Yet Seth is said to be Osiris's brother, perhaps because both the invasions, viz., of the first and the second periods, came from the Syrian side. If Seth's army came from Syria they, having come from a race different from that of the Anu, were most likely Semites. This would be the first of the Semitic immigrations of Egypt across the Suez isthmus. We know of other Semitic invasions of a later period, viz. Abraham's (1), of the Hicksos and, during the rule of the Hicksos, of Jacob and his sons⁽²⁾.

Seth's army fought with the Anu and defeated them. This defeat is symbolised in the death of Osiris at the hands of Seth. This is precisely

(1) Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, XIVIX.

(2) Loret, *L'Egypte au Temps du Totemism*, pp. 37 ff.

(1) *Gen.*, XII, 10-20.

(2) *Gen.*, XLVI.

what is meant by "the striking of the Anu". Loret is of opinion that the conquerors killed a great number of Anu; yet apparently the latter were not exterminated but finally fused into the race of the conquerors to form the later Egyptian population.

After this victory Seth ruled the country, and it was then that the "feast of striking the Anu" was instituted. It was most likely during the same period of Seth's rule that the name of the god of Heliopolis was changed. An reminded them of the Anu. They hardly could tolerate An's worship when the defeat of the Anu was being celebrated with great rejoicing. The name An therefore was condemned to oblivion; in its stead Ra was selected, an indigenous name too (as seen above), but which reminded the Semites of the Sun, whom they themselves adored(1).

How long did this second period last? It is not possible to fix its limits. Yet the fact that "the feast of striking the Anu", instituted then took deep roots in the country, so as to persevere even after the rule of the conquerors was over, seems to show that the Semite period was much longer than one man's rule. In the mythological story, Seth's victory opens this second stage, which is likewise ended with Seth's defeat. But Seth is only a symbol of the race. In point of fact, according to the myth, Horus, the leader who defeats Seth, is described as Osiris's son but he is said to have been conceived after his father's death. Horus is the son of Osiris, because he is properly, according to the mystical ideas of the Egyptians, the same Osiris risen to a new life. This means that many generations may perhaps have elapsed since the death of Osiris up to the appearance of Horus. All this seems to point to a very long period of Semitic rule in this second stage.

Third Stage. Horus defeats Seth and regains the throne of his father. This relationship between Horus and Osiris seems to show that the race of these new conquerors is the same as the Anu stricken by the Semites. Loret supposes that this invasion, though of people of the same race as the Anu, was directed from the south, and thinks that their leader had the flag sign of the falcon or the hawk, which is Horus's animal.

The defeat of the Semites was so great that there is no further mention of them in later Egyptian history. Though undoubtedly remnants of the Semites were mixed with the Egyptian population, specially in the north, yet their memory was identified with the evil spirit, which was supposed to be personified in Seth, according to later mythological views (1). One relic of their rule however remained in the Pharaonic Egypt of later centuries. That was "the feast of striking the Anu". This is one of those sociological phenomena which apparently have no proper explanation. The feast commemorated the victory of the Semites over the Anu. When the Semites were themselves defeated by people of the same race as the Anu, the latter's former root had to be forgotten. Yet it is still commemorated with a feast. (A similar phenomenon exists in Indian History. It has now been proven that the Saka Samvat starts at

(1) Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, p. 289.

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the time of the defeat of the Sakas (2). Naturally such era would have been named after those who defeated the Sakas, i.e. the Kusanas; but it was not so. Those who were defeated are commemorated instead of those who had defeated them).

The very ingenious interpretation of the story of Osiris's assassination given by Mons. Loret, with which we fully agree, seems to have its confirmation in anthropological and archaeological sources. There are in fact indications that there had been two invasions of the people of the same race in early Egyptian history; one invasion coming from Syria, the other from the land of Punt, across the sea, through the southern country (3).

III

Relation between the Worshippers of An in India and the Anu of Egypt

We are not going to speak in this third part of our article about the Anu of the Rgvedic period, who constituted an Aryan tribe. We shall only refer to those people who worshipped An before the arrival of the Aryan tribes, i.e., the proto-Indian people of the Indus civilization period. We have already said above that An was their supreme God.

There is no doubt that the same An was being worshipped in India and in Egypt. In both countries he was An identified with the Sun, being himself the first person of a divine triad: An, Anil and Ana in India (1); Ra (An), Thoot and Maa in Egypt (2). In both cases they, inspite of being three persons, are described as being one god (3).

Now the existence of the same religion in India and in Egypt does not precisely imply the identity of both the nations, for the same religion in two nations may at times mean only the importation of religion as a cultural element from one nation to the other (as happened with Buddhism spreading in China and Japan), without necessarily supposing a racial migration. Yet in this case under study, we witness two invasions of worshippers of An, the earlier from the north, the later from the south. Were they actually proceeding from India?

The Anu from the North. They apparently came from Syria. In Mesopotamia and Syria, there were nations worshipping the same God in a Triad. The Sumerians in lower Mesopotamia venerated An, Enlil and Ama Anum (4). The Sun also was being worshipped (5). The

(2) Banerji *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

(3) Cf. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians and their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe*, p. 81-130 (London 1911) Ring, *Gods of the Gentiles*, pp. 101-102 (Milwaukee, 1938).

(1) Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18, 30.

(2) Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, pp. 323, 418, 424.

(3) Cfr. Heras, "Further Excavations in Mohenjo Daro", *The New Review*, IX, pp. 73-75; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, I, p. 150.

(4) Radan, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Nin-ib*, p. 37, (Philadelphia, 1913) Jean, *La Religion Sumerienne*, pp. 32-41. (Paris, 1931).

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(5) Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

Hittites in Syria worshipped Istanu, Ma and Telepinu, the first person of the Triad being identified with the Sun (6).

Now we know of the migration of the Sumerians from the East by the sea, spoken of by Berosus (7) and confirmed by the Bible (8). The comparison between the Indus civilization and the Sumerian civilization (1) substantiates the view that the Sumerians were but a section of the Proto-Indian people settled in a new land. Hence the Anu who invaded northern Egypt from Syria most likely were originally people from India.

The Anu from the South. The fact that they were, as seen above, of the same race as the Anu of the North, would settle the question of the origin of the former. Yet some facts connected with their migration will still strengthen the opinion about their Indian origin. It was a constant tradition of the Egyptians that they originally came from the land of Punt. Much has been said about the situation of this land (2). Yet the Egyptians themselves used to locate it across the Red Sea in the land of the frank-incense, the modern Yemen. The famous Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut, who flourished c. 1503-1481 B.C., sent a commercial expedition to that land of their origin. This expedition was a great success, as is inscribed on the walls of the rock cut temple of Deir-el-Bahari. One of the things they brought from Punt was incense trees (3).

Now the land of Punt, the Yemen of Arabia, was inhabited in very ancient times by a nation called the Minaean nation by Strabo (4). They had city states very well organized similar to the Sumerian cities, and totally different from the nomadic centres of the Arab tribes (5). They were merchants, and their trade, specially in spices and incense, was very brisk (6). Among the countries with which they carried on their trade was India (7). They took goods from India up to Mediterranean ports. This maritime trade between the people of the Yemen and India continued almost till the first century A.D. (1). Now all these details

(6) Delaporte, *Les Hittites*, pp. 247-248; Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, pp. 103-104.

(7) Schabel, *Berosos und die babylisch-hellenistische Literatur*, pp. 172-175, 253-254 (Berlin, 1923).

(8) *Gen*, XI, 2-4.

(1) Cf., for instance, Heras. "The Origin of the Sumerian Writing," *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VII, pp. 3-28.

(2) Even Sir Flinders Petrie thinks that it is the East African coast.

(3) Cf. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pp. 24-25, pl. IX (London 1894): Heras "La primera expedicion, commercial por el mar Rajo dieciseis riglos antes de J.C.", *Iberica*, II, pp. 366-367.

(4) Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 4, 2. The fact that in 2,500 B.C., the country was already well organized shows that they were there long before.

(5) Dawson, *The Age of the Gods*, p. 116.

(6) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 377-379; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 53.

(7) Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 58.

seem to point out the enterprising Indian traders of the Proto-Indian period; but specially the most suggestive of all is their name. This name is the same as the name of the most important Proto-Dravidian tribe, the tribe of the Minas "Fishes" (2), a tribe called thus because they were always seafaring, like real fishes. The Minaeans had an independent writing which apparently is a development of the Proto-Indian script of the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions (3). The name Agur of one of the few kings of this nation known to us is also thoroughly Dravidian (4).

It is therefore very suggestive to find the country of Punt, whence the early Egyptians came to the land of the Nile, inhabited by people who to all evidence had originally come from India. Since we know also that those early Egyptians belonged to the same race as the race of the Anu, it seems very likely that this was the real route followed by those enterprising Minas, whose first king in Egypt also bore the title of Mina, which was borne by the Proto-Indian kings (5).

There is therefore no possible doubt about the racial relationship between the worshippers of An of India and the Anu of Egypt. All of them belonged to the proto-Dravidian race, mother of so many illustrious nations that spread the Indian civilization across the "seven seas" (6).

THE MOTHER GODDESS AT MOHENJODARO IDENTIFIED?

(By Mr. Baij Nath Puri, Lucknow).

(SUMMARY)

The theme of this paper is to identify the cult of the Mother Goddess at Mohenjodaro with the Nana-Amba cult of the Kusana period. As both the cults represented the idea of procreation in combination with the God Rudra of Siva and fortunately both had their votaries in India and western Asia it may well be suggested that the Nana-Amba

(2) Cf. Heras "Mohenjo-Daro, the People and the Land", *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 708-717.

(3) Hunter *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other Scripts*, p. 22 (London) 1934).

(4) Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

(5) According to the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions all the Proto-Indian kings are called Mina. It is only a title. It makes "the shining" "the illustrious". It is the title of the Cretan kings "Minos", though here already helenized. Cf. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete*, p. 126. Now the first king of the dynasties of Maneton in Egypt is name Mena, but the Egyptians themselves now-a-days called him Mina. This apparently is only the title of the king for we know his real name now. It was Aha. Cf. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, I, pp. 13-16.

(6) The "seven seas" are mentioned in the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions. Cf. Heras, "The Tirayars in Mohenjo-Daro" *J.B.E.A.S.*, (N.S.) XIV, p. 78. They are also referred to in Puranic literature many centuries after.

cult of Mother Goddess of the Kusana period was the same as the Mother Goddess cult of Mohenjodaro. The Mohenjodaro cult represents obscene elements which were due to the incorporation of the Vratya cult. Unfortunately the obscene element is absent in the Kusana period but there is not a shadow of doubt that a time may come when *Lingas.*, *Yonis* and Punischali or harlot figures may be recovered from the Kusana sites.

THE PROTO-INDO-MEDITERRANEAN EAGLE

(By J. P. De Souza, Bombay)

In the course of my investigations in the nature of the heraldic devices of the Greeks of old, I have been observing the subjects used by the Greek artists as decorative motifs on different kinds of vases. Most of the vase paintings I have so far examined belong to the first millennium before Christ. Among these, scenes from Greek mythology figure very prominently, and are of frequent occurrence. My interest has been mainly confined to the representations of Greek heroes and Warriors and particularly to the devices on their shields. Not uncommonly the eagle, which among the Greeks was the queen of birds (1) and the attribute of the almighty Zeus (2), can be seen as a heraldic device on these shields. Usually this bird is depicted with wings spread, head turned left, flying in a horizontal direction. Sometimes it is represented in its distinctive aspect of a bird of prey. The subject of a painting on an amphora of the Attic Black-Figured period is the contest between Heracles and Geryon (3). On the front shield of the triple-bodied Geryon is the device of a flying eagle with a snake in its beak. When I saw this picture, I was reminded of an article contributed by Fr. Heras to *The Examiner* (4). It appears that such a representation of the eagle is not found in ancient Greece alone, but is common to the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean civilizations. In this article Fr. Heras also describes the three budding scholars from the University of Barcelona whose essay on the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle has already been published (1). The example of these three young searchers for truth was a source of inspiration to me, and this coupled with the encouragement of Fr. Heras led me to investigate for myself. It is gratifying to note that my researches have yielded rich fruit.

The cult of the eagle seems to have extended over a large part of the ancient civilized world—from India to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The study of the role which the eagle played in the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean scheme of life forms one of the most fascinating

- (1) *Encyclopedia Universal*, III. p. 622 (Bilbao, 1930). It is interesting to note that Garuda, the eagle of Hindu mythology is styled "the king of birds". Cf. Vogel, "Indian Serpent-Lore", p. 53 (London 1926).
- (2) Homer, *Iliad*, (Pope's translation: The "Albion" Edition), VIII, p. 148.
- (3) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, British Museum, Fascicule 3 by Walters, Br. Mus. III H. e, pl. 37, la (London 1927).
- (4) "An old Microbe Newly Described" (Bombay, Sept. 16, 1941).
- (1) I have not yet had the privilege of reading this essay.

chapters in the wider study of the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Civilizations. The eagle has a long and glorious history and to witness the earliest manifestations of its cult we have to stretch our historical imagination at least as far back as the third millennium before our era.

On the obverse of a "unique rhomboid seal" (2) discovered at Harappa (3), in the Indus Valley, is a flying eagle with its head turned left. On either side of its head and just above the outstretched wings is a snake. The neck of the bird is rather long (4). The majestic pose of this eagle and the triumphant look in its eye seem to convey the impression of the eagle as the vanquisher of snakes. In connection with this eagle two identical suggestions have been offered by two eminent scholars (5). They conjecture that this bird is the prototype of Garuda. My researches, however, have not yet placed at my command sufficient evidence to enable me to trace without a shadow of doubt, the ancestry of the later Garuda, the giant-eagle (1) of Hindu mythology, to the earlier Dravidian eagle.

The History of Garuda's birth is related in the Mahabharata (2). He was the son of Vinata, the goddess of Heaven. Her sister Kaduru was the mother of the Nagas. Thus Garuda and the Nagas were first cousins. At his birth Garuda was appointed to be the carrier of Vishnu (3). Garuda was such a mighty bird that even Indra, the chief of gods, could not withstand him and had to conclude friendship with him (4). Indra on this occasion granted him the boon that henceforth the Nagas were to be his food (5). "The enmity between the Nagas and their cousin, Garuda, is a favourite theme in Indian literature and art" (6). In one example (7) from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara Garuda is shown attacking five Nagas. The wings of the bird are spread and the beak is turned left. In another specimen (8) the giant-bird is shown seizing a Nagi. To Vogel this piece of sculpture from Sanghao "appears to be an adaptation of a masterpiece of Leochares, representing

(2) Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, I, p. 324 II, pl. XCI, No. 255 (Delhi 1940). Cf. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, pl. XXIII, b (London 1934).

(3) An important centre of Dravidian civilization, closely akin to Mohenjo Daro. See Childe, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII.

(4) See below my remarks on the *Ibis*.

(5) Vats, *op. cit.*, I, p. 324, "Possibly it is a prehistoric prototype of Garuda who, as the vehicle of Vishnu, is often represented flying with a snake in his beak". Heras, *op. cit.*,

"This Proto-Indian bird seems to be the prototype of Garuda, Vishnu's *vahana*, which is styled 'the lord of snakes'".

1. Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 55.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 47. Several stories are related by Vogel illustrating the feud between Garuda and the Nagas.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XV, b.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XV, a.

Ganymede carried off by the eagle of Zeus" (9). Garuda also appears to be related to the Sumerian lion-headed eagle, the famous Im-dugud (10) of the Lagashite god Ningirsu, for we are told that Garuda ate a giant elephant and tortoise (11).

The Phoenicians, too, honoured the eagle as the destroyer of snakes. In the Archaeological Museum at Barcelona there is a Carthaginian seal (1) on which is represented a flying eagle with a snake in its beak. The bird's head is turned to the left. Its general pose is almost the same as that of the eagle on the Harappa seal, and the resemblance between the two representations is too striking to be easily passed over. It is probable that the relationship between the two is very close.

Among the ancient Egyptians Ibis (2) as the deadliest enemy of snakes seems to be the counterpart of Garuda. "The ibis was universally venerated throughout Egypt and the centre of its cult in very early times was the city of Khemenu or Hermopolis, where the bird was associated with the Moon and with Thoth, the scribe of the gods. It seems to have been worshipped in the first instance because it killed snakes and reptiles in general" (3). Herodotus tells us that "when an ibis . . . or a hawk is killed, whether it was done by accident or on purpose, the man must needs die" (4). Now, the hawk is a bird of prey allied to the eagle. That the ibis should have been accorded the same honour as the hawk is highly significant. Herodotus also describes two species of ibis. The black one which fights serpents "is a bird of a deep-black colour, with legs like a crane; its beak is strongly hooked" (5). From this description it would indeed be difficult to identify the ibis with the eagle. Therefore, at this point, it should be borne in mind that the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean peoples held the eagle sacred principally as a bird of prey. But the eagle takes different forms in different Indo-Mediterranean civilizations. The representations of the eagle in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean art differ so widely in details that it would be difficult, nay impossible, to identify some of these with the eagle of natural history. For example, in Sumerian art the eagle is shown with lion's head. But the under-lying idea is always the same: the bird of prey attacking its victim. And the eagle happens to be the bird of prey *par excellence*.

9. *Op. Cit.* p. 41.

10. See below.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 56, 201.

1. *Historia Universal*, Edad Antigua (I), fig. on p. 559. (Barcelona 1937). Fr. Heras has a sealing of it.

2. Herodotus (Rawlinson's Translation), II, 67, 76.

3. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 375. (London 1904). See also his *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*. pp. 91, 92, (London, 1934). Newton in his article on the ibis in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* XIV, p. 218 (Cambridge, 1910), writes, "The story told to Herodotus of its destroying snakes is, according to Savigny, devoid of truth, but Cuvier states that he discovered partly digested remains of a snake in the stomach of a mummied ibis".

4. II, 65.

5. II, 76.

Shall wonder then that the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean bird of prey, after passing through various phases, should finally crystallize in the Roman Eagle. In this context it would not be difficult to relate the ibis to the other forms of the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle.

In the course of my researches I have come across two representations of groups of ibises on Egyptian monuments ⁽¹⁾. As seen here, the ibis has long legs, beak and neck. In one respect, this representation of the ibis agrees with those of the eagle on: (i) the Harappa seal; (ii) a stone jar from Tapeh Aly Abad ⁽²⁾; (iii) a cylinder seal from Lagash ⁽³⁾; (iv) some of the seal-impressions discovered in the Ur Valley ⁽⁴⁾, as in all these examples the eagle is shown with a long neck. What I am driving at will be made clearer by a reference to the Egyptian Benu, which "was a bird of the heron class" ⁽¹⁾: "The Greeks identified him with the Phoenix" ⁽²⁾. "The general make and size of the phoenix" according to Herodotus, "are almost exactly that of the eagle" ⁽³⁾. If, then, the Greeks found no difficulty in identifying "a bird of the heron class" with an "eagle-like" bird, it would not be a mere flight of fancy to suggest that the ibis, which belongs to the same family as the Benu bird, was the form which the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle took in Egypt ⁽⁴⁾.

In Sumer the cult of the eagle seems to have been widespread. But among the Sumerians the eagle as a bird of prey took an extraordinary form. It became a giant, lion-headed bird as mighty as Garuda himself, often attacking not one but pairs of wild animals at a time. This strange bird was called Im-dugud or Imgig and was associated with Ningirsu. The Ur Valley excavations have yielded several relics of the lion-headed bird. The famous Imdugud relief in copper ⁽⁵⁾ heads the list. Commenting on this find Hall remarks, "This remarkable relief, the largest object found at Al-Ubaid is unique in Sumerian art, though its subject is well-known in other forms. It represents the Im-dugud or Imgig, the lion-headed eagle of the Lagashite god Ningirsu, grasping

1. The first group is from the tomb of Monefer. Sakara; and the other from the tomb of Mereruka. (Fifth Dynasty), Sakara. Cf. Cossio and Piovan. *Summa Artis* III. n. 160, figs. 208, 209 (Bilbao, 1932). Both these kings belong to the period called "The Ancient Empire" extending from about 2980 to 2000 B.C.—*op. cit.* p. 548.

2. Childe, *op. cit.* p. 246. fig. 96.

3. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates I, p. 55 (Cambridge, 1927).

4. Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions, Ur Excavations* III pl. 3, no. 38; pl. 28, no. 488 (Great Britain, 1936).

1. Wallis Budge, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, p. 89.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

3. II, 73.

4. What is most remarkable is that the head and the neck of the Benu god bear a striking resemblance to the head and neck of the eagle on the Harappa seal. See Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 90.

5. "Reconstituted and partly restored."—Hall and Woolley, *Al-Ubaid, Ur Excavations* I, p. IX, (England, 1927). For a copy of this relief see pl. VI. Cf. Schafer and Andrae, *Historia del Arte*, II, fig. on p. 533 (Barcelona, 1933); *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, pl. 4 after p. 136.

two stags by their tails (6). In this example the Im-dugud faces the spectator. Its wings are outstretched and ears stand erect (1). The stags stand *dos-ados*. In the sketch reconstruction of the temple of Al-'Ubaid Woolley assigns this relic a prominent position, placing it just above the doorway of the building at the head of the ramp (2). The motif of Im-dugud with two stags, "which fills the space in true heraldic style" (3), bears more than a faint resemblance to the group of eagle with two snakes on the Harappa seal: one is the lord of stags, the other of snakes.

There are several other examples of the antithetical group in Sumerian Art. On the "magnificent silver vase of Entemena (2850 B.C.) (4) found by de Sarzec at Lagash (5)" the lion-headed eagle is represented thrice in three antithetical groups forming a continuous chain, animals and birds being juxtaposed in true artistic style. In one group the Im-dugud is seen grasping with its claws two lions, in the second two stags, and in the third two goats (6). The Im-dugud attacking pairs of animals occurs on the top panel of the front of the sounding-box of Queen Shub-Ad's Harp (7), where it is shown grasping two goats; and on the plaque of Dudu (1), priest of Lagash, where it is seen attacking two lions (2). On a marble cylinder seal from Lagash (3) the lion-headed eagle has its claws on the rumps of two human-headed bulls. But the most noteworthy feature of this piece of art is that the eagle is shown very small and appears to fade into insignificance when compared with the size of the bulls. The Im-dugud occurs without its prey on the obverse

6. Hall & Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Cf. p. 23, "The al-Ubaid relief is the largest instance of the antithetical group yet known, and as a work of art is unique. There is no doubt that it is of the same period as the other objects discovered and so dates to c. 3100 B.C."

1. The Im-dugud is always seen like this when it is represented as grasping pairs of animals.

2. Hall and Woolley, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, Cf. p. 116.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

4. King of Sirpula.

5. Pijoan, *History of Art*, I, p. 107. (London, 1933). For copies of this vase see Schafer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, II, p. 534. *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, p. 135. Cossio and Pijoan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 73, fig. 105; (Bilbao, 1931): Pijoan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107, fig. 165; Torres, *Resumen de la Historia General del Arte*, I, p. 75, fig. 162—(Barcelona, 1928).

6. In most of the pictures of this vase only the group of eagle and lions can be seen wholly. All the three groups are shown in Cossio and Pijoan, *op. cit.*, p. 73, fig. 105.

7. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery, Ur Excavations*, II (Plates), pls. 104, 108, 110. (Great Britain, 1934). Cf. Cossio and Pijoan, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 130.

1. *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, fig. on p. 130.

2. The heads of the lions are upside-down.

3. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates I, p. 55. For copies of seal-impressions of this see *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, pl. 5 after p. 136; Pijoan, *Historia del Arte*, I, p. 106, fig. 158 (Barcelona, 1914).

of the Stele of the Vultures (4). Here it is held in the left hand of Nin-girsu. There are also several examples of the lion-headed eagle on the seal-impressions discovered in the Ur Valley (5). It is seen perched (i) on the back of an ass (6), (ii) on a crouching bull (7), (iii) devouring a limb (8), (iv) seizing two crouching bulls (9). But the most remarkable thing is that the ordinary eagle, like the lion-headed one, can be seen seizing pairs of animals on these sealings (10).

The flying eagle occurs again and again on these seal-impressions. It is generally seen having its wings outstretched and head turned right (11). Often the eagle is shown attacking its prey. There are more examples of the flying eagle on pottery from Susa. On a store jar (1) from Susa II is an eagle with wings spread and claws extended like those of the Im-dugud when it is shown attacking pairs of animals. This eagle appears to be attacking its prey with its beak, but it is difficult to identify the victim. On the interior of a funerary bowl (2) from the Cemetery of Susa I are two highly-stylised eagles, with wings outstretched. I have already referred to the eagle on stone jar from Tapeh Aly Ahbad. The eagle is also seen on a seal-impression (3) from Nuzi, belonging to the 15th century B.C.

The eagle seems to have exercised great fascination over the Greek mind, as is evidenced by the many representations of this bird in more than one branch of Greek art. Mention has already been made of the device of an eagle with a snake in its beak used as a heraldic device. Closely analogous to this specimen is the motif on another shield from a Greek vase painting (4) representing Hephaestus and Thetis. The bird, however, does not appear to be an eagle. Two other examples of the flying eagle, though without snakes, may be described here, as in them the eagle appears to be represented as a bird of prey. On the interior of an Attic Kylix (5) of the black-figured technique is a flying eagle with beak

4. Schafer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, II, fig. on p. 539; *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, pl. 6 after p. 120; Cossio and Pijoan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70, fig. 100; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates I, p. 43.

5. Legrain, *op. cit.*, "The whole series of seal impressions is shown by the hand drawings which are in many cases reconstructions of the design based on numerous impressions all more or less fragmentary", p. 51.

6. Pl. 14, No. 279.

7. Pl. 30, No. 517.

8. Pl. 21, No. 394.

9. Pl. 30, No. 517.

10. Pls. 10 & 11, Nos. 207, 209-217; Pl. 30, No. 526. On an asphalt relief of the epoch much later than the second culture of Susa is an eagle, with beak turned left, seizing two birds, *Historia Universal*, E. A. I, pl. 2 after p. 120.

11. Therefore on the original seal it must have been turned left.

1. Childe, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII, 1.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 1.

3. Martin, *Ancient Seals of the Near East*, No. 8 (Chicago, 1940).

4. Richepin, *Nueva Mitologia*, 1, fig. on p. 237 (Barcelona, 1927).

5. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, British Museum—Fascicule 2 by Smith and Pryce, Br. Mus. III H.c., pl. 11, 6a (London, 1926).

pointed left and, in general, similar to the representations of the eagle in heraldic devices. But there is one detail in this picture, which at first sight appears to be insignificant. This is a tiny spot or dot just in front of the eagle's beak, and when taken in conjunction with the general pose of the bird, makes the latter appear as if it were about to pick that particle. What the artist probably had at the back of his mind was the idea of the eagle as a bird of prey. The other example is from the famous Rhodian Pinax⁽¹⁾ representing the combat between Menelaus and Hector over the corpse of Euphorbus. In front of the beak of the flying eagle on Hector's shield is a group of seven particles, which is repeated six times right round the bird. These groups seem to indicate the attempt of the artist to represent the eagle as a bird of prey⁽²⁾.

The flying eagle without its prey is not uncommonly used as a heraldic device on Greek shields. In two⁽³⁾ representations of the duel between Heracles and the triple-bodied Geryon on Greek pottery, the front shield of Geryon has the device of an eagle. Other examples of the flying eagle found on shields are from; (i) the exterior of a Kylix of the Black-Figured Pottery of Attica⁽⁴⁾; (ii) a Black-Figured Corinthian Krater⁽⁵⁾ depicting the solemn march of Hector; (iii) an Ionian clay relief⁽⁶⁾; (iv) a Proto-Corinthian vase⁽⁷⁾.

The eagle in various poses often as a bird of prey and sometimes in association with snakes, occurs on Greek coins, most of them belonging to a period later than that of the Black-Figured Pottery of Attica. These coins come from various parts of Greece (including its colonies), e.g., Elis⁽¹⁾, Chalcis in Euboea⁽²⁾, Sinope⁽³⁾, Macedonia⁽⁴⁾, Abydos⁽⁵⁾, Galatia⁽⁶⁾, and Crete⁽⁷⁾. Under the Ptolemy dynasty the eagle became the

1. Rodenwaldt, *Historia del Arte*, III, fig. on p. 198 (Barcelona, 1933); *Historia Universal*, E.A.I, fig on p. 343; Nettleship, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, fig. on p. 668—(London, 189
2. Commenting on this plate Nettleship, *op. cit.*, p. 667, remarks "Platters of the same type have been found at Naukratis in Egypt".
3. One from a Black-Figured Amphora in the Br. Museum, Cf. Woodward, *Perseus*, pl. facing p. 48 (Cambridge, 1937); and the other from a Chalcidian vase. Cf. *The Cambridge Ancient History. Plates I*, p. 377.
4. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Fascicule 2, Gr. Brit. III H.e. pl. 8, 2c.
5. *Historia Universal*, E.A. I, fig. on p. 374.
6. Bossert, *Romay Grecia*, fig. on p. 236 (Barcelona, 1937).
7. Lorimer, "Notes on the Sequence and distribution of the Fabrics called Proto-Corinthian", p. 341, fig. 18, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXXII, Part II (1912).
1. Gardner, *The Art of Greece*, pl. LI, I, (London 1925); *Encyclopædia Universal*, III, fig. on p. 622.
2. Smith & Marindin, *Classical Dictionary*, p. 219 (London 1909).
3. *Ibid.*, fig. on p. 680.
4. *Encyclopedia Universal*, III, fig. on p. 622; Smith & Marindin *op. cit.*, p. 680.
5. *Ibid.*, fig. on p. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, fig. on p. 273.
7. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 181 (Cambridge 1912).

emblem of Egypt. This was probably due to Greek influence as Soter, the founder of this house, was a general under Alexandar the Great (8). On the Ptolemy coins(9) the eagle occurs frequently.

In Greek religion the eagle was the bird of Zeus, the chief god of the Greek pantheon(10) : in Roman of his counter-part, Jupiter. From Homer's *Iliad* we learn that the eagle was the messenger of Zeus.

“As thus he(11) spoke, behold in open view,
On sounding wings a dexter eagle flew.
To Jove's glad omen all the Grecians rise
And hail, with shouts, his progress through the skies”(12).

In Book VIII of the *Iliad* the eagle of Zeus is described as a bird of prey.

“His eagle, sacred bird of heaven: he sent,
A fawn his talons truss'd (divine portent!)(13).

The eagle must have been regarded as the bird of Zeus even in pre-Homeric times as “Homer was no preacher or innovator in religion”(14).

In the representations of Zeus on Greek and Italian Pottery(1), reliefs(2), sculpture(3), and coins(4) the eagle is usually seen perched on his sceptre. The Greeks used to engrave an eagle on the frontispieces of the temples of Zeus, whence these frontispieces are called “Eagles”(5).

The eagle also played its part in Etruscan civilization, and the Etruscan artists did not forget it. On the central panel of the well-known bronze car(6) of the Italo-Etruscan type are two eagles with their heads upside-down, and wings hanging loose. On a side panel is a representation of the duel between Achilles and Memnon. Achilles appears to be piercing Memnon in the heart with his sword. On Memnon's sword, which is directed against his opponent, an eagle is perched with its beak touching the sword. When I first saw this picture, I found the position of the bird rather intriguing and naturally wanted to know its significance. I sought

8. Smith and Marindin, *op. cit.*, pp. 765, 766.

9. *Encyclopedia Universal*, p. 623; Smith & Mar. *on. cit.*, pp. 765, 768.

10. Farnell, “Zeus” in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVIII, p. 975, (Cambridge, 1911).

11. Ajax.

12. *Iliad*, XIII, p. 252.

13. P. 148.

14. Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 975.

(1) Richepin, *op. cit.*, I, pl. facing p. 78, fig. on p. 61 pl. facing p. 40.

(2) *Ibid.*, fig. on p. 75.

(3) *Ibid.*, fig. on p. 47.

(4) Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, 3; Nettle-ship, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 147.

(5) *Encyclopedia Universal*. III, p. 622.

(6) In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Found in 1902. See Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, pl. LXXXVIII. Details LXXXIX XC. Cf. pp. 19, 20. (Milan, 1935).

enlightenment from Fr. Heras. It seems that the eagle here is the symbol of fertility⁽⁷⁾. The same point seems to be illustrated on a Greek vase painting⁽⁸⁾ representing the fight between Athena and the giant Enceladus, above whose head is an eagle.

I have come across two more examples of the eagle in Etruscan art. Both of them are on the same side of a bronze tripod⁽⁹⁾, discovered in Perugia, with figures in relief. The eagles are shown flying from right to left, as is the case with the representation of the eagle on Greek shields. The second eagle from the top is seen behind a rider on a Winged horse, between whose legs a dog is running.

From Etruria to Rome is not a far cry, and the Etruscans, among other things, seem to have handed down the cult of the eagle to the Romans, for "in the early history of Rome the Etruscans play a prominent part"⁽¹⁾. Even before Marius made it the sole military emblem of the Roman legions, only the "Eagle" was carried into battle while the other ensigns were left in the camp⁽²⁾. Augustus made it the badge of the Empire⁽³⁾. A very good specimen of the Imperial Eagle is the one from the Trajan Forum⁽⁴⁾. In this example the eagle is seen with a beribboned wreath round it. Its wings are outstretched, and beak turned right⁽⁵⁾. It is pertinent to enquire why it was that the Romans held the eagle in such great honour. The reason, however, is not far to seek. To the Romans, in their irresistible march of conquest, the eagle, proud conqueror in its own sphere, was a symbol of victory. Thus the Roman eagle is the last phase in the evolution of the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle.

The above survey, incomplete though it is, throws into relief one aspect of the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean culture. We have seen that it was principally as a bird of prey that the eagle was honoured by all the old nations included in the survey, and that it was generally with some god. For example, in Hindu mythology Garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, in Sumer Im-dugud is the bird of Ningirsu, in Egypt Ibis is associated with Thoth, and in Greece and Rome the eagle is the *Ales Jovis*. Thus, after studying the role which the eagle plays in the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean civilizations we are able to understand better the true significance of Fr. Heras' remark⁽¹⁾: "The Proto-Indo-Mediterranean civilizations, proceed

(7) Cf. *Encyclopedia Universal*, III, p. 622. "Among the Greeks the eagle was the queen of birds and, like, Jupiter, the dispenser of light, fertility, and fortune".

(8) Richepin, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 10.

(9) Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. XCI, 1. Cf. p. 20.

(1) Norton, "Etruria" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, IX, p. 854 (Cambridge, 1910).

(2) Cf. Calza, "L'Aquila come Emblema Militare Roman" in *Encyclopedia Italiana*, III, p. 795 (Milan, 1929).

(3) *Encyclopedia Universal*, III, p. 623.

(4) Cossio and Pijoan, *op. cit.*, V. p. 419, fig. 590 (Madrid, 1934); Pijoan, *History of Art*, I, p. i.

(5) In other examples of the Imperial Eagle the beak may be seen turned left. Cf. *Encyclopedia Universal*, III, pl. 3 facing p. 622.

(1) Modified.

ing all from the same root, have all similar essential elements, though taking all pride in their characteristic sidelights⁽²⁾”.

Survivals of “HELIOLITHIC CULTURE” in Kerala.

By

Mr. K. Mammen, Trivandrum

The heliolithic or ‘sunstone’ culture included many or all of the following practices:—

1. The use of the symbol known as Swastika for good luck.
2. Religious association of the sun and the serpent.
3. The queer custom of sending the father to bed when a child is born.
4. Tattooing.
5. Artificial deformation of the head of the young by bandages.
6. The practice of massage.
7. Megalithic monuments.
8. The making of mummies.
9. Circumcision.

In Elliot Smith’s *Migrations of Early Culture*, it is suggested that at some period in human history there seems to have been a special type of Neolithic culture widely spread in the world, which had a group of features so curious and so unlikely to have been independently developed in different regions of the earth as to compel us to believe that it was in effect one culture. It existed through all the regions inhabited by the Mediterranean race, and beyond, through India, Further India, along the Pacific Coast of China, then it spread across the Pacific to Mexico and Peru.

Elliot Smith is of opinion that these practices existed all over the Mediterranean—Indian Ocean,—Pacific area. But these practices do not occur in the early homes of the Nordic or Mongolian peoples, nor do they extend southward beyond Equatorial Africa.

When and how this culture spread throughout such an extensive area may be interesting questions. For many years, from 15,000 to 1,000 B.C., this culture and its possessors may have been slowly spreading around the globe, drifting by canoes across wide seas. The home of this culture according to Elliot Smith was the Mediterranean and North African region.

It was then the highest culture in the world, it sustained the most highly developed communities, and it spread slowly age by age. The first civilisation in Egypt and the Euphratis-Tigris valley probably developed out of this widespread culture. The Semitic nomads of the Arabian desert seem to have been at this stage of culture.

(2) From “The Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean Race”, in *The New Review*, (Calcutta, September 1941).

We may consider how far Kerala culture was influenced by any of these practices:—

1. The use of Swastika for good luck: From the point of view of religious symbolism, nine types of crosses are mentioned.* Among non-Christian crosses there is the gammate cross, because it can be resolved into four gammas joined at right angles, next to the equilateral cross it is the most widely diffused form throughout antiquity.

In India, it bears the name Swastika (Sw well, and Asti it is) when the limbs are bent towards the right, and Sauvastika when they are turned to the left. The Buddhists employed it largely, and it formed a symbol on the Buddha pada, and along with Buddhism it spread to China and Japan. In China it was used as a sign for the sun.

The Hindus make frequent use of this figure, and they distinguish between the Swastika representing the male principle, and the God Ganesa, and the Sauvastika the female principle, and the goddess Kali. It became a symbol of prosperity, fertility and blessing. In the Bronze Age, it may have existed in the valley of the Danube, and then gradually spread to west and east, to India, China, and Japan. There is scarcely another symbol which has given rise to such diverse interpretations. Men have seen in it "running water, and air or the god of the air, fire or the bow and drill apparatus, the lightning, the female sex, the union of the two sexes, &c...." Its origin may also be traced to the mystic or sacred number seven, and then it can be regarded as four sevens put together*.

2. Religious Association of the Sun and the Serpent:—

In Egypt, the loftiest object of worship was light, represented by the sun. The ancient Egyptians probably realised that "from the sun we receive warmth that keeps us alive, and the radiation that makes our vegetation and the crops that feed us, grow. Indirectly it sends us the rain that quenches our thirst". It is usually believed that the sun and the serpent worship was borrowed by the Egyptians from their ancient neighbours in Africa. But Paul Brunton** shows that it was brought from the continent of Atlantis. Atlantis is no longer a fiction of Greek philosophers, Egyptian priests and American Indian tribes; individual scientists had collected a hundred proofs of its existence and more. The men who had inhabited prehistoric Egypt, who had carved the sphinx, and founded the world's oldest civilization were men who had made their exodus from Atlantis. They took with them their religion represented by the sun. They built pyramidal temples of the sun throughout Ancient America.

The serpent cult. Underneath the doctrines and practices of the snake charmers of Egypt, there lay a remnant of some ancient serpent worshipping cult, that went back, perhaps to immeasurable antiquity. It was but a relic of one of the dark continents of earliest religions. It is a striking contrast that in all Christian countries the serpent is taken

* Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion—Article on Cross.

* H. Spencer Lewes—Rosicrucian Order. Self Mastery and Fate, Ch.V.

** Paul Brunton—A search in Secret Egypt.

as a symbol of evil alone, whereas in almost all ancient civilizations and among most of the few remaining primitive ones today, it was and is recognised as being divided into two species—the divine and the evil. All over Africa, all over India and in most parts of central America serpent worship has existed as a reality.

Among worshipful animals the serpent predominates in Egypt, either because of its supposed good qualities or through man's fear; and the cult of the cobra and asp occurs in the earliest times. The sun god is also figured as a serpent. The cult of the serpent in India is of special importance.

Origin. Serious loss of life caused by them sufficiently explains the respect and worship paid to them. Attempts have been made to prove that this worship was introduced into India by Scythian invaders from Central Asia, but there was no general serpent cult among them. The wide destruction and loss of life caused by the snake in India warrants the conclusion that the cult was probably local*.

In no part of India is the cult more general than in South India, specially in Kerala. Here we find the kavu, usually in the south-west corner, in the gardens of all respectable Malayali Hindus, with a snake shrine, and a granite stone chitrakuttu kallu. Serpent worship in South India is of early date. An inscription at Banavasi in Kanara records the erection of a cobra stone in the middle of the first century A.D. Serpent worship is common among the forest tribes also. In India all the features descent from the snake, the use of its name, as a sept-tittle, the taboo which prevents its slaughter, and the respect paid to it when dead, show that the people venerated the serpent.

The origin of the cult is to be sought in the effect which all animals had upon the mind of man, a feeling that they were wiser and subtler than man. This was specially true of the serpent, because of its swift, graceful and mysterious motion. Just as a snake assumes a hundred different patterns in its movements, and yet remains one, so the universe assumed many patterns—shapes or forms of things and creatures—and yet in its essential nature remains the one spirit. Just as the snake periodically throws off its old skin, and assumes a new one, so the forms which compose the universe die, and are then quickly or slowly thrown back into the primal state of matter. The new skin of the serpent stands for the new form into which that matter can be shaped. Just as the serpent continues to live in spite of the death of its outer skin, so matter is undying and remains immortal despite the death of its outer forms.

The serpent offers a perfect symbol of the energizing creative force of the supreme Spirit. The serpent is self-moving, unassisted by hands or feet, so also is the creative force entirely self-moving as it passes from form to form in the building up of a world. "So the serpent symbol rears its head over the ancient world, with two distinct heads—a devil to be fought and dreaded and a divinity to be revered and worshipped, as the creator of all things, and as the source of all evil". The Pharaohs wore

* Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics—Article on Serpent.

* Article, Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion.

the figure of a hooded serpent in the front of their head dress, as a symbol of their claimed divine descent.

3. *The queer custom of sending the father to bed when child is born.* The European name of this practice is or 'hatching' and it existed in South America, and the West Indies. "When a child is born, the mother goes presently to her work, but the father takes to his hammock, and undergoes a course of dieting. Sometimes he passes the first five days without eating or drinking anything, and for the space of a whole month he abstains from everything but light food.

An attempt to account for this practice has been made by Bachofen in his treatise on that early stage of society when the rule of kinship on the mother's side prevailed, which in the course of ages has been generally superseded by the opposite rule of kinship on the father's side. In his view it belonged to the period of this great social change, being a symbolic act performed by the father for the purpose of taking on himself the parental relation to the child which had been previously held by the mother. But this is not the only explanation, for it can be traced in other cases also.

It prevailed in Southern India. Mr. F. M. Jennings describes it as usual among natives of the higher castes about Madras, Seringapatam, and on the Malabar Coast. It is stated that a man at the birth of his first son or daughter by the chief wife, or for any son afterwards will retire to bed for a lunar month living principally on a rice diet, abstaining from exciting diet and from smoking; at the end of the month he bathes, puts on a fresh dress and gives his friends a feast. The people of this district of India, described as mainly of indigenous Dravidian stock, more or less mixed with Aryan Hindu. They are Hinduized to a great degree in religion and habits but preserve some of their earlier customs among which cowvade which is not known as an Aryan Hindu practice must probably be counted.

This practice may be traced in Europe from ancient into modern times in the neighbourhood of the Pyrennees, and on the coast of the Bay of Biscay. It cannot be definitely said whether it was borrowed from a common source, like the geographical distribution of plants, from which the botanist argues that they have travelled from a distant home; or like other magical fancies, the Couvade seems to belong to certain low stages of the reasoning process in the human mind, and may for all we know have sprung up at different times and places*. Among the Malapantaram, one of the hill tribes of Travancore during the period of pollution after child birth the husband also cannot do any work. He cannot leave the hut, and is served with food inside by his relations. He cannot go out to hunt, to gather food, or for any other purpose.**

4. *Tattooing.* Early historians and writers, long before the Christian era show that in those days tattooing, circumcision, and skull deformation were probably practised from earliest times. The reason for this on

1. The Rev. Cohn, J.R. O.T. Modern Research, p. 158.

* E. B. Tylor. Researches into the Early History of Mankind, Published 1878, pp. 292-305.

** Krishna Iyer, Castes & Tribes of Travancore, Vol. I, p. 104.

the part of the pre-historic man can only be conjectured by analogy with modern primitive peoples. The factors behind such practices may be classified as: Tribal Convention, Religion, Punishment and Health.***

"Tattooing is of considerable antiquity, and has been found from the aborigines of Australia to the refined Japanese". Flinders, Petrie and others discovered some sign of Tattoo in the pre-dynastic tombs of the old Egyptians. Among the ancient natives in the West Indies, Mexico and Central America, its practice was general. In the Malay Archipelago, Burma and India, its use and significance had a magico-religious, as well as a social aspect. Many races believe that its efficacy extends beyond the present life to that of the next world, where they serve as marks of identification, e.g., Nagas of Manipur, Kayans of Borneo &c."

Many theories have been put forward as to its origin and development. According to Herbert Spencer "it arose from the practice of making blood offerings to departed spirits"; others regard it as one of the popular customs that have sprung from primitive therapeutics. G. Elliot Smith finds it along the coast lines of a great part of the world, and includes it in the culture-complex of the heliolithic track (The Migrations of Early Culture, p. 7).

Among the Kanikkar, one of the hill tribes of Travancore, tattooing is still common*. "The operation is the woman's job, and she does it single-handed. The man lies down on his back, and the woman pricks the skin on the fore-head with needles, and lampblack or charcoal powder and manimathi are mixed with the breast milk of a woman. Any woman versed in the art may tattoo another woman. In some places one male may tattoo another. At one time tattooing may have been common in the plains of Travancore also, but like some other customs, for example the wearing of the hair in a knot which had disappeared, this practice also may have disappeared as it was inconvenient and painful. Once even "Syrian Christian men tattooed with a cross on the upper arm, and a cross and their initials in the lower arm"*** as they once used to wear their hair in a knot, and ear rings.

5. *Skull deformation* May be the result of deliberate intention or of chance. It occurs in nearly every part of the world, though commonest in the Americans, and least common, if at all existent, in Australia. Intentional deformation is carried out from various motives, to have a long pointed, or a flat depressed shape for the head. Various methods are employed, the commonest of which are bandaging, and by tying the child's head to a flat board fixed to the occipital region. In Malabar the usual method adopted is careful massaging of the head of the child.

Another common practice in Africa, found also in South India, is the filing or chipping of teeth to serve either as a tribal mark, or as an initiation step, or for both* purposes. Among the Malavetans, one of the hill

*** Encyclopaedia Britannica: Art. on mutilation. Vol. 12.

* Krishna Iyer, L. K. Castes & Tribes of Travancore, Vol. I, p. 65.

** Thurston, Castes & Tribes of Malabar, Article, Syrian Christian, p. 456.

* Encyclopaedia Britannica, Article on Mutilation.

tribes of Travancore, the most interesting custom is that of chipping the upper incisor teeth in the form of short serrated cones to distinguish their caste. This custom is found among the Kaders of Cochin State. It is gradually dying out, as the operation causes great pain.**

7. Megalethic Monuments. In Egypt, the Pyramids and Mastabas can be included under this group. The early kings erected them to enclose their tombs. At Sakkara near Cairo the stepped pyramid has a resemblance to the Ziggurat form of Mesopotamia. The Pyramids for the most part were the tombs of the kings. There is no parallel elsewhere to a work of this magnitude and finish at such an early age. The mastabas were built structures of rectangular form with sloping walls containing tomb chambers.

The ancient Egyptians, and the Sumerians who inhabited the area between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, share the distinction of having been the first architects. The oldest known brick work, dating from about 3500 B.C. was constructed by the Sumerians, while the eldest surviving building of stone masonry dating from about 2940 B.C. was erected by the Egyptian architect Imhotap. The great Pyramid covers an area of thirteen acres and contains 2,300,000 stone blocks, each of which weighs $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons. The base of the pyramid has sides 756 ft. long, and the top is 450 ft. above the ground. According to a Greek historian, the building of this pyramid occupied 100,000 men for twenty years.¹

Kerala Megaliths As in many parts of the world, Megaliths, rude stone structures are found in Kerala. The Megaliths are considered as pre-historic monuments, and are usually associated with the cult of the dead, and they consist of—Menhirs², Cromlechs³, Dolmens⁴, Cistvans⁵ or Cairns, stone evicles and barrows. The Mala-Arayans of Travancore and Cochin hills even now make a small kistaven of small slabs of stone, or shall slabs of stone, lay in them a long pebble to represent the body, and place a flat stone over it with ceremonies and offerings to the spirit of the deceased who is supposed to dwell in the pebble. These stone monuments were constructed on account of the primitive belief that unless the departed spirit had a home, and other things as in life, it would hover restless around its old abode and prove troublesome doing harm to the living.

There are many tumuli of the Malayarayans on the hills of Travancore, sometimes surrounded with long splintered pieces of granite from eight to twelve or fifteen feet in length with sacrificial altars and other remains. evidently centuries old.

The dolmens are megalithic monuments belonging to the Neolithic period. In the habitat of the Malayarayans are found dolmens in the

** Krishna Iyer, L. K. Castes & Tribes of Travancore, Vol. I, pp. 155-160.

1. Dunbar & Wheeler—Bk. of Facts, Homes & Temples, p. 383 & 371.

2. Single Stone, or tall crude obelisks, erected in commemoration of the dead.

3. A Number of menhirs, or standing stones arranged more or less in a circle.

4. Consist of 3 or 4 standing stones covered with a cap stone to form a chamber.

5. Resembled a stone coffin, consisting of a stone chamber underneath the ground covered over with a top slab and indicated on the surface either by menhirs or small stone circles.

6. R. D. Poduval, Megaliths in Travancore.

uplands, once thought to have been the burial places of mighty chiefs, or temples used by the priests. They are called Pandukulies, i.e., pits made by Pandus or Pandavas. The stones used for the erection of these monuments are of many sizes and shapes, most of them weighing several tons. The greatest length of one of the Cromlechs is 157 feet and its width 65 feet.¹

There are various theories concerning the spread of the megalithic idea :—

1. That these tombs are the work of a travelling people.

2. The diffusion of megalithic monuments was the result of the journeys of merchant adventurers.

3. Mr. W. J. Perry claims that these monuments were “the tombs and temples of the children of the sun; the Egyptians of the sixth and later dynasties, whose lust for pearls, gold, copper &c. led them hither and thither until they had found settlements in the regions of their supply. Elliot Smith supports this view, and even ventures to refer to the separate groups of megaliths as mining camps. According to Smith, the varieties of form represent different stages in the degradation of the early graves, while the single dolmen is nothing more than the “Sardab” a chamber inside the Egyptian ‘Mastaba’. But Professor Karge is of opinion that Egypt was not the home of the Dolmen.¹ Mr. T. D. Kendrick is of opinion that the simple dolmen is exactly the type of structure likely to be the result of primitive men’s first building experiment in a rocky district. Although many of the western scholars like Perry, Elliot Smith and others are inclined to attribute the origin of the Malabar Megaliths to the contact with the early civilization of Egypt, it is difficult to ascertain how far South India was indebted to Egypt for this. That these dolmens and menhirs are to be associated with the ancestors of the Dravidians is clear from their scarcity in the region north of the Vindhya, which may partly be explained by the absence of material for such construction. The Kistavens from the hill regions of Malabar are slightly different from those found elsewhere. It is possible that they were made under the influence of the religious belief in the transmigration of the soul.

Probable date. The dolmens found in the High Ranges may be taken to represent the tumuli of the iron age, and present a great similarity in structure to those existing in other parts of South India, showing a uniformity of culture, which is pre-Dravidian in character, and “associated with races decidedly not Aryan” (Peet). “The beginnings of megalithic cult in India may be taken as roughly 2500 B.C., and allowing some time, (say 300 to 500 years) for the Dravidian domination considering the extent of the languages there, we might roughly arrive at 1000 or 800 B.C. as the approximate limit of the Pre-Dravidian domination in the south, when we might naturally expect their megalithic cults to have dominated.” (Dr. Panchanan Mitra Pre-historic India, p. 337).

1. Archaeological Dept. Administration Report 1114 M.E. pp. 8-11. Recently discovered Megalithic monuments.

This date obtained from archaeological evidence may be verified by ethnological and traditional sources. The Mala-Arayans though they claim to be autochthonous in their original home in the Rani reserve forest, and migrated in all directions owing to stress of over-population, the weight of tradition points to migration from north to south. It is said that Agastya repaired to Dwarka (Tamil Tivarupati), and taking with him eighteen families of Vels or Velirs and others, moved on to the south with the Aruvalar tribes, who appear to have been the ancestors of the Kurumbas.¹ According to Dr. A. H. Keane, the Kurumbas are the remnants of a great widespread people, who erected dolmens and form one of the pre-Dravidian tribes of southern India.² In the south, Agastya cleared the forests and built up kingdoms, settling all the people that he had brought with him. This migration may have been about 1075 B.C. This conquest of the south by Agastya has been accepted as a fact or tradition in history, for Rama, the hero of Ramayana, compared his recovery of Sita to that of Agastya conquering the impracticable and inaccessible southern regions. The dolmen builders are said to be pre-Dravidian in origin.

This date may be verified with the help of certain events which took place outside Kerala. The beginning of Aryan migration from their original home, can be explained without postulating an earlier beginning for such a migration than 2500 B.C. Recent discoveries in Cappadocia at Boghazkoi, revealed inscriptions, containing the names of deities known in the earliest Indian Records—Indra and Varuna. The inscriptions date from 1400 B.C. and here we stumble upon the Aryans on their move towards the east. To the same period belong the famous letters from Tel-el-Amara with reference to the people of Mitani in North-western Mesopotamia whose princes bear names similar to Aryan names in form. The Aryans may have reached the Indian border about 1200 B.C. Max-Müller¹ on the basis of religious and literary evidence divided the Vedic period into four according (1) to the Chandas, to the older and more primitive hymns the date assigned is 1200-1000 B.C., (2) to the Mantra, including later portions of the Rig Veda 1000-1800 B.C., (3) to the Brahmanas 800-600 B.C., (4) and to the Sutra literature 600-200 B.C. Between 1000-800 B.C. and in the Brahmana period, the localisation of civilization in the more eastern country is definitely achieved, and the Aryans settled down in the Middle country and established powerful and extensive kingdoms. It is not likely that the Aryan civilization had yet overstepped the Vindhya, which is not mentioned by name in the Vedic texts. During this period of Aryan expansion, some of the Dravidians of the Madhyadesa may have been pressed back beyond the Vindhyas, which may have led to dislocation, and the increasing settlements of Dravidians in Kerala, and the decline of the power of the pre-Dravidian people and culture, and the growth of Dravidian culture and power in Kerala.

1. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 45-46.

2. A. H. Keane—*Man Past and Present*, p. 424.

3. O. C. Gangoly.

@ The Agasta tradition is emphatically denied by some writers—See Sivaraja Pillai.

INDIA THE HOME OF ARYANS

By Mr. K. Kapur, M.A., L.T., Lucknow.

(Summary)

The paper is intended to invite attention of scholars of Indian History to the theory propounded by Shri Sampurnanand in his recent Hindi publication (*Aryan Ka Adi-desha* (Leader Press, Allahabad) that the original home of Aryans was the land of seven rivers in north-western India from Sindhu to Saraswati. The earlier favourite theory of European scholars in favour of Central Asia has during recent years been replaced by the *Danubian lands* theory. Hindu Pandits in India have held to the belief that India was the original home of Aryans, but this belief got a severe shaking from one among themselves when the late Mr. B. G. Tilak propounded the *Arctic Lands* theory. Tilak's theory has not convinced any oriental scholar outside India, but Shri Sampurnanand devotes considerable space in his book to refute Tilak's theory. He agrees that the Iranians, Greeks and Indo-Aryans of the Punjab belong to the same stock, but he holds that a religious war (*Devasura Sangram*), not the pressure of population on land, was responsible for the movements of Aryans from the Punjab to Iran and thence through the Caspian and Black seas (then probably connected with each other) to the Balkan peninsula and the Mediterranean islands.

Shri Sampurnanand considers that the recent finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa establish the priority of Rig Vedic Aryan culture to the non-Aryan Semitic culture as revealed by these finds, but he does not agree that there is any evidence of Aryan Influence on them.

Shri Sampurnanand's theory is based mainly on the evidence he has deduced from Rigvedic hymns. Further investigations by Antiquarians, Anthropologists and Philologists are necessary to strengthen or modify the theory propounded by him. The urgency of investigation is established if it is recalled how the politicians of Germany have misused the *Danubian lands* theory about the original home of Aryans.

ORIGIN OF MAGADHA

By

Mr. L. B. Keny, Bombay.

(Summary)

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda where fever is wished away to the Gandharis, Mujawants, Angas and Magadhas.

Different scholars explain the term "Magadha" in different ways. Some of them explain it as derived from the people so named, while others argue that the word first came into existence from the land so named in early days. And thus these various explanations make the origin of the name Magadha very obscure.

One group of scholars derive the term Magadha from the Magas of Persia, who, according to the Bhavisya Purana, were introduced in India by Krishna's son Samba. But this is a very late derivation, and so should be safely discredited, the cult of sun-worship, according to the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, having been penetrated to India about the time of the Kusana prince Kaniska.

Another composition about the origin of a Magadha as an off-spring of a Vaisya father and a Ksatriya mother is too fabulous to be believed in. This term Magadha meaning one of a mixed caste was coerced by the Aryans, upon the original non-Aryan Magadhas known for their minstrelsy, because the latter were outside the pale of Aryanism and so looked down upon with contempt by the former.

The story of king Prthu having presented the Magadha, with a country being known later on as Magadha, after the Magadha, according to Pargiter, is a "fable", giving "a fanciful explanation of the names". The Vratya hymn of the Atharva Veda stating the Magadha as "laughter" and "thunder" of the Vratya, in the west and north respectively, and the passage of the White Yajurveda mentioning a Magadha as a victim bound by Savitar to the stake of the Purusamedha sacrifice for "excessive noise" *athi krshṭaya Magadham*, no doubt prove the bardic element of the Magadha, but does not prove, in the least, the origin of the term.

Mahidhara explains the Magadhas as *Sudra Brahmana vyathirikṭhah pacavah* (uninitiated persons who are neither Sudras nor Brahmanas). They were the Dravidians, the original inhabitants of Magadha, who were absolutely outside the Aryan pale. They composed their bardic accounts in a non-Aryan language, and so those accounts were simply a loud prolonged cry to the Aryans who had an absolutely different dialect of their own. And that is just the reason why terms like "laughter", "thunder", etc., became correlated with Magadha.

These bards were the first-hand informers of the historic events in ancient times. They even formed a part of the army on the battlefield. The historic epics and Puranas are a direct outcome of the recitations of these ancient royal bards. And there is no exaggeration when Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri says that the "people of Magadha had a good historical sense, and a sound chronological idea", and that "the art of writing history was a peculiar feature of Magadha".

When the Aryans first met the bards of Magadha, they called them 'Magadhas'; and it was since then that the word Magadha, used for a minstrel, being brought in vogue first by the Aryans. From this we can affirm that the word 'Magadha' existed even before the Aryans landed in India, but not as a word meaning a minstrel.

Although 'Magadha' proper is frequently referred to in the Atharva Veda, and the later literature, it is not mentioned, accordingly, in the Rgveda. But the Kikatas, said to be synonymous with the Magadhas, do find a place in a Rgvedic hymn. With the exception of Pramaganda no other king (?) of Magadha appears in the Vedic literature. When the Magadhan bards visited the Aryan provinces, they sang the praises of their king Maganda, who being very powerful, was included by the Aryans in

their hymns as Pra-Maganda ('pra'—great). But according to the grammatical rules of the Dravidian languages, "Maganda" ending in 'da' cannot originally be the name of a king as all the names of persons end in 'an'. In 'Maganda', 'da' is a suffix meaning 'to give'. Thus Maganda of the Rgveda means "the gift of Magan" who was the real king of Magadha. "Pra-Magan-da" thus originally meant "the gift of the great Magan"; and this gift is the very land known as Magadha having derived the name from its king Magan.

THE VRATYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Their proto-Indian origin, functioning, and location)

By

Mr. A. P. Karmarkar, Bombay.

(Summary)

One of the most puzzling problems that still requires a further elucidation in the field of Indian research is the working and location of the Vratyas. It was Rajaram Ramakrishna Bhagawat that first drew the attention of the scholarly world towards the non-Aryan character of the cult of the Vratyas. In fact it was he who asserted that "the graphic description of the Brahmana clearly establishes that the word originally denoted some non-Aryan tribes. As all these non-Aryan tribes had a covering for the head to keep the sun off and were clad in white garments, with black borders, and had a silver currency and painted shoes, they can not be said to have been savages"(1)

But partly on account of the lack of Puranic studies then, and partly on account of the fact that the excavations of the different sites of Harappa and other centres were made after the twenties of the present century, the question of their proper identification remained unsolved. In the meanwhile, Dr. Berriedale Keith tried to prove the Aryan character of this early institution. But the Puranic studies, undertaken by me, clearly point to the Dravidian nature of the cult of the Vratyas—it being in our opinion, the earliest institution of the Dravidians, pervading through the whole of India—and to nullify the effects of which the Aryans started a parallel institution of the Chaturvarnya, and later on invented a new method of conversion by introducing the Vratya-stomas.

The Atharva Veda devotes one whole hymn xv towards the mystic glorification of the Vratya. Later, the word is used by Apastamba (in the sense of a Srotriya), the Maha-Bharata, Baudhayana, Manusmṛti, and the Puranas, as meaning either a vagrant, an outcaste, or a member belonging to the mixed castes, respectively.

The cult of the Vratyas.

The cult of the Vratyas had a unique system of its own. Further the cult that is represented in the Atharva-Veda and later literature exhibits some connecting links with the healthy civilisation of the Mohenjo Daro

(1) Bhagawat, J.B.B.E.A.S., Vol. XIX. p. 303.

times. This point has been also greatly stressed in his recent work by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁽¹⁾. If so, it evidently indicates something of a pre-Aryan institution, which was only modified and made as their own by the Aryans in later times.

The Vratyas and the Mohenjo Daro Civilization

The Atharva Veda describes that the Eka-vratya (proto-type of Siva) was the Supreme Being of the Universe; that his associate was the Pumschali (harlot); that his apparel consisted of an *usnisa* (head-gear), *pravartas* (ear-rings), *kalmali*, the *Mani* or jewel: that he was an ascetic and knew all the practices of Yoga; that he used to drink *sura* (wine); and finally, that his various manifestations were Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahadeva and Isana respectively. Further it is said that his priest was the Magadha. Besides this, the Atharva Veda and the later literature throw a flood of light on the cult of the Vratyas, namely, that they used to take a vow: that they used to carry a whip (*pratoda*) and a small bow (*jyahroda*); that they used to ride in waggons (*vipatha*); that they used to wear garments made of wool etc., and sheep-skins; that they used to wear sandals of variegated colour (black hue); and that they used to wear a *niska*. The Vratyas were non-sacrificers. The earlier Vratyas were divided into two classes i.e., Arhants and Yaudhas. But later on they were divided into four divisions—*Hina*, *Garagirs*, *Sama-nichamedhr*, and *Nindila* respectively.

Surprisingly enough, all that is said above has a close resemblance with what is contained in the Mohenjo Daro civilization. The proto-Indians had their own Divine Triad consisting of An, Anil and Amma respectively. Their An was a Yogin *par excellence*. He is depicted as having been seated on a throne, with a head-gear (consisting of a *trisula*) on his head.

The dress of the Mohenjo Daro people was almost the same as that of the Vratyas.

Thus the early institution of the Vratyas was one homogeneous whole—an institution which was revered and reared up by the indigenous peoples of India. In fact it was a unique institution with a definite Deity, divisions, and a definite procedure to follow. The institution seen especially in the light of the great Mohenjo Daro civilization as forming its back-ground, may appear vaster in its magnitude and achievements. Hence the word *Vratya* must have been derived from *vrata* (a vow), as Apastamba would have it. If this be so, then the Rgvedic *vrata* also must convey some sense of borrowing from this original system of the Dravidians.

Who were the Vratyas?

Various scholars have expressed different opinions in regard to the question of the identification and the location of the Vratyas. Bhagawat, Charpentier and Hauer expressed their views, which have a partial value

(1) D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*.

only. Later Keith tried to prove the Aryan character of the Vratyas. Recently, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while identifying their origin with that of the Mohenjo Darrians, opined that they must have been the same as the Magas of Persia.

But the Epic and the Puranic data clearly prove the all-pervading characteristic of the Vratyas. The various references from the Maha-Bharata and the Brahmanda Purana clearly establish the fact that the population of the Punjab, the Andhakas, the Vrsnis, the Choias, the Mahisikas and other tribes were designated as Vratyas.

In view of this, we find that the view-point of Dr. Bhandarkar in regard to the identification of the Vratyas with the Magas is absolutely unconvincing. If at all, the original territory of the Kikatas must have derived its name Magadha rather from the name of its ruler Pramagandha, who ruled over it during the Rg Vedic period. Moreover the immigration of the Magas in India seems to be of a later date e.g., belonging to the time of Kanishka, as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar would have it.

Keith's opinion stands refuted of its own accord, especially in view of the fact, that the cult of the Vratyas was absolutely of a non-Aryan character.

VEDIC KINGSHIP

A study in comparison with Kingship in Greece and Rome

By

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(Summary)

In this article an attempt has been made to trace the similarity in the evolution, position and functions of the Kingship in Vedic India with those of the Kingship of heroic Greece and early Rome.

Kingship was the normal form of government in Vedic India as in Homeric Greece and pre-republican Rome. Monarchy in ancient Greece and Rome originated in conquest as would be evident from the meaning of the Greek word Basileus and of the Latin word Praetor which was one of the original appellation of the early Roman King. Similarly in the Aitareya Brahmana we have reference to the military background of the Vedic Kingship.

The elective character can be traced in the Kingship of Vedic India as also in that of Greece and Rome. Hereditary aspect also can be discerned in all the three cases of Kingship.

As regards functions, while the threefold functions—religious, military and judicial—can be attributed to the Homeric and Roman Kingship the Vedic King differed from his two proto-types in that he was not the formal religious head of the community, that position being held by the *Purohita*.

The Vedic King, like the Kings of Greece and Rome, was under some constitutional checks. The **Samiti** and the **Sabha** occupied positions similar to those of the Assembly of the people and Council of elders in ancient Greece and Rome.

Comparison also can be made with Germanic Kingship as described by Tacitus.

The Vedic Kingship and institution can therefore claim to be compared along with the similar institutions of Greece, Rome and Germany among which Freeman finds so much of agreement.

STUDIES IN THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

By

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

Summary

Gathas ('epic song verses') and narasamsis ('songs in praise of heroes') referred to as distinct branches of learning in the Rgveda and later works. They mark closer approach to history than Vedic gotra and pravara lists—Partial parallels of gathas and narasamsis in Danastutis of Rgveda and Kuntapa hymns of Atharvaveda—Ritual use of gathas and narasamsis illustrated from Brahmanas, Grhyasutras and Srautasutras—Illustrations of different types of gathas and narasamsis—Gathas and narasamsis with all their defects stand forth as precursors of historical kavya—Importance of Itihasa ('legends of gods and heroes') and purana ('legends of origin') in Vedic literature—Their ritual and didactic significance—Their significance as historical compositions not so marked as in later times.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DATA IN THE RAMAYANA

By

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The geographical and historical data in the Vedas must be studied with care to understand the significance of such data in the Ramayana. The Vedas do not contain any traditions of an immigration of Aryans into India. The Himalaya is described as the Uttara Giri (northern mountain). The very term Aryavarta is applied only to the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhya range. Manu describes the land beyond it as Mlecchha Desa. A Mlecchha meant only an outsider. A colony of dissenters went west, like the Pilgrim fathers, into Iran. It is also very likely that another colony went to the Arctic regions and trekked back to the original home after the glacial age and that those Arctic traditions also got mingled with the hoary homeland traditions. The Rig Veda says that Vritra's abode was near the **Sindhu** (Indus) and that Indra slew him and released the rainclouds.

The word *Arya* did not connote any racial concept but connoted only a moral and ethical concept. The people were called by themselves Bharatas and they called their home as Bharata Varsha. Later their dissenting cousins in Persia called them Hindus (corresponding to Sindhu or the Indus). The Greeks called the land Indoi. Eventually we came to be called Hindus and our land was called India.

The words Dasyus, Dasas, Asuras and Rakshasas do not imply non-Aryan tribes but only Aryans who had fallen off from the cultural and religious standards of the main bulk of the people. The Rig Veda calls them *amitras* and *avratas*.

The Ramayana shows a further evolution of the Vedic geographical and historical heritage. It gives us a clear description of North India north of the Vindhya as well as South India South of the Vindhya. Lanka was only the capital of the Rakshasa Kingdom in the island of Ceylon. It was near the seashore and on the top of the Trikoota hill.

The internal evidence in the Ramayana shows that the Vanaras were a largely aryanised community or probably even distant Aryan colony cut off from continuous touch with the homeland of Aryan culture. The Rakshasas were evidently colonists and immigrants into Ceylon who built up a mighty but cruel and vicious civilisation and oppressed and slew the Aryans and were finally overthrown and reclaimed by Rama.

CYRUS THE GREAT AND THE MAHABHARATA BATTLE

By

Dr. H. C. Seth, Amraoti.

Summary

Literary evidence seems to indicate that there is no reference to the Mahabharata epic in the Indian literature before the fifth century B.C. This makes one suspect that the Bharata battle itself did not take place much before the fifth century B.C. The manner in which the names of the individual heroes occur in the latter Brahmanas and the Upanishads, which are assigned by modern scholars to about the sixth century B.C., makes it very probable that the Bharata battle itself took place in that century.

The Pali Buddhist literature also seems to bear out that there was no Mahabharata epic before the fifth century B.C., and that the Bharata battle itself took place about the sixth century B.C. Certain Tibetan Buddhist text speaks of the Pandavas as contemporary of the Buddha himself, this may further support the sixth century theory of the Bharata battle.

In the light of this very likely date of the Bharata battle it may be surmised that the nucleus round which the Mahabharata epic originally grew up was, perhaps, provided by the battle which Cyrus the Great, fought against the Indians, and in which he was defeated and slain. This surmise is based on the following points.

(1) The date of the battle between Cyrus and the Indians broadly synchronises with the date of the Bharata battle. Literary evidence indicates that the Bharata battle took place in the sixth century B.C. Cyrus also flourished in the sixth century B.C. His rise began about 559 B.C. He was defeated and slain in 529 B.C.

(2) Cyrus is the Latinised form of the Persian name Kurush. In the inscriptions of Darius, Cyrus is called as Kurush. These inscriptions emphasise the Aryan descent of the family to which Kurush belonged. Mahabharata makes Duryodhana a prince of the Aryan tribe, 'Kuru', which figures so prominently in the Vedic literature. It may be noted that Cyrus' grandfather was also called as Kurush. It may be that Kuru was the designation of the family to which Cyrus belonged.

(3) The Buddhist literature recognises the Pandavas as a mountain clan. Mahabharata too presumes the Himalayas as the scene at least of the birth and the early childhood of the pandavas... The Markandeya Purana mentions Pandavas together with the Kambojas, Parsvas, Daradas, etc., who undoubtedly were people belonging to the highlands on the north-western confines of India. If this tradition is correct then the Pandavas belonged to the same region to which also belonged the Massagetaes and the Derbikes, who, according to the Greek historians, played the most important part in defeating Cyrus.

(4) We may also carefully note that according to Herodotus (1,216) the Massagetaes hold their wives in common. We may recall the marriage of the five Pandava brothers with Draupadi. According to the Mahabharata the Pandavas declared that it was their old family custom that the bride should be married to all the brothers, and they were bound to follow this custom.

Thus the Pandavas not only appear to belong to the same region as the Massagetaes and the Derbikes, but like the Massagetaes they too had the unique custom of holding the wife in common. These facts make one suspect if the Pandavas were the same people as the Massagetaes of Herodotus. The Pandava brothers were perhaps driven out of their ancestral home in the Hindukush region. They combined with other Indian tribes to regain their lost kingdom. The eastern conquests of Cyrus may have also dislodged many royal families from Afghanistan and the Hindukush region, who may have regained their possession after the defeat of Cyrus.

(5) Cyrus-Tomyris story as given by Herodotus may have a faint echo in the insult of Draupadi by the Kuru prince in the Mahabharata. The story of Tomyris' son being slain by Cyrus may recall the death of Abhimanyu in the Bharata battle.

(6) The statement of Ctesias that Cyrus was mortally wounded by an Indian *who hit him under the hip* in the *thigh* recalls the fatal hit which Bhima, according to the Mahabharata, gave to Duryodhana on his thighs. Like Cyrus, Duryodhana also seemed to have survived the fatal wound for a short time and arranged a revenge against this unmanly attack.

(7) In spite of the efforts in the Mahabharata to glorify the Pandavas and to paint Duryodhana in dark colours, the epic here and there preserves the traditions of the might, the greatness and the goodness of the

Kuru prince. The brief but glorious tribute paid to the Kuru Prince in the Mahabharata and the picture we get of him in the Kiratarjuniya recall the account left by Xenophon of Cyrus the great.

A NEW DATE OF LORD BUDDHA, 1790 B.C.

By

D.S. Triveda. Bhagalpur.

Summary

The paper discusses the various dates of Lord Buddha as advocated by many distinguished Orientalists of east and west. No less than 50 dates have been suggested so far. The most persistent of these dates are B.C. 487 and B.C. 543. It has been tried to show that these are hardly tenable, the first being an artificial reckoning and the second probably dates from the landing of Vijaya Simha in Ceylon.

The author suggests B.C. 1790 as the most probable date which would justify the Pauranika statement that Buddha was in the line of the Ikshvaku and the Ceylonese authority that the Buddha died in the 8th or the 18th year of Ajatasatru of the Sisunaga Dynasty. This date would be in conformity with the Pauranika authorities who reckon and chronicle the history of India from the date of the Mahabharata War which was fought in B.C. 3137, i.e. 36 years before the beginning of the Kali Era in B.C. 3101. (J.I.H. Vol. VXI. pp. 239-48; P. V. Kane Volume, pp. 515-25.). The astronomical data contained in the Manimakhalai goes to prove that the Lord flourished in the fourteenth asterism which falls during the period 1857 B.C. to 1776 B.C. The chronology of Kasmira (J.I.H. XVIII. pp. 49-68) shows that the Buddha flourished in the reign of one of the lost kings. The period of 423 years has been a convenient instrument in the hands of the past historians to bring down the date nearer their own days. 1367 B.C. (1790-423) is the date given by Abul Fazl; (1367-423) i.e. 944 B.C. is probably the only date not given by any authority so far, and B.C. 520 or B.C. 521 (944-423), is the date given by the Dipavamsa. The Saka Era of B.C. 550 had also some influence in determining this date of Buddha. This is the only true Indian date and hence the plea for its consideration. The entire Indian history has so far been based on Alexander Sandracottus synchronism and hence the misunderstanding of ancient Indian Traditions. The writer does not accept the above synchronism and takes an independent view of the Indian chronology since the days of the Mahabharata war.

PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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Education in ancient India had some practical aspects which have not received adequate attention. The details of its curriculam as it was standardised are described by the two learned Chinese scholars, Hiuen

Tsang and I-tsing, on the basis of their personal observation and experience of the working of the Indian educational system in the seventh century A.D. when they visited India. Hiuen Tsang visited India in 629 A.D. and stayed for a period of 16 years up to 645 A.D., out of which he studied at the University of Nalanda as its resident student for a period of 5 years. I-tsing, who followed Hiuen Tsang a few years later, studied at Nalanda for 10 long years. 675-685 A.D. Both these Chinese scholars had, therefore, unique opportunities of observing the Indian educational system in its actual working and at its best at the most renowned centre of education in those days, the University of Nalanda. Both of them indicate the syllabus for education in its three stages, Primary, Secondary, and Higher or Specialised.

The first book of reading was called *Siddham* or *Siddhirastu*, a book which gave "the 49 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet and 10,000 syllables arranged in 300 slokas", showing "combinations between vowels and consonants", and had 12 chapters. It was introduced to the child at the age of 6 and was to be finished by him within a year, in 6 months.

Then the child was introduced to the second book of reading, which was the *Sutra* of Panini, in 1000 slokas, at the age of 8. It is expected to be learnt in 6 months' time.

Next, the child has to go deeper into the study of grammar step by step. For the next 3 years, he has to master the books dealing with the *dhatus* and the three *khilas* which they finish at the age of 13.

Now the young pupil has to perfect further his study of grammar by reading the famous *Kasikavritti*, called by I-tsing the best of all the commentaries on Panini. It comprised 18,000 slokas and was composed by the learned Jayaditya, "a man of great ability, with very striking literary power", who died nearly 30 years before I-tsing's reference to him (i.e. in about 661 A.D.). I-tsing further states: "Boys of 15 years begin to study this commentary and understand it after years. If men of China go to India for study, they have first of all to learn this grammatical work, then other subjects; if not, their labour will be thrown away."

The next step in the course of this primary elementary education was the learning of *Composition* in prose and verse.

On the foundation of a knowledge of Grammar and Composition in their elements, the course for Secondary Education was built up. It comprised a compulsory study of five standardised subjects or *Vidyas*, which were:

- (1) *Sabda-vidya* or *Vyakarana* (grammar and lexicography)
- (2) *Silpasthanavidya* (knowledge of arts and crafts through manual training).
- (3) *Chikitsavidya* (Science of Medicine).
- (4) *Hetuvidya* (Logic) and (5) *Adhyatmavidya* (science of the universal soul, philosophy).

In this ancient scheme of Education, the course for Secondary Education is followed by Higher Education on the basis of specialisation. The scope for such specialisation is provided in the range of studies

comprised in Secondary Education, and the bifurcations it implied. A student going in for higher studies in philosophy, and preparing himself for religious career, and spiritual life, in pursuit of the highest knowledge, would have the foundations for such specialisation well-laid in his previous study of *Hetuvidya* and *Adhyatmavidya*. One who prefers a secular career is also equipped with a preliminary training. If he chooses the medical profession, he is already well-grounded in its elements by his study of *Chikitsavidya* as a compulsory part of the Intermediate Course. Even a student like I-tsing who came all the way from China to India to study Buddhism had to go through its course for Secondary Education and had to study Medical Science as a part of that course. He himself also states that he made "a successful study in medical science," of which the course was not quite elementary in those days, from the details he gives of it. I-tsing also explains the reason for this regulation making medical study compulsory for all students, not excluding even the monks: "Is it not a sad thing," he asks, "that sickness prevents the pursuit of one's duty and vocation? Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves by the study of Medicine? Thus the inclusion of medical study as a compulsory part of education was a humanitarian measure and dictated by the highest ideals of social service as an end of education.

But besides the medical career and specialisation in the study of the Humanities, many a student would like to choose an industrial career by selecting as their vocation the pursuit of select arts and crafts. Even for such a career, previous preparation is provided in what is called *Silpa-thana-vidya* which was also made a compulsory study for all, so that students might discover their natural tastes and latent aptitudes indicating the directions in which they should find the vocations for which they are fitted. We may also note that Education in ancient India in its primary and secondary stages centred round arts and crafts to which it was related as a part of general education and thus had anticipated the Wardha Scheme.

But a practical knowledge of the arts and crafts was also necessary in the organisation of education in the larger residential institutions, the **Viharas**, or Monasteries, in the conditions of those days. We may visualise these conditions on the basis of the details furnished by the aforesaid Chinese scholars in the working of the best and most typical of such institutions, the University of Nalanda. As stated by these two Chinese scholars of this University, there were in residence at the University 8500 students whose education was conducted by a body of 1510 teachers, so that, along with the executive and menial staff, the University had a total population which may be estimated at 12,000. The housing and feeding of this vast population presented problems which the University had to solve by ways and means available in those ancient times.

Firstly, in those days educational endowments, whether State or private, took the form of grants of land and educational institutions were not financed by the State making monetary grants of cash to them. The University of Nalanda was, therefore, thrown on its own resources, and made to find the means of its maintenance out of the landed properties granted to it from time to time in perpetuity. In the time of Hiuen Tsang,

the University was in possession of villages numbering a hundred. In the time of I-tsing, the number increased to more than 200 villages. The University of Nalanda thus came to be one of the biggest landlords of its locality. But it had to utilise and exploit fully its landed properties so as to make them yield as much income as possible for purposes of its needs, its maintenance and expansion. It was not merely a question of merely owning the properties. The responsibility was cast on the University to manage them efficiently as the source from which it could derive its maintenance. The responsibility of donors to the University ceased with their granting the donations which were made not in cash but in kind. It was for the University to see how it could utilise these gifts in kind and extract the largest revenue out of the many villages which it came to own in full proprietorship.

This system of granting educational, religious, and charitable endowments in the shape of permanent gifts of lands and villages meant that the academic side of the University depended upon its equally important business side. It had to maintain an efficient Agricultural Department which could take charge of the cultivation of its vast quantity of lands and large estates distributed among more than 200 villages.

It was well that it should be. It was well that Agriculture in ancient India by system of educational finance came to be the concern of its colleges and Universities, instead of being consigned to the care of an ignorant, indigent, and illiterate peasantry. It was well that the University was made to depend upon the profitable working of its agricultural farms, gardens, and orchards for its maintenance. The University thus became a centre of practical training in the arts and crafts instead of being exclusively a centre of metaphysical and religious studies concerning the things of the spirit.

Glimpses of the way in which the University of Nalanda carried out its agricultural operations and farming are given in the record of I-tsing.

It is, however, to be noted that a Buddhist monk as an individual was not allowed to own any possession or property including land for cultivation. He must live by mendicancy and not by his property, a fetter which binds him to the world which he has renounced. Thus he is called a *Bhikshu* or a beggar. "Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp; passionately strong is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and for a wife", says the *Dhammapadam* (V345). Again: "Whatsoever Bhikshu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him or allow it to be kept in deposit for him—that is an offence involving forfeiture of the goods held" (S.B.E., XII. 26).

The *Samgha*, or any member thereof, was not allowed on any pretext whatsoever to accept or seek for gold or gifts in cash. Gifts in kind alone were acceptable, not their money values (*Mahavagga*, VI. 34, 21). Thus, if a layman tendered to a Bhikshu "the value in barter of a set of robes", it was ordained that the Bhikshu must humbly say he could not accept "the robe-fund" but only the robes, which further must be bought only by his agent and not by himself, so that he might not have any direct contact with cash (*Patimokkha*, p. 23)...

Property which was not permissible to the individual monk was, however, allowed to be held by the entire brotherhood of monks, the *Samgha*. An inventory of the various classes of property permitted to the *Samgha* as its indivisible common property includes *Arama* or lands and *Vihara* or buildings (*Chullavagga*, VI. 15, 2).

In the case of the individual monk, all his possessions were limited to eight articles, viz., the three robes (*tichivara*), a girdle, an alms-bowl, a razor, a needle and a water-strainer to remove the impurities of his drinks and to intercept destruction of life. These are all objects of individual and exclusive and not collective and common possession and enjoyment. From this point of view not only was the possession of land not permissible to the monk, but also its cultivation which was far more objectionable. The religious injunction of the *Patimokkha* is that "a monk who digs the earth or causes it to be dug is liable to punishment."

This injunction, however, was relaxed in the case of a brother-hood of monks which has come into the possession of arable lands the produce of which it needed for its own maintenance which was provided for by its kindly supporters in the shape of such gifts in kind.

The texts seem to indicate that the *Samgha* did not directly undertake the cultivation of its lands. Its function was to organise the cultivation by employing competent agencies for the purpose. The *Vihara* had a special staff of agriculturists who were called *Aramikas*, the superintendents incharge of the *Aramas* or grounds belonging to it. We are told that Emperor Bimbisara of Magadha of about sixth century B.C. placed at the disposal of the venerable monk Pilinda-Vachchha 500 *Aramikas* who were settled in a separate colony of their own, called *Aramikagama*. The University of Nalanda possessing so many villages and such extensive lands for cultivation must have had quite a large number of such agricultural colonies.

The actual method employed for the cultivation of land under the *Samgha* is indicated in a passage of the *Mahavagga* (VI, 39): "Of seedlings belonging to the *Samgha* grown upon private ground, half the produce, O Bhikshus, you may have, when you have given a part to the private owner. Of seedlings belonging to a private person, grown upon ground which is the property of the *Samgha*, you may have the use, when you have given a part to the private owner." This shows that the *Samgha* might sometimes hold a stock of seeds which would be lent to the owner of land needing them for its cultivation. Or, sometimes, the *Samgha* might own the land but not seeds. In either case there was a division of the produce. Seedlings were divided equally between the owner of the seeds and of the land on which the seeds were sown. This is cultivation on the basis of the traditional system of half-share of the produce, which obtains to this day in agricultural India. The Monasteries had thus their lands cultivated by professional peasants on the basis of a share of the produce.

I-tsing throws further light on the system by which the *Samgha* arranged for the cultivation of its lands. He states: "According to the teaching of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the *Samgha*, a share in the product is to be given to the monastic servants or some other

families by whom the actual tilling has been done. Every product should be divided into 6 parts, and $\frac{1}{6}$ should be levied by the *Samgha*; the *Samgha* has to provide the bulls as well as the land for cultivation. Sometimes the division of the produce should be modified according to the seasons.

“Most of the Monasteries follow the above custom, but there are some who are very avaricious and do not divide the produce, but the priests themselves give out the work to servants, male and female, and see that the farming is properly done.”

This shows that Cultivation was done on the basis of a sharing of produce between the proprietor of land and its actual cultivator. The exact division of the produce was determined by circumstances. One-sixth share of the produce was the traditional share payable by the cultivator to the State. In the case of the land granted by the State to a Monastery for its support, the Monastery stepped into the shoes of the State and claimed like the State a sixth of the produce. In the case of *Khas* or direct cultivation undertaken by the owner of land by the employment of paid servants or hired labour, the owner earned greater profits. This system was resorted to not always for the sake of greater gain but to ensure, as I-tsing points out, “that the farming is properly done.” Agriculture cannot prosper unless it is undertaken by those who have necessary knowledge and resources. The system of grants of land to Temples, Mathas, and Viharas made Agriculture the concern of the higher and educated classes who were better able to improve it than the resourceless peasantry.

In those days marked more by barter than money-economy and where the rules of Buddhist religion did not approve of the *Samgha* holding as its property gold, silver, or cash in its treasury, Nalanda had to arrange for its daily supply of food for its vast residential population from its own lands and villages when it did not possess the money with which to buy it at the local bazars. We know from the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* the interesting information that there was a daily supply received by the University of “several hundred *piculs* (1 picul 133 $\frac{1}{8}$ lb.) of rice and also several hundred cattles (1 catty 160 lb.) of butter and milk, a supply amounting to 300 maunds of Rice and larger quantities of Butter and Milk. The Rice came from its paddy fields and Butter and Milk from the dairies of its villages. The contract for this daily supply was undertaken by 200 householders of its 200 villages, each of whom must have been the headman or *Gramani* of his village.

The University, on its business side, as the administrator of its vast estates and properties, had to equip itself with a strong Building Department in addition to its Agricultural Department. At the time of Hiuen Tsang, Nalanda was enclosed by a lofty wall provided with only one entrance which opened into the great college, from which were separated eight other halls standing in the middle. The buildings, all of several storeys, were majestic in their size and height “with richly adorned towers, fairy-like turrets appearing like provided hill-tops, and observatories lost in the mists of the morning.” The upper rooms towered above the clouds, and from their windows one could see the winds and clouds producing even new form. The observation of Hinen Tsang is corroborated by the Nalanda stone Inscription of Yasovarman of eighth century

A.D. stating how the row of monasteries (*viharavali*) had its series of Summits (*sikhara-sreni*) licking (*avalehi*) the clouds (*ambudhara*). I-Tsing saw eight Halls and 300 apartments in the whole monastery.

The problems of the construction of buildings, of residence, and of distribution of accomodation among its inmates called for an adequate executive staff in the *Vihara*. These problems presented themselves even in the time of the Buddha and the canonical texts give details regarding the administrative arrangements for handling them.

The executive and administrative staff of a *Vihara* included the following officers:

(1) The Apportioner or Distributor of lodging-places among the monks. He has first to count the number of Bhikshus to be lodged, the number of sleeping-places available, and then to apportion them accordingly (*Chullavagga*, V., 11, 3), (2) The Apportioner of Rations (3) The Overseer of stores (4) Receiver of Robes (5) Distributor of Robes, Convey or Fruits (6) Distributor of dry foods (7) Disposer of trifles (such as needles, pairs of scissors, sandals and braces, girdles, filtering cloth, regulation-strainer, etc.) (8) Receiver of under-garments (9) Receiver of bowls (10) Aramikas or those who kept the grounds of the *Aramas* in order (11) Superintendents of *Aramikas* to look after their work and (12) Superintendents of *Sramaneras* to keep them to their duties (Ib. VI, 21).

These Offices show that the monks had to undertake various kinds of practical, secular work apart from their religious and spiritual preoccupations. The monasteries opened up ample opportunities for business training or education in the arts and crafts. We are told of Bhikshus being deputed to serve as "building overseers" to take charge of building operations on behalf of a lay-donor constructing a *Vihara* for purposes of the Samgha (Ib, VI, 17), so that the buildings might be in accordance with "the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments." Such an Overseer was called *Navakammika*. The appointment was made by a formal Resolution of the Order (Ib. VI, 5, 3). Bhikshus had to superintend not merely new constructions but also repair works (Ib. VI, 5, 2). Sometimes, what with superintending new works or repairs to old ones the Bhikshus managed to divide such work among themselves for terms of 20 or 30 years and even for life. This kind of prolonged preoccupation with practical work did not give scope to the religious life of the monks concerned and accordingly a Rule was passed by the Samgha to the effect that the term for the office of the *Navakammika* was to be a limited one, varying with the character of the construction concerned and was not to be a continuous period. Thus, "with reference to the work on a small *Vihara*, it may be given in charge of a *Navakamma* for a period of 5 or 6 years, that on an *Addhayoga* (a house shaped like a Garuda bird with its root bent on one side) for a period of 7 or 8 years, that on a large *Vihara* or *prasada* for 10 or 12 years" (Ib. VI, 17).

Along with the supervision of building operations, the religious education of every Bhikshu centred round a craft. It was felt by the monastic authorities that the Bhikshus "were ill at ease without the practice of some handicraft." Every monk had thus to toil, spin, and to weave.

He was allowed "the use of a loom, and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom." The monks had to prepare their own robes and keep them in fit condition with the help of all necessary weaving appliances (*Chullavagga* V. II; V. 28). The practice of spinning yarn and weaving cloth was obligatory on every monk as a part of his religious training based on training in self-help so that he may manufacture his own clothing instead of depending on the work of others.

We thus see that the *Vihara* was not merely a religious school. It was also a School of Arts and Crafts. The School of Art developed at Nalanda was the most distinguished in its time and had influenced the art of Java.

TRADE AND COMMERCE FROM PANINI'S ASHTADHYAYI.

By

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Panini is acquainted with a wide sphere of trading and commercial activities of the people. He mentions both money economy and barter, traders and trade routes, sale and purchase transactions, shops and saleable commodities, taxes on trade and profit, and also refers to banking and loans. *VYAVAHARA*. Trade and commerce are implied in the general term *vyavahara* (II. 3. 57). The essence of all trade activities is graphically expressed in the term *kraya-vikraya* (IV. 4. 13), i.e. sale and purchase transaction. *Pana* was used as synonym of *vyavahara* (II. 357) which is explained by Kasika as constituting *kraya-vikraya*. It appears that *vyavahara* had reference to the wider sphere of export and import activities, viz., commerce, whereas *pana* denoted sale and purchase of articles in markets and shops as indicated in the term *panya* meaning saleable goods (IV. 4. 51).

TRADERS. Merchants are referred to as *vanik* (III. 3. 52) and as *vanija* (VI 2. 13). These words seem to have been applied to traders without distinction of caste, although it may be presumed that a large percentage of trade volume was controlled by the Vaisyas. There must have been several categories of merchants according to the nature of their business and the manner of financing trade propositions. For example, an ordinary shopkeeper who made a living by selling and buying things was called *kraya-vikrayika* (IV. 4. 13), whereas a merchant who financed business with his money was called *vasnika* (IV. 4. 13), much more important were those who carried on commercial activities in a corporation or *samsthana* from which they were known as *samsthanika* (IV. 4. 72). This appears to be but another name for a *sarthka* or *sarthavaha* frequently mentioned in the Jatakas as merchants pooling their resources to equip united caravans of several hundred wagons. Panini also refers to persons whose nature of business connected them with forest thickets (*kathina*) and with the operation of mines and seams (*prastara... vyaya-karati*. IV 4. 72).

Panini refers to the practice of traders deriving their names on the basis of articles in which they dealt, and secondly from the countries frequently visited by them on business errands (*Gantavya panyam vanije*.

VI. 2. 13). The second factor, viz. the naming of merchants from the names of countries to which they would habitually go to transact business, is indicative of an interprovincial commerce existing in a flourishing state. The three examples in Kasika, viz. *Madra-vanija*, *Kasmira-vanija*, *Gandharivaniya*, provide a glimpse of that inter-provincial hegemony in the domain of commerce to which references are found in ancient literature. The Jatakas supplement the details by saying that merchants from the eastern country proceeded on trading missions to remote destinations in the North-West of India. Indeed, the principle of nomenclature envisaged in Panini's rule can operate more naturally in the cases of only those merchants who do business with distant countries.

Business Methods. Business was transacted in specified markets and shops known as *apana* (III 3.119, *etya trsmin-apananta ityapanah*. *Kasika* and the articles of trade were called *panya* (III. 1. 101, *panitavya*). It was necessary that the articles meant for sale should be properly displayed in shops which were then called *kravya*, i.e. saleable (*Kravyas-tadarthe*, VI 1. 82.). There were certain regulations of trade which must have been observed in respect of articles pronounced *kravya*. For example, a *panya-kambala* is stated to be of a certain standard, weighing a *kambalya* measure of wool. Generally *panya* seems to be a term of wider application than *kravya*.

The sutra *Tena kritam* (V. I. 37.) 'purchased with that' points out to a well-established practice of sale and purchase of goods in consideration for a fixed price paid by the buyer to the seller. There is a reference in Panini to standard currency in gold, silver and copper which was the normal medium of exchange. Wealth measured in terms of current gold coins called *nishka* is referred to (V. 2. 119.) The system of barter also prevailed. The article purchased in the market usually derived an epithet from the price paid for them. A considerable variety of such names is reflected in the *Ashtadhyayi*: thus we find mention of articles for which the price paid was one *nishka* (V. 1. 20), two *nishkas*, three *nishkas* (V. 1.30), one or one and a half *Vimsatika* coin (V. 1.32), one *satamana* (V. 1. 27.), one *karshapana*, or a thousand *karshapanas* (V. 1. 29.), one *sana* coin or a *pada* or a *maska* of copper (V. 1. 34-35) and so on in sub-multiples and multiples of various denominations. The exact significance of Paninian coinage has already been discussed, and it is enough to point out here that articles of many descriptions ranging in price from a small copper pice to a thousand or more silver rupees were the subject of sale and purchase transactions in market places.

Earnest-money. In making stipulations of sale and purchase it is customary for the buyer to pay something in advance as earnest-money which is considered as a guarantee of good faith. The seller is bound by it as much as the buyer, for, if he has accepted earnest money for a certain article, becomes bound to deliver it only to the first buyer. Panini refers to this custom as *satyapayati* (III. 1. 25) or *satyakaroti* (V. 4. 66.) which is explained *Kasika* as 'giving a pledge to purchase' *mayaitat kretax, yamitit tathyam karotiq*. In a third sutra Panini refers to the earnest money as *stayamkara* (VI. 3. 70.) which corresponds to Hindi (साई) or

1* See *Ancient Indian Coins as known to Panini*, by V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, July 1938, Vol. XI, Pt. I, pp. 74-87.

part of the settled price paid in advance.* In the village economy the system of *satyapana* is extended even to hired workers as confectioners engaged to work for a marriage feast.

Capital and Profit. The motive of earning profit (*labha*) is found at the root of all business dealings. Panini draws a clear distinction between the capital invested called *mula*, and the gross profit earned thereby *mulena anamya* called *mulya* (IV. 4. 91.) He prescribes another meaning for *mulya* in the same sutra which states that *mulya* is that which is equivalent to the capital invested (*mulena samam*. IV. 4. 91). which amounts to saying that *mulya* is that which is good for the price paid. The first meaning of *mulya*, viz. sale price inclusive of profit, is justified from the point of view of the *mula* or cost price of the seller, and the second meaning from the point of view of the buyer who judges the fairness of a transaction in securing equivalent 'value' for the price paid *mulena samam*. Reference is also made to a custom by which a transaction was named by the amount of profit earned from it (*Tadasmivridhaya-labha-sulkopada diyate*, V. 1. 47.), on which the *Kasika* cites *panchaka*, *saptaka*, *satya* or *satika*, and *sahasra*, i. e. a deal resulting in a profit of 5, 7, 100, or 1,000 silver rupess. There is a statement in the *Arthasatra* placing the profit of a middle man at 5 per cent (*Arth*. IV. 2.).

Vasna. It is an older word than Panini. In the *Rigveda* and later *Samhitas* it denoted the 'price' paid for anything or its 'value', or the thing as an object of purchase, 'ware', (*Vedic Index* II. 278.) Panini discusses the implications of *vasna* in three different sutras (IV. 4. 13; V. 1. 51; V. 1. 56) and the meaning uniformly suggested appears to be value or sale price realised. In the first instance *vasnika* trader is contrasted with *krayavikrayika* (IV. 4. 13.); the former was a person interested in the profits of the sale-proceeds only, and not concerned with sale and purchase, while the latter was engaged in conducting actual business transaction. Thus a *vasnika* trader owned only a financial interest (*vasnena jivati* in the *vyavahara* carried on by others. Secondly, the sut *So'syamsa-vasna bhrityah* (V. 1. 56) seeks to regulate the designation of a *vasnika* trader in accordance with his *vasna* or share in the sale proceeds. For example, one entitled to a thousand rupees as his share in the value realized was called *sahasra*, which is conceivable only in the case of joint or corporate business. Thirdly a *vasnika* merchant is distinguished from a *dravyaka* (V. 1. 56.), the former being the name of the trader who 'carries away, conveys or brings' (*harati, vahati, avahati*, V. 1. 50) the *vasna* or the sale-price, and the latter of the merchant who did the same with respect to merchandise or goods (*dravya*). The distinction of meaning may be clearly understood by applying *dravyaka* to a trader on his outward journey conveying merchandise for sale, the epithet *vasnika* to the merchant on his homeward march returning with the sale proceeds. It is strange that *Vasna* does not occur in the *Arthasatra* where it is replaced by the more popular word *mulya*. Its use appears to have dropped out in the post-Paninian period as Patanyali uses it only once independently of sutra explanation in the sense of price *anyena hi vasnenaikam gam krinati, anyena dvau, anyena trin*, *Bhasya* I. 95.)

* cf. yas. Smriti, II. 61; also Mallinatha on *Kirata* XI. 50.

Taxes on Trade. The general name *Sulka* seems to refer to the taxes on trade in the form of customs, excise, and octroi charges. Panini lays down that the amount of *sulka* paid gives a name to the consignment in relation to which it is paid (V. 1. 47.), and as specific examples of octroi payments he mentions half-a-karshapana called *Ardha* (V. 1. 48.) and also *Bhaga* (V. 1. 49.). The customs barrier known as *sulkasala* was one of the important sources of income to the state, the proceeds of which were called *saulkasalika* (stock example on IV. 3. 75. *Thagaya-sthanebhyah*). Panini makes a general reference to taxes levied in the eastern part of India amongst which Patanjali includes also toll taxes as exemplified in the illustration *avikatoranah* which shows that one ram was the tax levied on a fold of sheep (VI. 3. 10, *Karanamni cha Pracham haladau*: Bhashya III. 144). It would appear from other illustrations cited in the *Kasika* that in the north of India (*Udicham*) one animal or cattle-head was charged for one herd of cattle (*yuthapasu*); other such taxes mentioned are *nadi-dohani*, one pailful of milk paid at river ferry; *drishadimashakah*, a *mashaka* coin collected per hand-mill; *mukute karshapanam*, one *karshapana* coin raised per head; *hale dvipadika*, two *pada* coins realised per plough-share which seems to have been a tax on agriculture. Patanjali considers these to be names of taxes current in *loka* or society.

Trade-Routes. Reference is found in the *Ashtadhyayi* to the existence of roads leading from one city to another (IV. 3. 85.) which were marked into well-defined stages (II. 3. 136). Katyayana mentions a full complement of trade-routes leading through forests (*kantarapatha*), Jungle-thickets (*janglapatha*) or trade routes connected with land (*sthalapatha*) and others which were used for riverine and sea borne trade (*varipatha*). He also teaches that goods imported along these particular routes were known by the respective route names. The *Kantarapatha* seems to be the name of the prominent trade route leading across the great forest-belt of Central India which as we know from Buddhist literature once connected Kosambi with Pratishthana and Bharukachehha. In the same context are mentioned *ajapatha* and *sankupatha* which appear to be routes leading via mountainous country (V. 1. 77.) (Bhashya II. 358). He also makes the important statement that liquorice (*madhuka*) and pepper *maricha* were imported by the trade route known as *Sthala-patha*. But most important of all is the reference by Panini to the great arterial trade route known as the *Uttarapatha* which was in ancient times the main channel for the flow of India's overland commerce to the West.

UTTARAPATHA. Panini refers to articles imported (*ahruta*) by the *Uttarapatha* route designated as *Auttarapathika* (उत्तरपथेनाहतं च) (V. 1. 77.). This word also denoted those who travelled along the *Uttarapatha* (उत्तरपथेन गच्छति). According to Tarn the Oxo-Caspian trade route from India to the West by the Oxus and the Caspian was called the northern route and is given twice by Strabo (II. 73: XI. 509) and once by Pliny (The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 488, Appendix 14). 'Strabo, speaking of the Oxus (Amu Daria), states (XI, 509) that it formed a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to Europe by way of the Caspian and the Black Sea. He cites as one of his authorities Patrocles, who was an admiral in the service of Antiochus I, and thus makes it clear that the route was a popular one early in the third century B.C. (Cambridge History of India Vol. I, p. 433). Strabo also wrote that

'The Oxus is sufficiently navigable for the Indian trade to be carried across to it and to be easily brought down the river to the Hyrcanian (sea) and the places beyond as far as the Black Sea by the way of rivers'. (Tarn, op. cit. p. 489.) It seems highly probable that this northern route was the one which is mentioned by Panini as the Uttarapatha.

On the Indian side this great commercial route was connected with Pataliputra and ultimately extended to the mouth of the Ganges. Fortunately the Greeks have left a detailed account of the stages traversed on this road. As Rawlinson writes: 'The first thing which struck Megasthenes on entering India, was the Royal Road from the frontier to Pataliputra, down which the envoy must have travelled to the capital. It was constructed in eight stages, and ran from the frontier town of Peukelaotis (Skt. Pushkalavati) to Taxila: from Taxila, across the Indus to the Jihlam; then to the Deas, near the spot where Alexander erected his altars. From here it went to the Suttlej: from the Suttlej to the Jamna: and from the Jamna, probably via Hastinapura, to the Ganges. From the Ganges the road ran to a town called Rhodopha, and from Rhodopha to Kalinipaxa (probably Kanyakubja or Kanauj). From Kanauj it went to the mighty town of Prayaga at the junction of the Ganges and the Jamna, and from Prayaga to Pataliputra. From the capital it continued its course to the mouth of the Ganges, probably at Tamluk, though Megasthenes never traversed the last stage of the road. At every mile along the road was a stone to indicate the by-roads and distances. (Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 42; see also Appendix I for the distances between the stages on the Royal Road, p. 64). This great high way of commerce passed through many important janapadas and ancient capitals mentioned by Panini and Patanjali, such as Balhika, Kapisi, Pushkalavati, Masakavati, Takshasila, Sakala, Hastinapura, Kausambi, Kasi and Pataliputra. Along this great highway passed up and down long caravans transporting a considerable volume of commercial merchandise (*bhanda*) (III. 1. 20), and on it was situated Udbhanda, an emporium of transhipment on the Indus.

Articles of Trade. The list of names of saleable articles mentioned by Panini in the context '*Tadasya panyam*' (IV. 4. 51.) is not exhaustive; it contains only a few names, e.g. *lavana* (salt, IV. 4. 52.), perfumes like *kisara*, *tagara*, *guggulu*, *usira* (IV. 4. 53.) *salalu* (an unidentified name of perfume, IV. 4. 54). The *lavanika* or salt-dealer seems to have developed later on into a separate caste which may be recognised in such forms as the *lavanija* or *luniya*.

But in order to become fully conversant with the contents of commercial life we should explore the range of articles that were in use in everyday life as the two stand closely inter-related, the purpose of trade being to cater to the material needs of society. If we examine the Ashtadhyayi from this point of view we are able to gather an interesting and varied list of objects that were in use. For example, we find mention of the following:—Fabrics of silk (*kauseys*, IV. 3. 42.), wool and woollen stuffs (*urna* and *aurnaka*, IV. 3. 158), linen and linen goods (*uma* and *auma*, IV. 3. 158), hemp (*bhanga*, V. 2. 4.); cotton (*tula*, III. 1. 25; *Karpasi*, IV. 3. 136) and cloth (*vastra*, II. 1. 21); articles of dress

(*upasamvyana*, I. 1. 36, *achchhadana*, IV. 3. 143) like *brihatika* (V. 4: 6), blankets like *panya-kambala* conforming to a set standard (VI. 2. 42; IV. 1. 22), *pravara* (II. 3. 54) and *pandu-kambala* (IV. 2. 11) imported from the country of Gandhara or Uddiyana; deer skins (*ajina*, VI. 2. 194): skins of tigers and leopards (*dvaipa*, *vaiyaghra* IV. 2. 12) used as upholstering material for royal chariots; dye stuffs (*raga*) like lac (*laksha*, IV. 2. 2), orpiment (*rochana*, IV. 2. 2), madder (*manjishtha*, VIII. 3. 97) and indigo (*nili*, IV. 1. 42); sacks and grain containers (*avapanas*) as *goni* (IV. 1. 42); leater-containers in big and small sizes (*kutu* and *kutupa*, V. 3. 89); leather goods as shoes (*Uanah* V. 1. 14.), straps and thongs (*naddhri*, III. 2. 182, *vardhra*, IV. 3. 151): iron chains (*sringhala*, V. 2. 79) spikes (*avah-sula*, V. 2. 76), tools and instruments like sickle (*datra*, III. 1. 182), ploughshare (*kusi*, IV. 1. 42), yoke (*yuga*) axl (*aksha*, VI. 3. 104); spades (*khanitra*, III. 2. 184), oars (*aritra*, III. 2. 184.), loom (*tantra*, V. 2. 70) and shuttle (*pravani*, IV. 4. 160); food-stuffs like *guda* (IV. 4. 103 *phanita* (VII. 2. 18), milk, curds, butter (*Kshira*, *dadni*, *haiyangavina*, V. 2. 23), vegetables (*saka*, VI. 2. 128), cereals, and pulses (*dhanyas*); utensils and pottery (*amatra*, IV. 2. 14; *kaulalaka*, IV. 3. 118) of various sizes to cook different quantities (III. 2. 33.); intoxicating drinks like *madya* (III. 1. 100), *maireya* (VI. 2. 70), *sura* (II. 4. 25) prepared in distilleries (*asuti*, V. 2. 112) and sold in booths (*sundika*, IV. 3. 76) and the costly *kapisavyana* imported from Kapi in north Afghanistan (IV. 2. 99); gold and silver ornaments like *karnika*, *lalatika* (V. 3. 65) and gems (*mani*) as *sasyaka* (V. 2. 68 *lohitaka* (V. 4. 30) and *vaidurya* (IV. 3. 84.); metals as gold, silver copper, lead and tin; arms and weapons (*sastra*, III. 2. 182) as spears (*sakti*, IV. 4. 59) javelins (*kasu*, V. 3. 90), battle-axe (*parasvadhya*, IV. 4. 58), bows (*dhanu*), arrows (*ishu*, VI. 2. 107) and coats of mail (*varma*, III. 1. 25.) musical instruments like lute (*vina*, III. 3. 65), tabon (*madduka*), cymbals (*iharjihara*, IV. 4. 56); and miscellaneous objects like images (*pratikriti*, V. 3. 96), earlands (VI. 3. 65), perfumery (IV. 4. 53, IV. 4. 54), balances (*tula*, IV. 4. 91) weights (*mana*), measures (*parimana*), coins and various conveyances like wagons (*sakata*), chariots (*ralha*) and boats (*nau*, IV. 4. 7. ect.)

Mention should also be made of trade in cattle and animals. The *Kasika* illustrating Panini VI. 2. 13. (*Ganlatrya-panyam vanije*) particularly mentions merchants who dealt in cows and bulls (*go-vanija*) and horses (*asva-vanija*). Panini himself refers to the famous breed of bulls from the Salva country which are even today celebrated as Nagauri bulls (IV. 2. 136) and also to the breed of mares from across the Indus (*pare-vadava*, VI. 2. 42). There were some articles trade in which was banned to persons of higher caste. The rule III. 2. 93 regulates the formation of names of those engaged in unapproved trades, e.g. *soma-vikrayi*, *rasa-vikrayi*. The selling of the *soma* plant and liquids such as cow's milk is also banned in the law-books (cf. *Manu*, III. 159; X, 86-89). The above description of articles that were in every day use bears testimony to the high development of economic life. To sustain the needs of a commerce bearing extensive trade relations between distant parts of the country it was necessary to maintain over-flowing stocks (cf. the denominative root *sambhandavate*; *samachayana* or stocking, III. 1. 20) in shops (*apana*, III. 3. 119) and ware-houses (*bhandagaras* IV. 4. 70).

Exchange and Barter.—Economic life in Paninian society was governed both by money economy and by the system of barter. There is

evidence on the one hand of a well-established currency in gold and silver with smaller coins which served as the media of exchange; there is on the other hand a reference to a system which worked by the mutual exchange of goods in kind instead of cash. It is usually seen that in rural economy barter is preferred not only as a necessity but also as a virtue for the convenience which it confers on simple rural folks.

The system of barter is referred to as *nimana* which in fact denotes the article which serves as the *mulya* or the medium of exchange to purchase the thing intended. Barter works on this simple pattern that there is *nimana* on the side of the purchaser and its counterpart *nimeya* with the seller. A ratio of price is determined between the two and mutual transfer of goods thus takes place. It is the object of Panini's rules V. 2. 47. (*Samkhyaya gunasya nimane mayat*) to regulate the formation of the barter ratio. It is expressed by a numeral indicating that the price of a portion of one thing is equal to so many equal portions of the other. For example, when two parts of barley is the price of one part of *udasvit*, the expression is *dvimayam udasvid yavanam*, literally "Udasvit is *dvimaya* or tow-times the value of *yava*." The comparison must be made with one portion of *nimeya* (thing to be bought), with several portions of the *nimana*. The ratio must be X : 1. but never X : 2. or X : 3, etc., in which X denotes the *nimana*.

Nature of Barter Transactions. The range of articles covered by barter mostly relates to simple things of ordinary use in village life, e.g. food, clothing, and animals. In one sutra Panini refers to *vasana* or a piece of cloth as medium of exchange, the thing purchased in exchange for cloth being called *vasana* (V. i. 27). Most probably the weavers had recourse to this means of barter. Probably *vasana* denoted a piece of cloth of standard size and weight as may be inferred by the current phrase *vasanarna* (*vasana rina*) meaning 'the amount of loan incurred for the purchase of *vasana*'. An analogous instance is *kambalarna*, (loan for a blanket) in which the word *Kambala* as we know from Panini stood for a standard blanket of 100 palas or 5 seers of wool. There is also reference to articles purchased for one *go-puchchha* (*go-puchchhena kritam gau-puchchhikam*, V. 1. 19.). Dr. Bhandarkar takes *go-puchchha* to mean literally the tail of a cow as a circulating medium, and he remarks that '*go-puchchha* has to be understood in the primary sense of a cow's tail, however, polluting and revolting such a custom may now appear to us' (Anc. Ind. Num., p. 169-70). I am, however, disposed to understand *go-puchchha* in the sense of a cow since the custom in olden times was to transfer the ownership of a cow by holding her tail and the grazing tax levied per head of cattle is still called *puchchhi* or tail-tax in north India. There is evidence even in Vedic literature that the cow formed one of the standards of exchange and valuation (Vedic Index, I. 196, 234). The term *go-puchchhika* may have been applied to an object purchased for one cow. Patanjali mentions a bigger transaction solemnized in exchange for five cows (*panchabhir-gobhih kritah panchaguh*, bhashya, 1. 216). The Kasika illustrates Panini's word *aparimana* by *panchasva* and *dasasva*, i.e., a female purchased for the price of five or ten horses, which must have been a transaction of substantial value (IV. 1. 22.). Patanjali mentions a very curious instance of the purchase of a chariot for five kroshtis (III. 273),

which ordinarily means a female jackal, whatever else it may have implied in this particular context. The expressions *dvi-kambalva*, *tri-kambalva* cited on IV. 1. 22 appear to be taken from life. We know from Panini that *kambalya* denoted a set measure of wool (V. 1.3) equal to one hundred *palas* or five seers. The female objects purchased for two or three *kambalya* measures would be sheep acquired by the shepherds in exchange of wool.

There are again, three sutras which speak of *kamsa* (V. 1. 25.), *surpa* (V. 1. 26.) and *khari* (V.1. 33) in connection with purchase of commodities. Dr. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out that 'As these are clearly measures of capacity, the only inference possible is that such commodities were bought by means of these measures and most probably with grains which were the staple food of the province.' (Anc. Ind. Num. p. 170). In several examples and counter-examples we find reference to other measures of weight used in bartering transactions, e.g., a thing purchased for two *anjalis* or three *anjalis* (V. 4. 102); for two or three *achita* or *adhaka* measures (IV. 1. 22.). Besides Panini's reference to articles purchased for one *surpa* (V. 1. 26) Patanjali refers to others as *div-surpa* and *tri-surpa* (II. 346, 348), the *goni* measure which is mentioned by Panini 1. 2. 50 and which was equal to two *surpas*, is also noticed in connection with the system of barter in such phrases as *panchagonih* and *dasagonih* (I. 226). The Kasika informs us that cloth was purchased for such a price (I. 2. 50).

These examples would show that barter prevailed not only in transactions of modest value, but also in the case of commodities of substantial amount. Probably an example of the biggest barter exchange is offered by the two words *pancha-nauh*, *dasanauh*, viz., a deal in exchange for five and ten boatfuls of merchandise (*Navo dvigah* V. 4. 99). Patanjali refers to sailings of five hundred boats and five hundred rafts (*panchodupasatani tirnani*, *panchaphalakasatani tirnani*, Bhasya II. 356). This is strong evidence of a flourishing riverine traffic in goods in which rich merchants referred to as *parama-vanija* and *uttama-vanija* on Panini VI. 2. 13 must have participated, whose strong financial position enabled them to negotiate transactions to the extent of five or ten boatfuls of commodities at a time.

EARLY INDIAN INTEREST IN SYRIAN FIGS IN THE 3RD. CENTURY B.C. CONTRASTED WITH THEIR LATE CULTIVATION IN THE DECCAN IN THE 17TH. CENTURY A.D.

By

P. K. GODE, M. A., Poona

In my recent paper¹ on the history of the Fig (*Ficus Carica*) from about 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1800 from foreign and Indian Sources the earliest dated reference to *Fig* or *Anjira* in Sanskrit texts recorded by me is of A.D. 1374. No earlier reference could be found by me. It is therefore necessary to record any evidence regarding the knowledge of the Fig that could be ascribed to Indians on the strength of Indian or foreign evidence regarding the early Indian contact with Greece and Rome.

1. Vide pp. 125-136 of *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV (July 1941 issue).

While discussing this question with my friend Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D. of the Fergusson College Poona, I inquired of him if he could give me any reference to the Fig in early Buddhist literature. Though he could not point to any such evidence in the Buddhist records he invited my attention to a passage in the *Early History of India*² by Vincent Smith according to which Antiochus Soter⁽¹⁾ the King of Syria, forwarded some *Figs* to King Bindu Sara (298 B.C.). These *figs* were sent to this Indian monarch in response to his own request about (1) *figs*. (2) *raisine wine* and (3) *a professor*. As the evidence⁽²⁾ recorded by Smith has a direct bearing on the history of the Fig I quote it below :—"The anecdote concerning the correspondence between Antiochus and Bindu Sara although trivial in itself is worth quoting as a tangible proof of the familiar intercourse between the Sovereign of India and his ally in Western Asia. Nothing we are told being sweeter than the *figs*, Bindu Sara begged Antiochus to send him some *figs* and *raisin wine* and added that he would like him also to buy and send a professor. Antiochus replied that he had much pleasure in forwarding the *figs* and *raisin wine* but regretted that he could not oblige his correspondent with the last named article because it was not lawful for Greeks to sell a *professor*".

The above passage makes amusing reading. Obviously the Greek professors were not marketable Commodities like *figs* and *raisin wine* in those days! If *figs* from Western Asia were known to Bindu Sara in the 3rd century B.C. one wonders how their cultivation on Indian Soil took more than 1500 years to be effected. Then again one is curious to know why any appellations of the *Fig* have not been preserved in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature between say B.C. 298 and A.D. 1200. Whatever be the reasons for the absence of the *fig* in Indian Sources before A.D. 1000, Bindu Sara's interest in a greek professor and *figs* in the 3rd century B.C. has a distinct place in any history of the Fig, whether imported from foreign countries or cultivated on Indian soil. Bindu Sara was the son of the celebrated Maurya Emperor Candragupta and father of Asoka Maurya. It is, therefore, possible to presume that even during the time of Canakya, the minister of Candragupta, *imported figs* may have been known in India though in the *Arthashastra* of Canakya one fails to notice any reference to the *figs*¹.

2. Third Edition, Oxford, 1914, p. 147.

1. Ibid. p. 220 foot-note 1. "Antiochus soter died between July 262 and July 261 (B.C.) at the age of sixty four" According to *Smaller Classical Dictionary* (ed. E. H. Blakeney). London, 1913, p. 47, this King of Syria reigned from B.C. 280 to 261, He was the Son of Seleucus I, the founder of the Syrian Kingdom. He married his step-mother with whom he fell violently in love and whom his father Surrendered to him. He fell in battle against the Gauls in B.C. 261.

2. Ibid, p. 147.

1. In Chapter XV of *Arthashastra* Trans by Shamasastri, (1929) the following fruits are referred to:—grapes, *jambu* jack fruit, *cirbhita*, cucumber, mango, *Karamarda*, *Vidatamalaka*, *Matulunga*, *Kola*, *Badara*, *Sauvira*, *Parushaka* (p. 101), Chap. XVII deals with Forest Produce but fruits are not Specified, Kautilya only remarks. "Bulbous roots and *Fruits* are the group of medicines" (p. 108), Chap. XXIV on Agriculture refers to *Fruits* like *Valtiphala* (pumpkin, gourd and the like), grape, Chap. XXV (On Liquor)—"Fruit of *Putraka*" (p. 132), grapes, mango (*Sahakara*), *Phatamlu* (acid drink) from *Fruits*, (p. 134). Chap. XI—"mango fruit" (p. 79), *Matuhinga* (p. 80), *Vata*

According to Smith the Deccan or Peninsular India must have been subjugated by either Candragupta or Bindusara. Now a Sovereign who ruled over the Deccan in the 3rd Century B.C. had sufficient knowledge of the foreign *figs* to enable him to order a few of these *figs* from his ally in Western Asia; but it is a curious contrast with this fact that we find ourselves in difficulties as regards the exact or approximate chronology of the cultivation of the *fig* trees in the Deccan. In this connection I have already recorded a reference of C. A.D. 1730 when the mother of Nana Sahib Peshwa of Poona procured for him nine *figs*. This reference shows the rarity of this fruit at that time in the Deccan. Since recording the above evidence I have come across a reference to *Anjira* plants in a Marathi work¹ called '*Pustaka Mestaka*' which according to Mr. Rajawade, the Maharashtra historian was composed during the reign of Rajaram chatrapati (A.D. 1689—1700)². This inference is in keeping with the date of the MS of the work viz. Saka 1667—A.D. 1745. The MS was found at Masur in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency. This work gives a list of trees to be recorded by the village official in his books. In this list³ I find a mention of *Anjira* tree along with other trees of economic value to government. If Rajawade's inference about the date of the work is correct we have reason to believe that *figs* had come to be cultivated in the Deccan before say A.D. 1690. Their economic value to government naturally led to the *Anjira* plant being included in the list of cultivated plants, which the village official was required to maintain possibly under the orders of the then government. If in northern India Raja Madanapala ruling on the bank of the Jumna in A.D. 1374 refers to the properties of *Anjira* in his *materia medica* called the *Madanavinoda nighantu*, we find in the Deccan a Marathi writer of C. A.D. 1690 recording the *Anjira* plant among plants of economic value to government. Further references to the cultivation of the *Fig* or *Anjira* in Indian provinces need to be recorded from Indian vernacular sources, if possible. In spite of the sweetness and delicious nature of the fruit the *Anjira* had a very slow course in its cultivation on Indian Soil, unlike tobacco, which within 50 years of its advent in India between A.D. 1600 and 1650 was cultivated in the Deccan in abundance. In fact the Bijapur Sultans had a regular Tobacco Department with a special officer in charge of it. As Antiochus was the King of Syria between B.C. 280 and 261 the reputation of *figs* in Syria must have been sufficiently great to attract the attention of his contemporary Bindu Sara, the then Sovereign of India. The despatch of Syrian *figs* to India in the 3rd Century B.C. is in harmony with the references to *figs* in the *Old Testament* of the Bible (say between 330 to 160 B.C.). It would, therefore, be useful to investigate if any sculptures of the Indo-Greek period of Indian history contain any representation of the *Fig* plant, its leaves or fruit; but, I leave this problem to the students of Indian Archaeology and sculpture for the present.

1. B.I.S. Mandal; *Itivritta* () pp. 27-56.

2. Ibid, p. 27.

3. The following extract from p. 39 Contains this list of trees:—

This is a fine list of Fruit bearing and other plants, that were grown in the Deccan when the work was Composed.

SAMAVAYA AND NILUDHASI PI KALASI IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

By

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I. Samavaya in Rock Edict XII.

The Girnar Kalsi and Mansehra versions of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka have the sentence: *ta samavayo eva sadhu* (Girnar), *samavaye va sadhu* (Kalsi), *se samavaye va sadhu* (Mansehra). The sentence is usually translated by scholars as: "Concourse (or, Concord) is therefore commendable." It is further pointed out that "*samavaya* is derived from the root *sam-ava-i* which means 'to come together, assemble'. What Asoka means to say is that if the adherents of the different sects come in contact with one another they would learn many good points of religions other than their own".¹ A careful consideration of the Shahbazgarhi version of the same edict however appears to show that the usual interpretation of the word *samavaya* suggested by scholars is probably wrong. The sentence as found in the Shahbazgarhi version runs: *so sayamo vo sadhu*. Thus we see that while some versions read: *tat samavayah eva sadhuh*, one version has: *tat smyamah eva sadhuh*, that is to say, the two words *samyama* and *samavaya* have been used alternatively. *Samyama* has been rightly explained by scholars as "restraint", and it has been further pointed out that *sayama* occurring in line 6 of the edict corresponds to *vaco-guti* (*vaco-gupti*..*vak-samyama*), i.e. "restraint of speech".² In this connection it may also be pointed out that in the seventh Rock Edict, which speaks of *sayama* and *bhava-sudhi* (*citta-suddhi*) of the different communities, the word *samyama* apparently means *vak-samyama* or *vak-suddhi*.

As *samyama* and *samavaya* have been used alternatively³, it is only logical to suggest that in the thirteenth Rock Edict the two words have been used in the same sense. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Prakrit word *samavaya* corresponds to Sanskrit *sama-vada* which means "conciliatory (i.e. restrained) speech". In Classical Sanskrit literature, we have instances of the use of the expression; cf., e.g., *sama-vada sa-kopasya tasya pratyuta dipakah* in the *Sisupala-vadha*. Canto II. verse 55.

As regards the change of *d* into *y*, it may be pointed out that such changes are noticed in the language of Asoka's inscriptions: cf., e.g., *bhikhhu-paye* corresponding to Sanskrit *bhiksupadah* in the Bairat-Bhabru inscription. Even a further philological development is noticed in such interesting words as *codasa* (*caudasa* *cavuddasa* *caturdasa*) found in the Nigali Sagar inscription, though we have *cavudasa* in Pillar Edict V.

1. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 2nd. ed., p. 328.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. Cf. *kupa* and *udapana* in R E, II; *mahallaka* and *mahat* in R E, IX; *mahat* and *udara* in Minor R E, II; etc., etc.

II. *Niludhasi pi kalasi* in Pillar Edict IV.

The fourth Pillar Edict of Asoka has the following sentence: *hevam niludhasi pi kalsi palatam aladhayevu ti*. The first part of the sentence is usually Sanskritized as: *niruddhe api kale Niruddha* is sometimes taken in the sense of "expired" and *kala* in the sense of "period of respite", "span of life", "period of imprisonment". The sentence refers to the prisoners who are said to be condemned to death, but to be granted a respite of three days. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar translates the sentence as: "When the time (for their living) had expired, they may win the next world".⁴ The passage *niludhasi pi kalasi* is explained as "during the time of their imprisonment" by Senart and Buhler, "even in a limited time" by Lüders, "though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed" by Thomas, "when the period of respite is expired" by Hultzsch.⁶

According to Sanskrit lexicons, the participle *nirudha* means "obstructed", "checked", etc. If then *kala* is taken in the sense of "death", the passage may be translated "even when their doom is suspended". This may apparently refer to the period of respite which may be conceived as a temporary check to death surely coming after three days. The idea would thus appear to be that even during the period of respite the prisoners doomed to death should try to win heaven by means of fasts and charity.

I am however inclined to suggest a different interpretation of the word *kalasi*. The words *kara* and *kara* are both used in the sense of worship (done to Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) in Sanskrit Buddhist works such as the *Divyavadana*⁵. It is therefore possible to take *niludhasi pi kalsi* as corresponding to Sanskrit *niruddhe api kare*, and we may translate it as "even when their acts of worship are hindered". The idea seems to be that the prisoners who have no freedom of movement cannot go out for offering worship in religious establishments; but even when their freedom of worship is checked, the prisoners may try to win heaven by means of fasts and charity which can be conducted from the jail.

WHERE IS THE PLACE FOR MAURYAN EMPEROR SAMPRATI?

Summary

By

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At the time of which we are speaking, there were three religions—the Vedic, the Buddha and the Jaina—prevalent in India. These have preserved their own records. All of them are unanimous in declaring that Magadh was ruled over, successively by the Shishunagas, the Nandas, the Mauryans and the Shungas. Not only do they agree in these main points but they do also as regards the succession of various kings and their respective periods of rule. They disagree only in a few small details regarding the Mauryas.

4. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

6. *J.B. O.R.S.*, IV, pp. 410-11.

These small details are:—While they all accept Chandragupta, Bindusar and Ashok as three first Mauryan emperors. they differ as to the names and periods of the successors of Ashok.

The Vedic and the Jaina books clearly announce Samprati, the grandson of Ashok as his successor and assign him a long reign, followed by some other petty kings. While the Buddhas, though they include Samprati amongst the successors of Ashok, yet they place him—some soon after Ashok and some elsewhere in the list and assign him a trivial rule of 5 to 8 years. Thus it will be seen that, mostly all of them admit Samprati amongst the list, the difference being only the length of reign enjoined by him. This is the condition of one group—the Hindu writers.

The European writers, on the other hand and subsequently the scholars mainly relying on their words, make no mention of any emperor by name of Samprati either small or great.

Which of these two groups is right is the point to be found out.

The second group has taken the invasion on India by Alexander the Great in B.C. 327 as the starting point and declares the Indian King, named by them as Sandrecottus, to be Chandragupta Maurya who made a stand against the invader. There is a very amusing story how this name Sandrecottus has been handed down to us, but it is out of place here. We will only mention that for nearly two thousand years after the invasion. everybody is silent about the identification of this Indian Emperor Sandrecottus but suddenly after that—I mean nearly 200 years ago a certain scholar identified him with Chandragupta, mainly on grounds of similarity of pronunciation and partly on some other events alleged to be current in the air.

The beauty of the whole affair is that, though books relating to all the Indian scriptures, give lurid accounts of the reign of Chandragupta, none mentions Alexander or any foreign King to have ever invaded India. Does it not therefore appear plausible that were it a fact or true in any degree, there must have also been corroborating pictures of the event amongst the Indian books? On the contrary they are conspicuous by its absence.

Equally astonishing is another factor. Supposing this Sandrecottus is Chandragupta, it is a proved fact that Chanakya, the famous politician and author, was his prime minister and hence his contemporary. On the other side Seleucus Nicator, the great general and successor of that Alexander the Great was obliged to make treaty in B. C. 304 with that very Indian emperor Sandrecottus, by virtue of which he had sent Megasthenes as his ambassador in Patliputra, the capital of that Sandrecottus. It therefore naturally follows that Megasthenes, being in the court of Sandrecottus, is also a contemporary to Chanakya. Now both these Chanakya and Megasthenes are taken to have written accounts on similar subjects—the political condition existing during the reigns of their own emperors. In case, both the emperors—that of Chanakya and the one of Megasthenes—were the same. the accounts should

have at least been mostly agreeable, if not totally similar to each other. But here also the discord is diagonally opposite in many respects.

These two main dissimilarities form the subject of my thesis and have prompted me to investigate into the details. Instead of comparing the events during the reigns of these notables and making surmises on them—which are surmises after all—I have tried to fix up the dates, according to the principle laid out by that eminent scholar, the late Mr. Vincent Smith that “A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible” and have been successful in doing so; as a result of which it has been proved that (1) Sandrecottus is not Chandragupta but Ashokvardhan (2) that Ashok and Priyadarshin are not one and the same (3) on the contrary Priyadarshin is the grandson and successor to Ashok (4) and hence, he is the same as all the Hindi scriptures call him Samprati (5) and in turn, when this Samprati is a staunch follower of Jainism, the edicts erected by him narrate the principles of Jainism and not of Buddhism.

I hope, these revolutionary changes will attract the attention of all the scholars and invite them to a deep study of facts and pronounce their opinion.

BESNAGAR—ONE OF THE EARLIEST SEATS OF THE PANCARATRA CULT.

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In the last session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore, I emphasised the very great importance of the mediaeval Visnu images of Kashmir from the iconographic as well as religious point of view. The *Visnudharmottara* passages quoted by me in that connection explain fully their nature; these sculptures symbolise in a very characteristic manner the doctrine of the *Vyuhās*, one of the essential tenets of the Pancaratra system. It was most probably in the secluded vale of Kashmir, that some of the early authoritative Pancaratra Samhitas dealing with the *Vyuhavada* along with the other tenets of the system were composed. But this *Vyuha* concept was unmistakably much older than the date of the earliest of the Kashmir Visnu images. Distinct monumental data belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era and one or two centuries before it have been found which prove the existence of this particular tenet in several other parts of Northern India. On my way back from Lahore, I studied the sculpture collection of the Curzon museum at Mathura and found at least one miniature Visnu image of the Gupta period which could be described as the proto-type of the mediaeval Visnu images of Kashmir. This is the museum specimen No. D. 28, my description of which taken on the spot reads thus: ‘Standing Visnu image with boar and lion heads-sparsely ornamented-wears *Vaijayanti*—its front hands are broken, the back hands are placed on the *Cakra-purusa* and *Gadadevi* on either side’. An interesting fragmentary sculpture in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares depicts Balarama with the snake hood, with a lion face just by the side of his left shoulder. The sculpture is of

the same period or a little earlier than the Mathura one just noticed, and the lion face in it distinctly reminds us of the leonine face of the composite Visnu Caturmurti or Vaikuntha, which symbolises Samkarsana-Baladeva, the possessor of the ideal quality of *Jnana*.

Still earlier monumental remains of the Sunga period discovered at Besnagar, ancient Vidisa, show that the *Vyuhavada* as associated with the Pancaratra doctrine was already well known there, the Nagari inscriptions of 2nd—1st century B.C., no doubt refer to the shrines of two of the *Vyuhas* viz., Samkarsana and Vasudeva in the ancient city of Madhyamika, but the Besnagar remains fully prove the existence of the worship of the third *Vyuha*, viz., Pradyumna, same as Kamadeva, along with the worship of the other two. The *Garuda-Dhvaja* erected by Heliodorus, a Greek convert to Bhagavatism, refers to the shrine of the Devadeva Vasudeva, the cult-god of the Pancaratrins. Two other capitals of the columns, whose shafts are missing, are shaped one as a Tala (fan-palm) and the other as a *Makara* (crocodile). It is certain, that they were originally the capital of the votive columns dedicated to the two *Vyuhas*, viz., Samkarasana and Pradyumna whose special *lanchnas* or cognisances were *tala* and *makara* respectively (the former was *Taladvaja* and the latter *Makaradvaja*). It is probable that the Besnagar site contained also a shrine of Aniruddha, which had within its precincts a *rsyadhvaja* (*rsya* is a white antelope), *rsya* being his special cognisance; it is unfortunately missing at Besnagar now. All the above pillar capitals belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C.

Two other sculptures of probably still earlier period discovered at Besnagar, though not directly connected with the *Vyuhavada* seem also to be associated with the same system. It will be necessary here to describe them fully and explain their nature with the help of some textual and monumental data of the post-Christian period. In the course of his exploratory tours in Central India in the seventies of the last century, Cunningham found among others two very interesting sculptures at Besnagar, lying close to each other. The first has been described by him as the ancient capital of a column, in the shape of 'the famous *Kalpa-drum* or "fortunate tree" of the *Devaloka*, which fulfilled all one's desires! The upper part of the tree has a diameter of 3'3", its lower part being 2'2¾". The mass of trunks and pendent roots rise from a cylindrical neck of basket-work which has as its base the abacus of the capital; the full height of the whole capital including its abacus is nearly 5'8". It will be necessary to note Cunningham's description of the whole piece at some length, for the purpose of understanding its true character. He observes that 'in the Besnagar sculpture it is represented as a banian tree with long pendent roots, from which untold wealth in the shape of square pieces of money² is dropping in such quantities that all the vessels placed

1. *A.S.R.*, Vol. X, p. 43. Cunningham says, "The common people give the name of *Kalpa-drum* or *Kalpa-briksh* to a large forest tree with a smooth silvery bark; but the true *Kalpa-drum*, which is supposed to grant all one's desires, is the tree of Indra's heaven, and was one of the products of the churning of the ocean."

2. The pieces are not all square, some are round while a few others are oblong in shape.

below are full and overflowing. The upper part of the tree, which is nearly spherical in shape, is covered with the large leaves and small berries of the *Ficus Indica*, and the stems and pendent roots are represented. on a cylindrical neck, below which they divide into eight compartments. In these are placed alternately four vessels full of money and four skins full of wine(?). These last may, perhaps, be intended for bags of money, as each is fastened with a band round the neck. The open vessels are all different. One is a large shell standing on its end: a second is a full-blown lotus flower; a third is a *lota*, or common water-vessel. The conch-shell and the lotus flower exuding coins have correctly been identified by Coomaraswamy with the two of the 'nidhis' of Kubera, viz., *Sankha* and *Padma*³. Coomaraswamy, however, did not take into account the number of objects coming down from the branches of the banyan tree,—which is *eight*, viz., four bags with their necks tied round by strings showing that they contain wealth, and four open vessels overflowing with treasure. It may justifiably be suggested that here we have the earliest sculptural representation of the *astanidhis* of Sri-Laksmi—the consort par excellence of Vasudeva—Visnu and the goddess of prosperity as well as of Kubera, the well-recognised god of wealth and abundance. The *astanidhis* are enumerated in comparatively early texts like the *Markandeya-Purana* (ch. 68, v. 5), in the following manner:—'*Yatra padmahapadma tatha makarakacchapau Mukundo nandakascaiva nilah sankho'stamo nidhih* Coomaraswamy in his *Yaksas*, Pt. II, enumerates 9 treasures of Kubera, viz., *Padma*, *Mahapadma*, *Sankha*, *Makara*, *Kacchapa*, *Mukunda*, *Nanda*, *Nilā* and *Kharva* which are nearly all water-symbols according to him. But the list of 9 *nidhis* is generally to be found in comparatively late texts and even there it differs in different texts. Coomaraswamy's list partially agrees with the one quoted in the *Sabda-kalpadrūma* from *Haravali*, the names of the last three being put in as *Kuda*, *Nilā* and *Varcca*. *Kunda* may be a mistake for *Nanda*, and *Varcca* or *Kharva* are evidently later additions; for the same lexicon quotes from Bharat—'*Markandeyapurane tu varcca iti hitva astaveva uktah*. That the number of the *nidhis* or treasures was originally eight is fully proved by the mediaeval representations of Jambhala, Kubera's Buddhist counter-part. These sometimes depict the god seated on a couch beneath which is a row of *eight* treasure jars, on the upturned one of which exuding coins, the god's right leg is placed. In the Besnagar sculpture, two of the *nidhis*, whose character is easily recognisable, viz., *Sankha* and *Padma* are alone presented in their original form with untold wealth coming out from them, while the others are symbolised by means of bags and vessels full of wealth⁴.

The banyan capital—it might not have represented the *Kalpadrūma* at all—which is usually dated in the 3rd century B.C. (if not earlier), might have been placed, according to Coomaraswamy on the top of a column standing in front of a shrine of Kubera-Vaisravana, whose special cognisance is a bag or a vase full of coins. But it might as well have

3. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*, pt. II, p. 72, pl. I.

4. It may incidentally be observed that in the Indian arithmetic at present, the names of three of these *nidhis* denote integers of huge sums viz. *Sankha*, *Padma*, and *Kharva* (the last from the second list).

faced a shrine of Sri, the goddess of fortune whose association with the eight treasures is also very intimate. In fact, the same chapter of the *Markandeya-Purana*, from which the names of the eight *nidhis* have been quoted, lays down that Laksmi is the presiding deity of *Padminividya*, whose receptacles, as it were, were the eight *nidhis*, (*Padmini nama ya vidya Laksmistasvasca devata Tadadhārasca nidhayah.....*). Markandeya, when asked by Krostuki about the nature of the *Padmini-vidya*, which is productive of earthly enjoyment (*Bhogopapadika*) and which has for its bases the treasures (*tatsamsrava ve nibhayah*), answers, that it is only attainable by good men due to divine grace and their own service to the *sadhus* (*Devatanam prasadena sadhusamsevanena ca*). Markandeya expatiates upon the real nature of each of these *nidhis* and says in the end, 'Oh Twice-born one! this goddess Sri, the lotus maiden, presides over all these treasures' (*Sarvesamadhipatyē ca Sriresadvija padmini*). On the authority of this text, we can justifiably identify the other sculpture from Besnagar, a colossal female statue, 6'7" in height, which was found very near to the above capital by Cunningham and which was undoubtedly of the same age, as none other than Sri, herself, who was enshrined in the locality. It has almost unanimously been described as a Yaksini, though Cunningham, at the time of its discovery, was inclined to identify it tentatively as a portrait statue of Maya Devi'. His main ground for the above suggestion was that as it was profusely ornamented it could not be a religious figure. But this identification is hardly acceptable at all; the figure could not represent Maya Devi and numerous are the images of gods and goddesses, which are decorated with various types of ornaments in profusion. Both the arms of the figure are unfortunately gone; but the dressing and arrangement of the hair, the drapery and ornaments shown on the body, the standing attitude (*sampadasthana* pose) etc., are all very similar to the same of the goddess Sirima appearing on one of the Bharhut rail pillars. Cunningham, though he did not actually compare these two figures, was aware of 'the similarity of the costume of the Besnagar one to that of many of the females in the Bharhut sculptures'. Sirima, however, though her hands do not appear in the *anjali pose*, appears in the role of one paying homage to the Buddha, while the Besnagar goddess seems to have been an object of worship. The latter being fully in the found, her feet are shown frontally, not sideways as in the case of the other figure. Both these figures conform to the early Indian concept about female beauty, characterised by a prominent bust and protuberant hip indicative of motherhood and fecundity. This is known in comparatively late texts as *Nyagrodhaparimandala* type, in which the breasts are firm and prominent, the buttocks spacious and the middle part comparatively narrow⁵. This emphasis on productivity is quite apposite in the case of the goddess Sri (Sirima) who is the presiding deity of *Padminividya* which brings forth earthly enjoyment (*bhogopapadika*).

Reference may be made in this connection to the other type of the goddess Sri which is known as Gaja-Laksmi, who is shown on some Basarh

5. *Sabdamala*, as quoted in the *Sabdakalpādrum Stanau sukathinau yasya nitambe ca visalata! Madhye ksina bhaved ya sa nyagrodhaparimandala!.*

seals in very close association with the *pidhis* of Kubera and his *Yaksas*. The seal of the *Kumaramatyadhikarana*, some specimens of which were found by T. Bloch in course of his excavations at Basarh, shows Laksmi standing in the midst of a group of trees with two elephants pouring water over her; two dwarfish attendants are shown by her side, holding objects like money bags. Another variety of such terracotta seals 9 specimens of which were unearthed at the same place, show Gaja-Laksmi with her left hand holding the stalk of a sixpetalled flower, the two dwarfish attendants pouring out small objects (treasure) from round pots. A third variety again, of which as many as twelve were found, depicts Gaja-Laksmi as above, attended by a dwarfish male kneeling on each side with a full treasure bag in front from which he throws down small round objects which are coins. It may be noted that the shape of the bags is exactly similar to that of the several bags, hanging from the so-called Kalpadruma Capital of Besnagar, noticed above. Block identified these dwarfish attendants of the goddess as Kubera, but they might as well be the *Yaksas* whose lord he is (*Yaksapati*, *Guhyakapati*) and who are the custodians of wealth according to Indian tradition. Block remarked, 'The combination of Laksmi and Kubera, however, is not known to me to occur anywhere else in Indian art and my theory should, therefore, only be regarded as hypothetical'. But, as I have fully proved above that the combination of Laksmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity and *Yaksas* and their lord Kubera who are intimately associated with treasure (*nidhi*), is certainly not inappropriate. In the case of the Basarh seals, the idea is that the custodians of treasure dole out riches to those who are specially favoured by the goddess, or in other words, who, due to their own meritorious actions and to the divine grace, are the enviable possessor of the *Padmini Vidya*. The association of the *Sankha* and *Padmanidhis* with Sri has been emphasised in a very characteristic manner by a sculpture of approximately 9th century A.D. hailing from Kaveripakkam in the North arcot district, Madras Presidency. It has recently been noticed at some length by C. Sivaramamurti in the current issue of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* (Vol. XIV, 1941, part I, pp. 21-2). The relief depicts the goddess Laksmi seated on Lotus, being bathed by two elephants (they are shown in a manner very similar to that in which they are depicted in the Mahabalipuram relief of Gaja-Laksmi) below the elephants are two lamps suggestive of auspiciousness; on either side of the lotus-seat are the *Sankha* and *Padma nidhis* indicated by 'a lotus and a chank oozing a curling roll of coins' (cf. the coins extending from the same *nidhis* figured in the Besnagar capital). Another very curious feature in the Kaveripakkam sculpture is that the hands and legs of the goddess are curled up at the sides, 'and without taking the face into account, the mere contour lines are suggestive of the ancient Vaisnavite symbol of *Srvatsa*, the favourite mark of the chest of Visnu'.

The above textual and monumental data, have been enough, I hope to prove my view that the so-called Basnagar Yaksini and kalp kalpadrum capital are not others than the goddess Sri and Capital of the votive column (*dhvaia-s'anotha*) in front of her shrine. Now it is well known that Sri-Laksmi enjoyed a very important position in the Pancaratra and the authoritative Samhitas like the Ahiroudhnya and others emphasise on

the great part which was played by the goddess in the Pancaratra theory of creation. The particular form of Vaisnavism which was mainly based on the earlier Pancaratra, and which was so ably expounded by the South-Indian Vaisnavite teachers like Yamunacarya and Ramanuja came to be universally described as Sri-Vaisnavism. In fact, in the developed theology of the Pancaratrins she is the direct agent of creation; she flashes up by some independent resolve (*kasmaccitsvatantryat*), with an infinitely small part of herself, in her dual aspect of *Kriya* (acting) and *Bhuti* (becoming). The *Kriya-sakti* is the Sudarsana portion of Laksmi, identical with Visnu's "Will to-be" symbolised by the Sudarsana or discus, while the, Bhutisakti is but a myriadth part (*Koti-amsa*) of herself. Thus, Vasudeva-Visnu who awakens Sri by her command, and she herself in her dual aspect of *Kriya* and *Bhuti*, typify respectively the Causa efficiens, Causa instrumentalis and Causa Materialis of the world (Shraeder, *Introduction to the Pancaratra* pp. 29-31). It is not meant here, however, that all the philosophical speculations underlying the above theory of creation must have existed when her image was being enshrined in a Pancaratra shrine at Besnagar. But her close association with the cult picture of the system can be presumed to be as early as the Maurya-Sunga period, if not earlier, and the discovery of her image as well as the other Pancaratra emblems at Besnagar fully prove that Besnagar was one of the earliest seats of the Pancaratra cult.

THE SANGAM AGE

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Much has been written and is being written on the Sangam Age of the Tamil literature and in spite of the professed new light thrown by recent writers on the subject, still we have not reached the final conclusion. This is due not because of any inherent difficulty in tackling the problem but certainly because of obsession by certain writers to cling to their views at any cost. Feeble arguments and uncritical statements are made to buttress their position but with no positive result. I have examined this question in extenso in my "Studies in Tamil Literature and History", first printed in 1930 and reprinted in 1936, and I shall re-examine the same here.

The term Sangam is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit expression Sangha. Sangha is any form of association or a group of peoples wedded to one pursuit. We hear of the Buddhist and Jaina Sanghas. These Sanghas were religious in character. But this has nothing to do with the Tamil Sangam, whose purpose was entirely different. It is not again an adaptation of the Sanskrit variant Sanghata interpreted in Tamil as *tokainilai* or simply *tokai*. Sanghata is a variety of poetical composition from the pen of a single author on a certain chosen topic. Therefore there is not even a remote connection between the Tamil Sangam and the Sanskrit Sanghata.

The expression Sangam in Tamil literature stands for an academy of arts and letters started and patronised by all the three crowned kings of the Tamil land, Pandya, Cola and Cera, and especially the Pandyan. The seat of this academy was always as known to tradition and history, in the Pandyan capital, Old Madura, Korkai or Kavataparam, and the modern Madura in the Madura District. This academy was an expert body of literary censors before whom any book was to be submitted before publication, whether the author be a prince or a peasant. Unless the new book won the approval of this august body of censors, it could not be accepted as authoritative. This had an healthy influence in that the trash could be eschewed, and only books of sterling merit were allowed, to be published for the benefit of the public. The academy was actuated by certain standards and conventions, and if the book did not come to that level, it was rejected. It is said that even that excellent treatise of Tiruvalluvar-the Kural-had to be submitted to the academy, and tradition avers that it was at first not countenanced by the members of the academy, but was subsequently accepted. This only shows how the Academy subjected such works even of value to critical examination. Again, the story goes that such a reputed work as the Tolkappiyam, got approved after a searching examination of the royal academy. If we attach any significance to the payiram or the preface to the Tolkappiyam, we are told that the Pandyan king Nilandaru Tiruvira Pandya appointed a certain Adangodu Brahman to criticise the Tolkappiyam, but Tolkappiyanar was a match even to the acute critic (See also Puram, 224, 11. 9.11). These two instances are enough to point out the importance and value of the Tamil Sangam. It acted as a literary censor. It did not allow worthless books to see the light of the day. It was composed of the shining literary lights of the land and even princes of blood royal who had a literary bend of mind, found a place in that academy. It resembled to some extent the literary Parisads of north India presided over by such eminent persons like king Janaka of Mithila. The Academy was, then, in the nature of a modern University and the heart-centre of higher learning in all Tamil India. Though it was located at the Pandyan capital, the contribution of the Cola monarchs and the Cera kings to its growth and development was substantial and generous as can be seen from an informing line in Puram, 58.

Tamil Kelu Kudarrankol vende

Once we accept the existence, growth and work of the Tamil Sangam; then the works approved by this institution became known as the Sangam works. We shall presently examine what books will come under the category of the Sangam works. Why are those alone called Sangam works? It is because they are all written in what we call the Sangattamil or the Sangam style of composition. It has its peculiar syntax, metre and grammar. It has its own etymology and interpretation. We usually speak of such composition as classics.

There are still critics who do not seriously believe in the Tamil Sangam and its manifold activity. By itself the Sangam may be a foreign word but the institution, call it what you will, can be indigenous and native to the soil. If we dive deep into the literary tradition of the Tamils as embedded in their literature and in the valuable commentaries of the great

commentators we have numerous evidences of the existence of an Academy and its work. Already mention has been made of the fact that Tolkappiyanar, the celebrated grammarian had to present his grammar to the Academy and get its imprimatur. This means that there was an Academy in the days of Tolkappiyanar, and it also means that the Academy must have been an old institution, and it was the usual practice of authors to get the willing assent of the Sangam for their publication. Thus the Sangam was a pre-Tolkappiyam institution.

What exactly was the starting point of the history of the Tamil Sangam, like the landing of Hengist and Horsa in England, we cannot definitely say. But we are on a firm ground if we come to the epoch of the third Sangam. As we have no information about the other Sangams we may conveniently style the age of the extant classical works as the Sangam Age.

The lower limit of the Sangam age cannot be later than 400 A.D. From the end of the fifth century A.D. a new era opens in Tamil literature. The classical style takes leave of the Tamil writers who take entirely a new outlook on life. Religious impulses begin to play and men begin to think more of the other world and salvation. The compositions of this period are no more exploits of heroes and heroines and of lovers in distress and love. Devotional songs, Saiva and Vaisnava were the order of the day. The word Sangam occurs for the first time in the *Manimekalai* in the sense of an academy.

Later, Tirumangai Alvar refers to Sangattamil and Sangamukattamil as different from the current Tamil. Added to this the Velvikudi plates place Mudukudumi, presumably a Pandyan king of the Sangam Age, before the Kalabhra occupation which may be roughly put down as 400 A.D. With the Kalabhra occupation of the Tamil land, there must have been a set-back in the literary activities of the Tamils. And this must have been revived with the founding of a new dynasty by Kadunkon about 600 A.D. (*The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 22-3). Before I proceed with the subject, I must make clear that the Sangam did not die but only the classical age came to an end. As an institution, the Sangam continued to patronise literature and literary men, for we hear Poyyimoli—Pulavar of the 9th century A.D. getting the approval of the Sangam for his composition. So when we speak of the later date of the Sangam age, we mean only the last date of the classical period of Tamil literature.

We shall now proceed to examine the Sangam works with a view to determine exactly the age of the Sangam. Though we have fragments of the Agattiyam grammar, the Agattiyam as such is entirely lost to us. And tradition avers that the Agattiyam was earlier than the Tolkappiyam. To investigate the date of any work we must be guided by the tradition, the language, style and the contents of the work itself. If we apply these tests to the extant Tolkappiyam we are certainly on a firm ground to assert that it is a work of the fourth century B. C. The Agattiyam was already in existence when Tolkappiyanar wrote his illustrious book. And tradition says that Tolkappiyanar was a disciple of Agattiyana (Sanskrit-Agastya).

There are several internal evidences to show the ancientness of Tolkappiyam. First of all the conception and nature of uriccol which is said to denote isai, kurippu and panpu. The list of uriccol furnished by Tolkappiyanar including vartal, pokal testifies to the fact that uriccol maybe taken as the nominal or verbal root. In this respect the Tolkappiyam seems to follow the Nirukta of Yaska (Dr. P. S. Sastri, History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil, pp. 199-203). So also the idaiyiyal and uriyiyal in the Solladikaram. Again ayatam according to the Tolkappiyam is neither a vowel nor a consonant, suggesting perhaps a knowledge of Panini's rules by the author. While a case may be made out for the indebtedness of Tolkappiyanar to Sanskrit grammarians (see Dr. P. S. Sastri: Ibid.), an equal case can be suggested to the indebtedness of Katantra and others to Tolkappiyam. That both Katantra and Tolkappiyam seem to copy each other in respect of topical arrangements and use of technical terms was pointed out by Dr. Burnell long ago to infer Tolkappiyam's borrowing from Katantra. Our chronological examination shows Tolkappiyam was the earlier, and Katantra posterior to it.

Another significant point in this connection is the mention of Yuktis. The earliest reference to Tantrayukti is in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. The yuktis mentioned in this celebrated treatise are thirty-two and these mark a definite period in the history of the principles of exposition adopted in ancient treatises. Vatsyayana, the author of the Nyaya Bhashya repeats the Kautilian dictum under the head anumata (See Nyayadarsana, p. 70 Chowkhamba series, Ar. Sast. p. 429 Mysore ed.). While Caraka would make the yuktis thirty-six, Tolkappiyanar sticks to thirty-two like the Kautiliya. I have given the thirty-two principles as seen in the Kautiliya and Tolkappiyam (Poruladikaram) and their correspondences elsewhere (JOR, 1930, pp. 85-89), and there is no point in repeating them here. Of the 32 yuktis, as many as 22 are word for word with the Kautilian definition. The rest ten are due to the genius of the grammarian who adopted those which suited his purpose and formulated others to fit in with the plan of his work. From the examination of the yuktis mentioned in literature, belonging to different periods, one has to conclude that Tolkappiyanar was a younger contemporary of Kautilya and flourished long before Caraka. Judged again by this test Tolkappiyam must be ranked among very ancient treatises.

There has been recently some endeavour to bring down the date of the Tolkappiyam (K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*). However the arguments advanced in favour of this theory will not stand a critical examination. Among them the explanation given to the Tolkappiyam hora is ingenious. The critic takes hora to mean astrology and connects it with the Greek term and shows Tolkappiyanar's acquaintance with Greek astrology. This is no argument because the interpretation advanced is wrong. The expression occurring in the sutra is a clear reference to the pastime of girls, peculiar to the days of Tolkappiyanar. It has nothing to do with astrology or Greeks for the matter of that.

The linguistic and philological evidence, and the evidence of the picture of social life conveyed by the treatise indulging in several themes of primitive love and marriage customs, as also the picture of the division of

land according to the natural regions Kurinimullai, neydaḷ and maruḍam with indications of different cultures in every such region all these point to the fact that the Tolkappiyam precedes in point of time to the extant Sangam works, especially Purananuru and Ahananuru.

Again in connection with invocation to the deity, Tolkappiyanar refers to three deities as such, Kodinilai, Kandali and Valli identified respectively with Siva and Murugan (Sutra 33, Poruḷ). This is also referred to in Purapporuḷ-venbamalai (Padan Patalam), and also Ilakkanavilakkam (Purattinai, 19 sutra). This invocation is significant as it represents a state of primitive form of worship as against a multiplicity of gods and shrines which are enumerated in the Tamil epic Silappadikaram. The Tolkappiyam marks then an important stage in the evolution of Tamil religion, and on this account claims an ancient date. But this date cannot be as the orthodox tradition would put it in the second Sangam and long before the two Sanskrit epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, nor can it be as late as the eighth century A.D. as some of our modern savants would have it. I think it is safe to conclude that it is a work of the 4th century B. C. based on an earlier work Agattiyaṃ which is perhaps a composition of the fifth century B. C. And therefore it is a valid hypothesis that the upper limit of the Sangam Age call it the third or what you will—should be fifth century B. C., and it would be irrational to bring it later.

If one proceeds to examine the early literature of the Tamils, which goes by the name of the Sangam works, we find that all early literature is poetry, and prose is still a thing of the distant future. This poetry is something realistic being the natural outburst of Tamil poets who were primarily children of the open air. There is no artificiality about it. What is striking is that their description shows their closeness to nature and their deep appreciation of their natural environment. Their description of the seasons in relation to plants, trees and crops to birds and animals, and to men and women of the locality is something arresting and vivid.

“ The stork feeds from the tank and sleeps on the cornstalk. The farmers, who reap the beautiful fields where the lily grows, drink from cups made of the lily leaves from whose opening bud the petals have dropped off and dance keeping time to the roaring waves of the clear sea. May I, eager for reward not return, after praising you, lord of these lands, empty handed and disappointed as do the birds that fly high in the sky and desiring the jackfruit, go so that the mountain caves resound with the noise of their flight and find that the tree has ceased to bear fruit.

Puram, 209.

In the Mullai region, ‘the darkness of the midnight when, like the sky with stars, the musundi with folded leaves has put forth its white flowers on the sides of the hills from whose tops drips the honey. The shepherd who gathers together the kids and carries the mat made of palm leaves, wears the garland, from which water is dripping, made of the cool sweet smelling nullai flowers mixed with the November flowers on which bees are falling. He utters a long-drawn cry to drive off the jackals: while is glow-

ing in his hand a slender, burning brand. This sound and the sound of the long horn which is blown by the watchmen of the milletfield for driving away the large herd of small-eyed pigs, are characteristic of the dry land of the forest tract" (Agam, 94).

The ancient Tamils looked about themselves for healthier body and spirit and enjoyed their life. They were shrewd observers of nature. The main themes described in the very early poetry now extant consist of two things, love and war. They were a "warlike and heroic people while they were quite alive to the pursuits of peace. The various love themes accompanied by meat eating and liquor and drinking and consequently merry-making prove that they enjoyed peace as much as they loved war. It is also evident that the martial spirit was not exclusively the monopoly of men but it extended to the women of the land. If a Tamil mother heard that her son had retreated from the field of battle she flew into a towering rage and was prepared to cut off her breasts that fed that wretched coward. But her heart was filled with indescribable joy if she would hear that her son fell dead heroically fighting in the field (Puram, 2781.)

Add to this, the fewness of the influences of Aryan culture. Though we find traces of the Aryan legends and beliefs, they are not yet pronounced. Though the Vedic Brahman is enobled and respected, and though there are here and there references to Vedic sacrifices, still they are so little that one cannot say that it is the normal life of the people. Primitive modes of worship continue to prevail though Siva and Rama find mention in a few anthologies. Neither do we see astronomical and astrological notions widely prevalent. The old superstitions of the country are found in plenty and there are invocations of protection from the devils in which they had full belief.

If we turn to the pages of the Narrinai and Kuruntogai, all Sangam works, we meet with the same state of affairs. Examining as we do these four anthologies, we are astonished to see that a good number of the poems in the Narrinai and Kuruntogai are very old, perhaps older than those in the Puram. Comparing the Ahananuru with the Purananuru, one clearly sees that most of the poems in the Ahananuru which entirely deal with the subject of love are older than those in the Puram which deals with eulogies of kings, especially their exploits in war. The fact is that in these anthologies are included poems of poets who flourished in different centuries but all of whom belonged to the common Sangam Age. That is why we see some slight differences both in style and ideas among the poems of the Puram or Aham collection.

An important milestone is reached when we come to the epoch of Turuvalluvar. Like so many poets of his day, the date of the author or his life are not known to us. Various legends have grown around this notable figure and one claims him to be a weaver in Mylapore. The latest writer who has examined this question, the learned Rao Sahib M. Raghava Aiyangar (*Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* regards him as a Vallabha or a ministerial officer of a certain king. This agrees with the tradition of Elela as we shall see soon. One thing is certain from his writings, viz. he was well versed in Sanskrit lore and considering the

conditions which would have prevailed during his age, he should have been probably a *divija*. Whatever this be, the story goes that he had to get the imprimatur of the Sangam. On submitting his immortal work, the Sangam dictators refused recognition. But our author boldly placed the manuscript on the floating raft-Sangappalakai. The result was that the poets drowned and the manuscript alone remained on. Wonderstruck the drowned critics began to bestow their laurels of praise on Valluvar and these laudatory stanzas become the Tiruvalluvamalai. Some of the eminent Sangam poets like Kapilar and Idaikkadar have belauded the work. This work alone is proof positive of the love and respect with which the Sangam age treated Valluvar. In its chronological setting, the Tirukkural occupies a place between the old Sangam works like the anthologies of the Puram and Aham, and later Sangam works like the twin epics, the Manimekalai and Silappadikaram. The character of the poem and the theme of simple virtues inculcated have a universal appeal and the intense value of a classic. Its comprehensiveness and universality have made the followers of all sects and cults to claim him as one of their own. Most of the couplets definitely mark him out as a Hindu of the orthodox type. As H. A. Popley rightly points out that in his treatment of the subjects, *aram* and *porul* the poet follows the general lines of Aryan ethics (p. 22 *The Sacred Kural*).

The Kural which consists of 1330 Kuralvenbas or terse couplets, bearing the sutra style of Sanskritists, easy to memorise and quote. Tiruvalluvar inaugurated this style in the history of Tamil letters. The author should have lived either when the sutra style of composition came to be in vogue or just after it. For it is natural that he should have been profoundly influenced by it as is evident from his immortal work. His writings do not betray any sign of the sectarian spirit that entered the Tamil firmament from the 5th century onwards. He does not refer to the Pallavas nor has epigraphy any reference to him. He was already popular with the famous authors of the epics Silappadikaram and Manimekalai, who actually quote him. Both these epics have been assigned on unassailable grounds to the second century A.D. The influence of the Kural has been felt by others, besides the authors of the twin epics.

The quotations from the Kural in the epics and Puram ballads show what an acknowledged authority Tiruvalluvar was in the middle of the second century A.D. For an author to attain such celebrity and eminence, at least two centuries and more should elapse, and therefore I am inclined to put Tiruvalluvar in the first century B.C.; I put this down in my first edition of *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (1930), and I see no reason to alter it since no tangible proof has been put forward to lead to its alteration. While this is the position of the literature of post-Tiruvalluvar epoch, there is the light shed by the literature prior to Valluvar. Normally speaking two or three centuries should have elapsed after the Tolakappiyam to get the rich and varied culture of which the Tirukkural is the prototype. The geography and history of the Tamil land as envisaged by the Tolakappiyam—four regions and types of cultures peculiar to each of them, and the large place given to themes of war and love, and the little or no place to religion and ethics have all disappeared

by the time of Tiruvalluvar. In his writings there is a considerable progress in the march of culture. Morals and ethics, healthy conventions of society have come to stay and the whole outlook on life and things in general has transformed. That is why at least three centuries should have elapsed to bring about this transformation.

Add to this the factor of style, metre and language. Light also comes from an unexpected quarter. It is the independent testimony of the Ceylon chronicles, especially the Mahavamsa. Here it is chronicled that one Alara (corrupt form of Tamil Elela) a noble of the Cola kingdom invaded Ceylon and by vanquishing Asala, became its king. It is said that he reigned for 44 years from 145 to 101 B. C. (Geiger, ed. Intro. p. 37). If we believe by a stretch of imagination that this Alara or Elela was a disciple and contemporary of Valluvar, then there is the certain clue that Valluvar flourished in the latter half of the second century B. C. Apart from these doubtful Ceylon traditions, we cannot escape the fact that most of the poets who panegyricised Valluvar as seen in the extant Tiruvalluvamalai were poets who flourished in the century preceding and succeeding the Christian era. Most of them like Mamulanar and Damodarnar are ancient authors and reputed Sangam poets. The wonderful correspondence between the rules of the Arthasastra of Kautilya and Valluvar shows the latter indebtedness to political theories and statecraft. A dispassionate study of these evidences betrays the fact that Valluvar must have flourished in the first century B. C. or a little earlier, and certainly not after the first century B.C.

The next landmark is reached when we come to the epoch of the twin epics. Notwithstanding positive historical facts, there are still doubts entertained at certain quarters as to the place of these epics in the Sangam works. Taking the Silappadikaram it is an excellent piece of Tamil poetry. It is a representative of the early dramatic compositions. Ahavarpa or blank verse is the metrical form frequently used. Tradition is unanimous that Pararnar, Kapilar and Sittalai Sattanar were members of the Sangam. There is enough evidence to show that Sittalai Sattanar was a contemporary of Ilango Adigal. He was his friend and companion. Having heard of the composition of Ilango, he enthusiastically wrote his Manimekalai. If style is the test, it points out that the time between this style and that of the Puram and Aham anthologies should have been at least three centuries. Certainly if the early pieces of Aham and Puram go to the third century B. C. it is but natural that the epics should be assigned to the second century A. D. Otherwise we have to dismiss Sattanar-Ilango contemporaneity as a fiction. I do not think that any Tamil scholar of repute would view this in that light.

Apart from the elegant and terse style which is the ornate and polished style of the later Sangam period, we have other reliable data to fix the date once for all. First, the absolute silence of the mention of the Pallavas of Kanci. Kanci largely figures in both the epics. Kings of the days in all Tamil countries are mentioned. But no mention is made of the Pallavas. On the other hand in the works of the Saiva and Vaishnava Samayacharyas of the 6th to 9th century there is ample testimony to the Pallava rule and their kings. The earliest of the Pallavas could be dated from A. D. 200 on the strength of the inscriptional evidence. Inference is irresistible that the epic should have been composed before 200 A. D.

Not only this epic does not refer to the Pallavas, but it refers to the Tirayar who preceded the Pallavas at Kanci and whose chief was Ilam Tiraiyan, vouchsafed to us also by Uruttiran Kannanar, author of the Perumpanarruppadai. One certain test of the date of the Sangam works is that these works are not aware of the Pallava dynasty, a south Indian dynasty that began its sway from A.D. 200. Most of these works should therefore be before 200 A. D.

A second fact from the historian's standpoint is the evidence of the Mahavamsa which clinches the argument that Gajabahu was present at the festivities held in honour of Pattinik-kadavul by Cera Senguttuvan. We are often told why it could not be the other Gajabahu who came later. It could be; but in the fifth century there was no Senguttuvan to celebrate the victory which he legitimately earned by his prowess in North India. Senguttuvan flourished in the second century if he were a brother of Ilango. For Ilango was a contemporary of Settalai Sattanar. The latter was a contemporary, to repeat, of Parinar and Kapilar. We must therefore invent a Senguttuvan for the later date. This is surely putting the cart before the horse. The fact was that Gajabahu was so much impressed with the new cult that he took it home to Ceylon and spread it through the length of the land. Some view that the entire story is a romance and not history. If it were unhistorical, how are we to explain the widespread cult of the Pattini not only in Ceylon but in all South India. A romance would not have developed into a cult even in the most superstitious of countries.

A third point that is often overlooked is the authentic version of the Padirrupattu. It cannot be for a moment regarded as a work not within the sacred precincts of the Sangam. Padirrupattu definitely records that Senguttuvan was a son and successor of Imayavaramban. It gives the duration of their rule 50 and 59 respectively. The account in the Padirrupattu is clear and quite helpful. Even here some went to the length of saying that the details found in the colophons could not be taken on their face value, for they were written long after the composition of the Padirrupattu. As against this, it may be said that there is no evidence to show that the colophons were written subsequent to the texts, and also to show that they are untrustworthy. If we examine the chronology of the Sangam kings, we are made to feel that the colophons are in their proper setting, and are part of the old text itself. In the Padirrupattu Parinar sings in glory of the Cera Senguttuvan, especially of his notable achievements. His other name is Velkelukuttuvan. Parinar has not mentioned his northern expedition and therefore an attempt is made that Velkelukuttuvan was different from Senguttuvan. One asks about the identity of achievements which are as many as five attributed to Senguttuvan. It is easy to conjecture why Parinar had not mentioned this achievement of his hero. As an elder contemporary, Parinar might have been dead when Senguttuvan undertook the expedition in the evening of his life as could be gathered from Madalan's speech. He told the king "You had all your life engaged in the sacrifice of battle: but it is time you take to religious sacrifice, the Vedic yajna". So by the time Senguttuvan came out of his expedition, poor Parinar was no more to chronicle that event. It is no use therefore to create further confusion when there is sufficient evidence to put the early royal houses of the Tamils in proper chronological order,

Lastly, the political conditions of the time should be taken into account. If Senguttuvan's expedition to the north was a historical fact, could we imagine even the remote possibility in the fifth century A.D., knowing the history of the period in North India as we do. Where were the Nurravar Kannar or the Satakarnis in the fifth century to aid the Tamil monarch Senguttuvan in crossing the Ganges? The invasion was undertaken at a period when the Andhras were an imperial power holding their own from the imperial Magadha throne. Surely this was long before the Guptas came into power and carried their sword throughout the length and breadth of India. So Senguttuvan must have flourished in Pre-Gupta period and when the Andhras were in power in North India. It was an age of warring tribes and kingdoms, and the imperial unity achieved by the Maurya was a thing of the past and that of the Guptas a thing of the future. If these considerations have any value at all, these demonstrate unmistakably that the Silappadikaram should be fixed to the second half of the second century A.D., and the Manimekalai being dovetailed to it should find a place in this period. It is reasonable to assume that all the philosophical systems were in vogue before this age and the Manimekalai has therefore its place in the Sangam works.

Though the heyday of the Sangam age was during the epoch of the epics, still a decline set in. This period could be spread over three centuries again when other Sangam works and especially several works coming under the category of Padmenkilkanakku were composed. For in most of them we still see the old hand of the Sangam poet. But with the commencement of the sixth century, we are in an entirely new era in the world of Tamil letters. The outlook on life underwent complete transformation. Religion and philosophy became the main themes and to bring them to the door of the masses a new style of composition was used and that with success.

SOME ASPECTS OF WAR AND PEACE CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT TAMIL COUNTRY.

Summary

By

MR. S. S. SANTHANAM, M.A.

A chronicle pertaining to the organisation in regard to the defence of the realm and the aspect of comparative stages of war and peace conditions of the people thereof, will form an integral part of the history of that country. That war has been a factor which attended and affected the fortunes of a people throughout the long-drawn drama of human evolution is a matter of truism in history. Even today when mankind has evolved to a stage of finer sense of internationalism, wars have come to be fought, and at the moment itself there is a war going on that broke out wellnigh within a quarter of a century after the last Great War. At such a time it will hardly be necessary to labour the point that the defence of a country is of utmost concern. And a study of our ancient country in respect of its defence organisation, its attitude towards war and the situation of the land during both war and peace times, should afford instructive lessons which a true reading

of history ought to provide. A study of this aspect of our history is most useful and necessary as contributing not only to fill up an important portion of our ancient history but also as enabling us to construct our future history with the background of the ancient record of achievement.

The ancient Tamil country was ruled by the three kings, the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya kings, besides several other petty chieftains five of whom were prominently mentioned. A revealing account of the defence organisations of these kings and chieftains, their land and naval forces, the love of war embedded in lofty patriotism and not in shallow beastly pleasure, the high sense of the soldiery, the dazzling brilliance of their chiefs, their supreme courage and reckless bravery in their service of their mother country, could be had in the classics of the Sangham Age, primarily in *Purana-rooru*, *Paripadal* and *Pathirrupathu*. There is a wealth of description in regard to their equipment and method, the conditions and canons under which they carried on war. In the construction of the history of the Tamil country of those times this would afford a vital portion and should make a revealing study of India trying to emerge forth in a refulgent manner.

The defence of the country was organised in the traditional manner with the basic land force, containing the four divisions the chariot, the elephant corp, the cavalry and the infantry. The chariots like the modern tanks formed an integral part of military equipment. The elephant corp formed a valued unit of those kings especially in attacking fort-walls and opposing army with their tusks. On chariots and elephants waved gaily the flags of the respective rulers. The cavalry was the next unit and vivid descriptions of swift charges charging the enemy could be had in the accounts given. The infantry was armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears. There is also reference to naval force.

In the defence equipment, could be mentioned the forts, and its points called *Sootil*. Around the fort ran deep moats protecting it. The outer defence consisted of the woods consisting of trees known as *Kavalmarm*, and held sacred as guardian trees. The food arrangements in military camp were made in an elaborate manner.

The method of recruitment to and operations of war are interesting. The recruitment was made in a particular order and chance given to members in a particular manner, each warrior awaiting his chance of recruitment. The rallying sound was raised by war drums, while there was also the practice of the kings summoning the aid of proved warriors. There was hand-to-hand fighting besides fighting by the units mentioned above.

There were some peculiar practices in regard to warfare in those times. First, there was the custom of the King seeing the *Unnam* tree as an auspicious sign. Then the king adorned the flower or the plant which the emblem of his dynasty, and he likewise adorned his warriors with the flowers. Then he would go to take his bath on the eve of starting for battle. The victorious king would capture the war drums of the enemy, efface the seal of the enemy on his fort and stamp his own. There is also reference to destruction of enemy forts and ploughing the area with ploughs yoked to asses with seeds like *kollu* and *varagu*. Siege of forts is also mentioned as in the case of siege of fort at *Karur* mentioned in the works. Honour, the kings coveted, and the wars according to accounts, were either in defence or to avenge former attack.

Glowing accounts of Pandya King, Nedunchelian, and Pandyan Nanmaran, of Chola king Nalakilli and Karikal Peruvalathan, and Chera King Killivalavan could be had in the works, specifying their martial prowess and military greatness. Besides these ruler's accounts of chieftains like Adiman Ncdumancanchi, Malayaman Tirumudikari, Aie, Nanchil Valluvan, Enathi Tirukallai, Pandyan Keeran Sathan, and Nalaikkilavavan Nagan show the great military prowess manifesting in those times. Apart from individual chiefs, the martial clans like Maravars and Mazhavars displayed superb heroism and lofty patriotism contributing to the greatness of the country in defence organisation and in war. It was not the king nor the chief or the martial clan who was made of heroic mould. The common soldiery was equally fired with that courageous enthusiasm, spirited bravery, and animated patriotism. Mothers, wives and daughters evinced that spirit and rejoiced over the part played by their sons, husbands and brothers in war and resented cowardly emotions. While there were incessant wars, the war instinct and military order was tempered by sense of justice, fairplay and righteousness, as exempting civil population and live stock, and refraining from pursuing a fleeing army. The principle underlying the attitude of king and his subjects during both war and peace times was that the king was the very life of the country and that he, not paddy or water that sustained the subject.

In peace time, it was one of lavish generosity, recognition of and reward for learning, honouring the poets, and sweet life of romance and harmony in groves and gardens, river banks and homes.

A BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA.

Summary

By

MR. M. M. NAGAR, M.A., Muttra.

The following inscription, the discovery of which is being announced here for the first time, is incised on the base of a stone image of Buddha recently acquired from Palikhra, one of the famous ancient sites of Mathura. The image is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura and bears the register No. 2907.

The inscription is neatly engraved and runs to five lines but unfortunately a major portion of the record from the left is lost, the sculpture being broken off. The extant portions of lines 4 and 5 are also much obliterated and present great difficulty both in preparing nice estampages and in giving their full reading. Still the historical facts for which the epigraph is valuable, can be gleaned easily. The *Paleography* of the inscription shows Kushana forms throughout and has the same features as found in other contemporary records of Imperial Kushana kings from Mathura. The *language* of the record is the usual mixed dialect of Kushana documents, the Sanskrit elements tending to preponderate.

The *object* of the inscription is to record the installation of the image of Buddha in the year 67, in the 2nd month of rainy season, during the reign of (Maharaja Rajatiraja Devapu), tra Vasudeva, for the acceptance of the

teachers of the *Mahasamghika* sect. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it furnishes a new date, now the earliest known, for the reign of *Vasudeva* i.e. the year 67. So far the earliest date known for the reign of this king was *Sam.* 74 = A.D. 152 and in the chronology of the Kushana kings he was assigned a reign of 25 years, i.e. upto *Sam.* 98—176 A.D. The epigraph under review now shows that *Maharaja Vasudeva* had a reign extending over at least seven more years and beginning from *Sam.* 67 = 145 A.D. It is further important as it *reduces by 7 years* the hitherto existing long gap of 14 years between the reigns of *Huvishka* and *Vasudeva* the last known date of *Huvishka* being 60 i.e. A.D. 138.

TEXT.

- L. 1. तस वासुदेवस सं ६७ वर्षा मासेद्धिति [ये] २ दिक्से
 L. 2. नं सर्वषय गोपना न पूजर्थ (र्थं)
 L. 3. न परिग्रहा आचरियानं महासथिकानं
 L. 4-5. too obliterated to present any connected reading.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SAKA KALA

Summary

By

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The subject matter of this paper is that the Real Saka kala had absolutely nothing to do with the Salivahana Saka of 78 A.D. but began in 523|22 B.C. with the first Viceroy of the North-western regions of India (appointed by the Persian Emperors of the 6th century before Christ), that is, the Dynasty of Mahakshetrapas.

NOTES ON THE PRE-KADAMBA HISTORY OF GOA.

By

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Goa is perhaps the only country in peninsular India to which the words of Vincent Smith-uttered fifty years ago that the political history of the Deccan begins only in the middle of the 6th century may still be held to apply. Nay, the statement is true even of the following two centuries; for till we come to the Kadamba period, the sources are so scanty that the researcher has literally to scrape up whatever material he can find, and painfully work out his narrative. Not that there is real dearth of Historical records. For having regard to the Southern Silahara system under which title to property was conditioned by actual possession of properly executed legal documents on imperishable material (copper plates) it seems certain that a thorough a systematic search about the country, especially in the ancient Hindu temples and old Hindu households will yield a rich harvest of copper-plate records. It is all to the good that these treasures are guarded

by their owners with a jealousy appropriate of the Kohinoor. Nevertheless, if besides the ritual use now made of them on ceremonial occasions, historians and epigraphists were also allowed access to them, this dark period in our history will be illumined before long.

The first recorded instance of dynastic rule in Goa is found in the recently discovered Siroda plates of Devaraja of the Gomins family. We owe this find to the enterprise of Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu, the Epigraphist to the Madras Government, who has thus laid the people of Goa under a deep debt of gratitude. This is a very important record not only for the political history of the country, but also for the social and economic history, and the history of political institutions. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that for want of facilities a better reproduction of these plates was not possible.

Although the record is not dated, there is little doubt that Devaraja's reign is to be ascribed to the pre-Mayurasarmma period. It may thus be assigned either to the close of the third or to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. His capital, it is clear from the records, was Chandrapura, the modern Chandor in Salsette. This city is described here as prosperous, a circumstance from which it may be concluded that it was then, as it is in latter times, a rich emporium of trade on the West Coast. We have identified it with Sindabur of the Arab geographers. It has been supposed before the discovery of this record that this city owed its origin to the Chlukyas, having been founded in the 7th century by Chandra-ditya, a son of Pulikesi II. Now that the antiquity of this place is carried backwards by at least three centuries, the Siroda plates may be said to settle once for all the controversy that arose on this point.

From a social and religious point of view the plates contain clear indications that the caste system had struck deep roots into the soil. But it had not yet acquired the rigidity associated with it in the post Hindu period. The country was ruled by a Kshatraya dynasty and administered by the Kshatriya officers. The Brahmanas occupied an honoured place in society. They chiefly depended upon the state bounty for their support, and presumably also on the charity of the individual citizens. The belief prevailed that religious merit accrued to the donor of gifts to the Brahminas. It is interesting that the state subsidy took the form of an assignment on the public revenue, and not as usual, a grant of land. In the case under reference, it was land rent in addition to import and export duties collected at the village. Thus assured of leisure, this prerequisite of scholastic attainments, these Brahmanas, as a recent writer has deduced from their cognomen *swami*, may have made some contribution to the cultural life of the Kingdom.

For efficiency in administration the country was divided into separate administrative units, at the head of each of which there was a *bhogikamatya*. Local government was carried on by officers like the *bhogikas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthamyas*. As the word Ayukta would show, some at least of these were elected by the local inhabitants, probably in their village communities. At the centre, the King was assisted by a *Mantriparishad* or an Executive Council, with the chief minister or *Sarvatantradhikrita* at its head. As the import of this title signifies the existence of a plurality of departments, it may be presumed that each of these was in charge of a minister. The record

also speaks of a *Rahasyadhikrita* or private secretary. One of his duties surely was the drafting of title deeds, but it is also possible that he was entrusted with diplomatic correspondence.

It is significant that as in the case of the other inscriptions of antiquity and in contrast to the inscriptions in the Karnatak of a later period, there is no mention made in these plates of the immigration of the Konkani Brahmanas either from Kashmir or from Tirhut. Elsewhere we have shown that the myth of the northern descent of the Kanarese Brahmanas was propagated in the 11th and the 12th centuries. The tendency itself is not difficult of explanation. Just as the South Indian Kshtriya royal families of this period vied with one another in providing themselves with Puranic genealogies, doubtless due to the prestige that would accrue to them from the Puranic heroes, so the Brahmanas must have deemed it an honour to connect themselves with some famous Brahmanic centre in Northern India. It was not, however, until the 17th century that the Shenvis thought of adducing this claim. For when Barros and Couto wrote concerning the origin of the people of Goa, these painstaking Portuguese chroniclers knew nothing of the legend, and in consequence recorded the tradition then current in the country. These writers aver that the first colonists of Goa were a poor people from the Karnatak who in remote antiquity, effected a lodgement in the lands of the Konkani. In course of times, with the progress in agriculture and trade, the country attracted the attention of a powerful prince from across the Ghauts. Having imposed his yoke on these peaceful people, he acquired their land by purchase, and leased it back to them in perpetuity. They were only required to pay a fixed rent, and in order to facilitate collection, the country was divided into villages and the villages into households, the headman of each village (Neiquibares) undertaking to compound these taxes by a lump sum into the royal exchequer. The descendants of these households are those who style themselves 'gancars'.

But by the end of the 17th century, the Bengali theory was already beginning to hold the field, and it thus finds place in the *Oriente Conquistado* (written somewhere in 1690) alongside the older account. Fr. De Souza in describing the origin of the Brahmanas of Cortalim says that their progenitor was a Brahmana from Caxi-Pondapura. This man having prayed to his deity to inspire him as to an agreeable habitat for himself and his family, was ordered by the god in a vision to fix his domicile at the place, where in the course of his wanderings his cow should begin to milk. This is evidently an echo of the account in the following distich of the *Sahyadri Khanda*:

त्रिहोत्रास्ति श्रौव पंचगैडांत राखयां ।

गीमाच्वले स्थापितास्ते पंचक्रीडयां कुशस्थल्यं ॥

“Dwelling in Trihotra, and belonging to the Pancha Gauda, they settled themselves at Gomanchala and five kos of Kusasthali”.

That it is so will be clear, when it is remembered that this was just the time when the *Konkanakhya* and probably the Shenvi version of the *Sahyadri Khanda* also, were written.

Could it be supposed that the origin of the Konkani Brahmanas as given in the Puttige version of the *Gramapaddhati* a work which is also represented as a portion of the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana* is a rejoinder on the part of the Brahmanas of Haiga and Taluva, who could not brook this claim to superiority then put forward by the Shenvis of Goa? According to this version ;

“In the polluted village called Naga on the bank of the Cakranadi, lived the Brahmanas cursed by Parasurama. But for the uttering of the gayatri and the wearing of the sacred thread, none would have called them Brahmanas—so fallen they were. The Vedic lore was forbidden to them. Once when Mayuravarma went to Valabhi to bring learned Brahmanas; he employed these Brahmanas as *boyis* to carry his palanquin; *Mayuravarma sa pura medhvi Valabhim prati.....Ramena nirmitaih vipraih vahayitya swavahanam) sistham vipran samadaya punah sa puram ayayau.* Then Mayuravarma returned from Valabhi, these fallen Brahmanas complained of the favour shown to the new-comers, and remarked that the king had assigned to the latter lands which Parasurama had given to the degraded Brahmanas. To appease them, Mayuravarma granted them the following four villages—Kusasthali, Sasti, Matti, and Naga, while to the new-comers, other lands were given. In these four gramas the fallen Brahmanas continued to live in the selfsame manner—Indifferent to the six karmas.

The mention of these townships of Salsette leave no doubt as to the set of people intended by the author. That it was the assertion of the an unheard of claim by the Shenvis that had provoked his indignation, is proved by the contemptuous manner in which he refers to them. Unlike the Chit-pavans, for example, who in their controversies with the Shenvis concede to them the rights of the *Tirkarmis* while reserving for themselves all the six *Karmas*, the Kanarese scribe seeks to deny to them all rights. His anger is not satisfied even with depriving them of their Brahmanhood. He goes further and degrades them lower still to the status of menial servants.

The only difficulty that now remains is in connection with the date assigned to the *Gramapaddhati*. On the ground that it contains a reference to the Vijayanagara Viceroy Vira Bhupati, (A.D. 1386.) this work is placed in the latter half of the 14th century. The argument however, is not decisive; what it amounts to is merely that the work it cannot be placed earlier than the 14th century. But even if the date be admitted it is not unreasonable to suppose that like the Shenvi version of the *Sahyadri Khanda*, the Tuluva version also has received many an interpolation, and that the account of the Konkani Brahmanas was interpolated after the invention by the latter of the Bengali descent and as a rejoinder thereto.

A rational explanation of the rise of the Brahmana caste in Goa has to be attempted on the line on which the late Prof. R. D. Banerji of the Benares Hindu University approached this problem in regard to some other parts of India including Bengal. It is a mistake to think that when the descendants of those Dravidian colonists from the Karnataka finally accepted Hinduism and the caste system, their old priests were cashiered. On the contrary since the supply of the Brahmanas was limited, the original Dravidian priests were prevailed upon to carry on their ministry in the new

religion, and thus they became Brahmanas themselves. This transformation was facilitated by the fact that the Dravidian deities such as Siva and the Female Energy—Durga, Devi or Sakti had already found their places in the Hindu pantheon. It is idle to contend on the worthless testimony of the *Sahyadri-Khanda* that these deities in the form of Mangesa and Santa Durga were brought from Bengal. That these were local deities is admitted by the *Mangesi Mahatmya*, an undoubtedly older work.

To return to the political history of Goa, the next recorded instance of dynastice rule is met with in the Aihole *prasasti* of Pulikesi II. Referring to this conquering expedition to the Konkan, the epigraph observes:

“In the Kinkanas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him-speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools—The Mauryas.

When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, He besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.”

There is a wide divergence among scholars as to the identity of the places and persons mentioned in their two verses. If, however, we are to steer clear of the confusion and difficulties thus created, we should bear in mind the historical sequence in which Pulikesi's conquest are here narrated. It will be seen from an analysis of the record that the Konkana campaign was the fifth expedition undertaken by the great ruler in the course of his first Digvijaya. His first war against Appayika. Now, who was this chief? Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar thought that Govindha with whom he is mentioned 'very probably belonged to the Rashtrakuta race, since that name occurs frequently in the geneology of that family'. This would show that both of them were northern and not southern powers, proceeding respectively from northwest and northeast. We know that Mangalesa, the predecessor of Pulikesi II, had vanquished Buddharaja, the Kalachuri King, whose empire is said to have stretched as far as Nasik. It is also known that a chief named Narihullaka, who ruled in the lower Narmada valley, was a feudatory of this king. Could it be supposed that Appayika was descendant of this prince? That there is some similarity between the two names cannot perhaps be denied. He may have profited by the weakness of his overlord consequent on his defeat by the Chalukyas to proclaim his own independence. Therefore he probably also encroached on the Chalukya territory when the kingdom was torn by the civil war between Mangalesa and Pulikesi II, and 'encompassed by the darkness of enemies'. Whether this interpretation is accepted or not, the fact is nevertheless established that the first step Pulikesi took on his accession was to secure his northern frontiers. If it could be presumed that after recovering the lost territory in the north he made the Tapti the northern boundary of his kingdom (since Buddharaja, the Kalachuri king, defeated by Mangalesa is no longer known to have possessed any territory in this region) the Chalukya kingdom may then be said to have stretched from the coast of north Konkan near Bombay to Khandesh. For the Ihole inscription says that Mangalesa had not only, taken' in marriage the Fortune of the Katachchuris but also captured the island of Revati. And this Revati surrounded as it was by sea could have been none other than Chaul, to which this description is appropriate and which is known as Revati Kshetra in the local Hindu tradition.

Pulikesi's next step was to destroy the Kadambas, who had reestablished their power at Banavasi. He then marched southward against the Gangas of Talakad; and having secured their allegiance, he turned in a north-westerly direction to reduce the Alupas to subjection. This seems to have brought him to the west coast, since the Alupas, as their earliest inscription show, began as rulers of Tuluva with probably Udyavara in Udipi Taluqua as their capital, and then having proved their loyalty, were entrusted by their overlords with the government of a part of the Kadamba-mandala. Then proceeding along the coast he ultimately entered the Konkan, which of course means the present Goa territory.

The Iholē inscription would have us believe that Konkana was ruled by the Mauryas at this period. At the present stage of historical research however it is not possible to establish any connection between the dynasty of the Gomins and this Maurya family. It is possible that with the conquest of North Konkan by the Chalukya Swamiraja the hero of eighteen fights, the Mauryas, who were thus ousted from the North, confined their rule to the South Konkan. Whether the Maurya monarch defeated by Swamiraja actually had to wrest it from the Gomins, cannot be ascertained. Be that as it may, it was only natural that he should have made Chandrapura, the most important city on the west coast his capital. And it was thus that Pulikesi II found that Mauryas there in the course of his triumphal march through the west coast. The description in the record of this city (referred to merely as Puri or city) as 'the mistress of the western sea,' leaves no doubt as to the city intended and agrees with the designation of prosperous' applied to Chandor in the inscription of Devaraja. Evidently Pulikesi II would never have proceeded further before subjugating this powerful and wealthy capital.

The reconstruction we have here attempted of the history of Pulikesi's campaigns makes his Digvijaya intelligible,. He first consolidates his kingdom in north and west; proceeds southwards against the Kadambas; and goes further south again at the Ganges; turns in a northwesterly direction to secure the Alupa allegiance; and then proceeding along the coast and destroying the Maurya power in Goa, he joins the south with the north Konkan. Thereafter he passes into the Lata, the Malava and the Ganjara countries and returns to his capital, thus completing the first series of his conquests.

As governor of this important province, Pulikesi, appointed his eldest son Chandraditya, who is also known as Chandravarmara. Happily two inscriptions of the latter have come down to us. It is significant that in one of these inscriptions Chandraditya is described as the elder brother of the reigning king Vijayaditya. He bears the usual Chalukya birudas. But there is hardly any doubt that he held a somewhat subordinate position, when this charter was issued. How is this anomaly to be explained? It is now well-known that after the disastrous end of Pulikesi II, the Chalukya rule was restored thanks to the efforts of the Ganga king Durvinita. It is possible that since Vikramaditya I was the latter's grandson, it was settled between the brothers that while Vikramaditya should succeed to the Chalukya dominions above the Ghauts, Chandraditya should inherit those on the west coast. Accordingly the latter is seen in the next inscription to date his records in his own regnal year a privilege not enjoyed by mediatized

princes. He is also described in this record as '*nana-samanta mani-mari-chibhir-achurita-pada-padma* (whose lotus like feet were sprinkled by the rays of the sun in the form of many feudatory chieftains). However since the restoration of the Chalukya power was entirely due to the family connections of Vikramaditya, a certain precedence was allowed to the latter.

Whether this position was acquiesced in by the successors of Dhondaditya it is not possible to say. The view is feasible that with the relaxation of control by the central government, the Goa Chalukyas followed the example of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Chalukyas of Guzerat. As a matter of fact Jayasimha, another brother of Vikramaditya was at this time in charge of the northern portion of the Chalukya Empire and pushing its frontiers beyond the Bhima and the Narmada. In the reign of Vikramaditya I the dominions of the Goa Chalukyas seem to have included besides the present Goa territory, the Iridge country also, and therefore the whole of Southern Konkan. The northern Konkan was probably entrusted to Bhogasakti of the Harischandra family.

Two circumstances enable us to conclude that the Chalukya domination was continued in southern Konkan by this branch of the Imperial Chalukyas. For one thing, the Silahara records which are our sole authorities for the history of the succeeding two hundred and fifty years give an account of a struggle they carried on for well nigh a century with a certain rulers of Chandrapura. Since no dynasty is known to have intervened there between the Chalukya and the southern Silahara regimes, the only conclusion possible is that these were the successors of Chandraditya. Secondly while vaxing eloquent on the victories gained against Chandrapura, these records maintain a discreet silence about the dynasty that ruled there. This is probably because Avasara III and Rattaraja, (in whose reigns these records were issued,) being themselves feudatories of the Chalukya Emperor Taila II, they naturally took care not to wound the susceptibilities of their overlords.

The founder of the Southern Silahara family was one Sanaphulla. He is described in the Kharepattan and the Valipattana plates as a favourite of Krishna, and he is said to have acquired the country from the sea to the Sahya mountains, i.e. the Western Ghats. Since the grant was made in A.D. 1009 and since the succession of the ten chiefs mentioned therein, was from father to son, it has been calculated that Sanaphulla lived in the 2nd half of the 8th century. This makes him a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I. As the inscription, says that he enjoyed this king's favour, it may be assumed that he was entrusted with the conquest of the West Coast. He seems to have successfully reduced the Northern or central Konkan to the Rashtrakuta yoke. But his efforts against the Chalukyas of Chandor were ineffective, and it is even doubtful, if any part of the present Goa territory was ever included within his dominions. The reason for this statment is that Dhammiyara, his son and successor, is styled 'the founder of the great stronghold of Valipattana, and Avasara III, the last but one ruler of this dynasty, is said, to have resided there, facts which show that despairing of dispossessing the Chalukyas of Chandrapura of their capital and kingdom, Dhamiyara finally fixed his abode at Valipattana.

This Valipattana, which thus became the capital of the southern Silaharas, has till now defied all efforts of the scholars at successful identification. It is, however, to the credit of Mr. V. R. Varde Valavalikar that,

he should have again thought of attempting it. He identifies it with Balli, a hamlet two or three miles to the east of Cuncolim, in Salsette. But, as we have pointed out elsewhere, it appears from the inscriptions that Valipattana was a port to the north of Goa; while Balli is about 20 miles to the south-east. Then again Valipattana was situated on the coast like Chemalya (Chaul) while Balli is land-locked being at a distance of six miles from the coast without an ingress to the sea to speak of. Finally, being situated in Chandravadi (see Cortez's map of Goa) which evidently takes its name from Chandrapura (Chandor), Balli is hardly eight miles to the south of this ancient capital. Is it conceivable that the capitals of these two rival powers would have been so close to each other?

A more plausible suggestion seems to be the one proposed by prof. Panduranga Pissurlancar. His identification of it with Valavli in the Savantivadi State has in its favour the fact that this place is situated on a river bank. But his next statement that it was already important in the 7th century seems unwarranted. The inscription of Vijayaditya of 700 A.D. or S.S. 622 on which this assumption appears to be based merely says, 'when his victorious camp was at the city of Rasenanagera, at the request of a certain Nanderya, he granted to a Brahman the village of Nerur, situated between the village of Ballavalli and Sahamyapura. It will thus be seen that it was just a hamlet at this date. Its only importance was that it served to mark the limit of the village granted to the donee. But there is nothing against the view that it was subsequently selected by the Silaharas for their capital, thanks to its favourable situation both for purposes of commerce, owing its easy access to the sea, and for those of strategy being situated, as Prof. Pissurlancar says 'on a hill near a river'.

To return to political history, Dhammiyara was succeeded by his son Aiyaparaja (C. 820-845). It was in this reign that the Silaharas ultimately triumphed over the Chalukyas of Chandrapura. In the official history of the dynasty as given in the Kharepattana and the Valipattana plates, Aiyaparaja is described as "endowed with the qualities of a conqueror, who was bathed with the water of the cocoanut near Chandrapura" There is hardly any doubt that the allusion here is to a signal victory won over the Chalukyas rulers of Chandor.

But the Chalukyas continued unsubdued. Whatever losses they may have suffered in the time of Aiyaparaja were more than made up in the reigns of his son and grandson, viz., Avasara I. (C. 845—C. 870 A.D.) and Adityavarmma (C. 870—C. 895 A.D.). The former's reign it is clear, was troubled. He is said to have 'singly subdued a multitude of enemies'. This could only mean that those of the coastal powers that had chafed under the yoke of Aiyaparaja, now asserted themselves so that the Silaharas were thrown on the defensive; while in the next reign they must have actually suffered some reverses. This seems to be the reason why the reign of Adityavarmma (c870—c895 A.D.) is represented as devoid of achievement. It must also be remembered that the period of these two Silahara feudatories synchronises with the inglorious reigns of Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I and Krishna II—a period during which the provinces of Gangavadi and Malava were lost to the Empire, and the chronic wars against the Eastern Chalukyas drained its resources. This surely must have put heart into the recalcitrants on the West coast.

The next ruler of the Southern Silaharas was Avasara II (c. 895-c.920. A.D.) His was a more successful rule. He is said in the official account to have 'conquered his enemies and aided the rulers born at Chemulya and Chandrapura.. The policy outlined in this laconic sentence is the very opposite of that followed by his predecessors. For whereas the latter had followed an aggressive policy and failed, Avasara made use of diplomacy and succeeded. His reign witnessed a dynastic revolution in Chandor, as it is synchronous with the rise to power of a new line of chiefs at Chandrapura, viz, the Kadambas. For if we allow a period of twenty-five years to each of the five kings from Kantakacharya to Shashtha-deva II, the former becomes a contemporary of Avasara II.

How did this come about? It should be noted that though the Kadamhas had been overthrown in the 7th century, their influence never wholly disappeared from Deccan politics during two and half centuries following the extinction of their power. The words of the Marcella plates that Kantakacharya, the founder of the Goa Kadambas, was truly known on account of his affluence and prowess, suggest that he was a man of consequence at Chandrapura. The words used in the official account of the Silaharas that Avasara 'aided the rulers born at Chandrapura probably imply that Kantakacharya was actually induced by Avasara to unfurl the banner of rebellion. He may have exploited the discontent among the people consequent on this century of warfare. This was moreover, the times when Amoghavarsha III not only retrieved the losses suffered in the previous reigns, but he and his son were actually carrying all before them. Kantakacharya may have convinced the Goan notable of the uselessness of further resistance, and counselled them to submit to the inevitable in order to prevent further loss of life.

As a reward for his services Kantakacharya was installed as a feudatory at Chandrapura with the territory around the city for a kingdom, while the territory north of the Jvari, comprising the districts of Tisvadi, Bardes and part of what are now called Novas Conquistas, was annexed to the Kingdom of the Silaharas. This is concluded from the incident of Guhalla-deva III's shipwreck, his sojourn in Goa, a port belonging to a friendly power, and his being supplied with money by a rich Mahamadan merchant. The mention of Boribhatha which is to be identified with modern Borim in Ponda, in the Valapattna plates of Rattaraja go to confirm the conclusion. It would appear from the Gandevi stone inscription that Kantakacharya, assumed the style of Shashtha-deva on his being installed as a Mahamandalesvara.

Avasara II is also said to have helped the rulers of this buffer state of Chaul against his kinsman the Northern Silahara Kopardin II (c. 850—880 A.D.) The latter had extended his kingdom so far to the south that it bordered on Revati-dvipa (Chaul). It was clear that if his aggressive activities were allowed to go unchecked, it would end in the annexation of Southern Konkana as well. That the action of Avasara did have the desired effect is seen from the fact that Vappuvana, the son and successor of Kopardin II is credited with no military achievement.

But no sooner was the strong hand of Avasara removed than Jhanja, the successors of Vappuvana seized upon Chaul. It is possible that following his father's policy, Indra-raja, attempted to relieve the distressed city,

but his best efforts were unavailing against the superior power of the enemy. This probably accounts for the fact that the official history is reticent about his exploits.

The Southern Silahara house found a more capable ruler in the next King, Bhima. In the picturesque language of the record, he "distinguished himself by seizing the Chandra-mandala as Rahu swallows the moon's orb". Dr. Altekar has correctly understood the expression to contain a reference to Chandrapura politics. In fact this was a period which witnessed a movement to subvert the Rashtrakuta authority. The Kadamba chiefs Irivahedanga and Shashtha join hands with the Chalukyan Chatta, the leaders of this movement. A faithful feudatory of the Rashtrakutas, Silahara Bhima would not tolerate this disloyalty. He crossed the Jvari, and overran the Kadamba principality.

The result of this campaign was not so disastrous to the Kadambas as the Silahara record would suggest. The Rashtrakuta Kottiga II was too preoccupied in other parts of his empire to support his loyal vassal. In consequence, Shashtha I soon made good his losses and richly deserved the poet's praise: "The brave king Shashtha is alone victorious. He brought his kingdom under his control without so much as lifting his arm." In fact Avasara was reduced to such a cowed state that he passed all his life at his fortified capital Balanagara or Valapattana. His Chikodi plates are the first Silahara record, wherein the overthrow of the Rashtrakuta power by Taila is mentioned. This makes it clear that the Silaharas had either already acknowledged the Chalukya hegemony or were preparing themselves to transfer their allegiance to imperial dynasty—a fact which also becomes apparent from the suppression in their official accounts of any mention of the Chalukya defeats at their hands.

The next reign, that of Rattaraja, however, leaves no doubt as to the fact that by now the Silaharas had already tendered their allegiance to the new imperial house. That it was a wrench to one, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves in faithful service to the late imperial dynasty is evident from the way the transition from the Rashtrakuta to the Chalukya suzerainty is expressed in the official account: "After this King (*i.e.*, Rashtrakuta Krishna III left the earth by means of Yoga, his brother Khotika, (or Gyotika) who acquired glory with a wish of displaying generosity, ruled the earth. His brother's son Kakala, was a popular king, who had defeated all the enemies by his prowess. Having defeated this king in battle the lion like and glorious king Tailapa, of the Chalukya race, descended from Yayati, came to the throne".

It has been supposed that having thus reluctantly, acknowledged the Chalukya supremacy, Rattaraja renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas at the very first opportunity; that this opportunity arrived at the death of Satyasraya, when the Chalukya Empire was distracted by the Chola invasion; and that Rattaraja, who had been left in the enjoyment of his independence in the reign of Vickramaditya was finally defeated by Jayasimha, who had his kingdom annexed. While this view is not entirely baseless, it leaves unexplained the claim of the Northern Silahara kings of the period that they held sway over the whole of the Konkan. Their encroachments on the southern Silahara territory seems to have already commenced in the

reign of Aparajita Mriganka. Once the buffer state of Chaul was destroyed there was nothing to prevent their intrusion into the southern Silahara kingdom. In the Valipattana plates (issued in 932 S. S. or 1010 A.D.) for example, Rattaraja is seen in possession of Nagara - Hanjamana and addressing the worthy citizens of this town. But hardly seven years had passed in S.S. 939 or A.D. 1017, Arikesari of the Northern branch is observed greeting "All the holy men and others" inhabiting this city. Evidently the confusion raging in the Chalukya empire was availed of by the northern Silaharas to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their kinsmen of the south.

POLITICAL LIFE UNDER THE GUPTAS.

(on the basis of epigraphic and numismatic evidence)

Summary

By

MR. SATYA PRAKASH SRIVASTAVA.

In the annals of ancient Indian History the Gupta Age represents a level of culture and civilization all its own. The chief glory of the age, which staggered the contemporaries and yet inspires the posterity, lies in its political achievements, which were principally responsible for the unique outburst and flowering of our national genius in its manifold aspects.

The object of this paper is to present a scientific analysis of Gupta polity in all its phases and departments in as brief a manner as possible.

The executive in India was strong and enduring. The king was the head of the administration and in theory his power was unlimited. He was the Sole representative of the people and occupied the position of a real ruler guiding the destinies of the kingdom. As a Hindu, he had to obey the Scripture and authentic traditions and that accounts for the epithets 'Parameshwara', 'Paramdaivata' ascribed to him in the inscriptions.

The secret of the success of the Gupta rulers lies in the principle of succession to kingship which was based on sound principles. The old law of primogeniture was not in vogue then. The usual practice was the selection by the dying king of the best-fitted prince from amongst his sons. Samudragupta presents in him a complete picture of this kind of selection. The use of the words 'Tatparigrihitena' (selected by the father) in the Mathura inscriptions very well points to this in the case of Chandragupta II as well.

The personal life of the king was very simple. He took great interest in redeeming the poor from miseries, in protecting religion and in dispensing justice.

The emperor was assisted by a council of ministers known as Mantri Parishad, the prominent of them being the chief minister of the state. The portfolios of war and peace, the chief councillorship, military forces and law and order were held by different persons respectively known as 'MahasandhiVigrahika', 'Amatya', 'Mahabaladhikrita' and 'Mahadandanayaka'.

The administrative agency in the provinces was an exact miniature of the central government and was carried on by the provincial governor who had his own separate staff to carry the administration of his charge.

The governor had a prime minister called Kumaramatyadhikarana who was also known as 'Yuvaraja' and Bhattarka. He had divided his provinces into different 'Visayas' which were placed under the officers known as Visayapatis (e.g. Gayavisaya, Latavisaya etc.). He also appointed for certain important cities city magistrates (nagara-rakshaka) who had the duty of maintaining the public works (Chakrapa ita for Girinagar).

The notable feature of the Gupta administration was the democratic form of government forming an integral part of the Imperial administration. The local affairs were left to the care of local men, who were thought to be the best persons for controlling the situation.

Put in modern terms, the Gupta fighting forces were composed of:— (a). Infantry (b). cavalry (c). elephantry and (d). Navy. The infantry and navy were largely composed of men assembled together without regard to rank or file. We know for certain that many islands in the Indian Ocean were either conquered by the Great Gupta monarch or submitted to him out of fear, thus clearly indicating his possession of powerful navy.

The maintenance of law and justice was entrusted to Dandapasadhikarana, the chief of Police and Mahadandanayaka (the chief judge). Other offices connected with the government house were Vinayasura; Tiravana, Mahapratihara.

The law administered in those days in Courts was the traditional law of the Smritis especially that of Manusmriti.

The judicial administration of the time was highly enlightened and refined. It had a strong executive to affect the execution of its orders. There was for this purpose separate civil police force, the head of which was known as Dandapasadhikarana.

In matters of Transfer of Property, State Sanction was always required. Even the endowments by private persons required the sanction of the state for their validity by means of a royal charter which was granted according to the rule of bhumichhidra (bhumichhidranayayena).

Big philanthropic institutions were governed by a trusteeship of five persons called Panch-mandli which managed their temporal affairs. For instance, Kakanadabota Mahavihara was governed by a similar body which ruled the properties attached to it and managed them. Thus the administration of the religious or charitable endowments was well organised.

Finance being the backbone of administration, land revenue has always been an important source of income in an agricultural country like India. It was the most important in Gupta days too, though there were other means of income like customs, mint, inheritance, present etc.

The land was measured by the Padavarta (the turning round of a foot) and this measurement determined the land assesment.

The variation in type of coins according to localities points to the localisation of coins and stones that the task of mintage in those days was very heavy.

Thus the administrative machinery set up for the provinces was highly advanced and self sufficient. It had not to depend upon the central government. This very well points to decentralisation in mintage.

In conclusion, it may be asserted that the polity in review meets and successfully disproves the oft-repeated criticism that India, being wedded to autocracy through ages, is unable to understand and appreciate modern political wisdom in democracy.

Nay, on the contrary, the Gupta Polity furnishes a proof, if proof be needed, that democracy has not been foreign to Indian political genius, which evolved and realised first, in the person of its representative king and secondly, in the institutions of local Self Government, and lastly, in the general spirit of the entire administration, an ideal democracy which was an envy and despair of the contemporaries and is an inspiration to the posterity. The Gupta administration represents a remarkable blend of the best ideals of monarchy, democracy and federation in their harmonious and cooperative working.

THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTAS.

Summary

By

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When did the Early Imperial Guptas flourish? On this point there had been very various views expressed by scholars. Edward Thomas since 1850 till his last believed that the dates of the Imperial Guptas should be referred to the Saka era of 77-78 A.D. and the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. should apply to the Valabhi grants, General Cunningham at first applied A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. But later on accepted the view of Thomas to the Saka era for the Gupta dates and the Vikrama era for the Valabhi grants. At last he advocated A.D. 166-67 for the epoch of the Gupta era. Prof. Lassen expressed the view that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160, Drs. Bhau Daji, R. G. Bhandarkar and Oldenberg assumed the epoch, A.D. 319 for the Gupta Dynasty. But Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed Kaniska's accession in A.D. 278 and Dr. R. C. Majumdar in A.D. 248-49, i.e., making the Kusanas and the Guptas practically contemporaneous, Dr. Oldenberg also admitted this view when he remarked that by placing Kaniska in A.D. 78 and the Guptas from A.D. 319, the vacant period between Vasudeva and the Guptas is already greater than might be expected from numismatic considerations. Sir E. Clive Bayley supposed A.D. 190-91 for the epoch of the Gupta era. In 1886 Dr. Fleet from a few astronomical calculations only advocated A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era. But the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology and Genealogy of the Guptas were on the increase and recently Dr. Shamasastri advocated A.D. 200-01 and Mr. M. Govind Pai and Mr. K. G. Sankar following him advocated A.D. 273 for the Gupta dates. Since 1932 this humble writer

from various sets of evidence is showing and will show in the present paper the incorrections of all the above epochs the only view of Edward Thomas approaching nearer the truth and that, the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramadityas is identical with the well known Vicrama era of 58 B.C.

From the internal evidence of inscriptions dated in the Kota or Malava-gana era it is evident that the epoch of the era must be about 400 years earlier than the epoch of the Gupta era. It has been assumed by scholars that the epoch of the Kota or Malava-gana era is identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. From the undated Mandasor inscription of Rajadhiraja Yasodharman we learn of Yasodharman's defeat of Mihirakula. From another inscription of Yasodharman dated in Malava-gana year 589 it is evident that his defeat of Mihirakula occurred about this date which is assumed therefore to be A.D. (589-57, or) 532. But in the Chinese translation entitled 'Fu-fa-tsong-yin-yuan-ching' in A.D. 472 of an Indian Buddhist work, Mihirakula beheading the 23rd and the last of the Northern Buddhist patriarehs Simha, which he did after he repaired to Kashmir, is mentioned. The 21st patriareh Vasubandhu is also mentioned in this work. The date of composition of this work in India is not known. Suppose this was composed some 12 years earlier in India i.e., in A.D. 460 immediately after Simha's death. But from inscriptional evidence it is assumed that Mihirakula flourished about A.D. 532 and say his beheading of Simha therefore occurred about A.D. 540. From the evidence of the Chinese work, this date is clearly in error by at least (540-460, or) 80 years. That is the epoch of the Kota or Malava-gana era must be at least 80 years earlier than 58 B.C. i.e., should be at least (58-80, or) 138 B.C. from this evidence alone.

The Mandasor inscription dated in Malava-gana year 524 mentions Govindagupta, the brother of Kumaragupta I. In this inscription it is stated that Indra (i.e., Mahendra, or Kumaragupta I) was suspicious of Govinda's power. This shows that Malava-gana year 542 must fall during the reign of Kumara I (Sam. 93-136). But scholars assume Malava-gana year 524 to be equivalent to A.D. (524-58, or) 466—Gupta Sam. 146 on Dr. Fleet's epoch. As this date falls during Skanda's rule it shows clearly the incorrectness of the identity of the Malava-gana and the Vikrama eras, with any epoch earlier than A.D. 319 for the Gupta dates and 58 B.C. for the epoch of the Malava-gana era absurd results follow. Thus for example, Malava-gana year 524—A.D. 466—Gupta year (466-273, or) 193 on Mr. Pai and Sankar's epoch when Govindagupta would be living!! with Dr. Shamasastri's epoch Govindagupta would be living in Gupta year (466-200, or) 266!!! and on Gen Cunningham's epoch in Gupta year (466-166, or) 300!! From the above the incorrectness of the identity of the Kota or Malava-gana era with the Vikrama era is proved beyond the least shadow of doubt.

Acarya Sthiramati's Introduction to Mahayanism was translated into Chinese by A.D. 400. Hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400. Say he died about A.D. 380. But from the Wala grant of Dharasena II dated Sam. 269 we know that the venerable acarya Sthiramati had a vihara built through Dharasena's further Grihasena (Sam. 240). Now on Fleet's epoch Sam. 240—A.D. 560 i.e., some (560-380, or) 180 years after the latest possible date of acarya Sthiramati's death. This shows that the epoch of the Gupta era cannot be later than (320-180, or) 140 A.D. from this evidence alone. The date of another inscription of Dharasena II was at

first read as Sam. 257 but later read as Sam. 254. Even with this reading Sam. 254—A.D. 574 on Fleet's epoch i.e., nearly 200 years after the latest possible date of the death of Sthiramati showing the absurdity of Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era and the futility of trying to verify astronomical details with Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era.

From Chinese literary evidence we know that Vasubandhu and Hari-varman were contemporaneous. Harivarman's great work was translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva (A.D. 383—412 in China) who also wrote a life of Vasubandhu was the teacher of Sthiramati. Hence Vasubandhu's death cannot be placed later than A.D. 360—Gupta Sam. 40 on Fleet's epoch. Now acarya Buddhmitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Hence the latest possible date when Buddhmitra flourished was about A.D. 320 i.e., in the beginning of the Gupta era according to Dr. Fleet, whereas from the Man-kuwar inscription we learn that Buddhmitra was still living and undefeated in Gupta Sam. 129—A.D. 449 on Fleet's epoch showing clearly the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch.

The 'Lankavatara Sutra' was translated into Chinese by Gunabhadra in A.D. 443, the second translation by Bodhiruci was in A.D. 513. The date of composition of this work in India is not known. However from this work we know that the downfall of the Guptas occurred long before A.D. 443—Gupta Sam. 123 on Fleet's epoch when we know the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumaragupta I was ruling. From the Damodarpur plate of Sam. 224—A.D. 544 on Fleet's epoch when we know the Imperial Gupta rule was still intact, thus showing Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era to be hopelessly incorrect.

The recently discovered Gokak plate of Rastrakuta Dejja Maharaja is dated when 845 years of the a Guptayika Kings had passed away. 'a-Guptyikanam rajnam' in the plate means 'a-Guptyanvayikanam rajnam' ('aya' with or without the prefix 'anu' means the same, or it is just possible that the scribe inadvertently forgot to write the compound letter 'nva'. Thus 'a-Guptyikanam rajnam' means in the reckoning of the kings of the Gupta family. Palaeographically the plate belongs to the 8th century A.D. The Editor of the plate, has shown that assuming 845 years to have elapsed from Maurya Candra Guptas (313 B.C.) the resulting date A.D. 532 is too early. On Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era the resulting date is (845-320, or) 1165 A.D. which is obviously too late. On the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras the resulting date is A.D. (845-57, or) 788 which exactly suits the date from palaeographic considerations and this date of Dejja falls exactly within the period, A.D. 757 to 812 proposed for Jejja or his brother by Prof. Kielhorn while editing Rastrakuta Jejjas grandson Parabala's inscription dated in (Vikrama) Sam. 917—A.D. 861. Phonetically also 'Dejja' and 'Jejja' are identical. Thus this Gokak plate proves geometrically the identity of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramadityas with the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. This will be supported from the Morbiplate of Jainka dated in Gupta year 585 on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the 5th day of Phalguna. On the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras, the resulting date is A.D. 529 in which year there was a total solar eclipse on January 25 which was exactly the 5th day of Phalguna as stated in the inscription. This plate belongs to the Jethra Kings whose early capital was Morbi before they changed it to Bhumli about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The Dhiniki plate of the Jethva Maharajadhi-

raja Jaikadeva of Saurashtra was issued from Bhummilikar or Bhumli in Vikrama Sam. 794 A.D. 738. Palaeographically the Morbi plate is much anterior to the Bhumli plate of A.D. 738. Whereas on Fleet's epoch the date of the Morbi plate is A.D. (585—320, or) 905, some 167 years later than the Bhumli plate, a sheer impossibility on palaeographic grounds. Moreover, there was no solar eclipse in Phalguna in A.D. 905 or within a few years before or after this date. Moreover, the letters of the Morbi plate closely resemble the characters of the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A.D. 520. All this shows as clearly as possible the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras.

From these and numerous other pieces of evidence of a varied nature it will be seen as clearly as possible that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is hopelessly incorrect and that Edward Thomas' epoch of A.D. 78 for the Gupta dates and the Vikrama era for the Valabhi grants approach nearer the truth and that the true epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramaditya is the well known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and also the epoch of the Kota or Malava-gana era is identical with the Sree Harsa era of 458 B.C. mentioned by Alberuni.

VISHNUGUPTAS IN THE GUPTA DYNASTIES.

Summary

By

DR. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

Latest discoveries show that there were two rulers named Vishnugupta, who were separated from each other by about 225 years. The first of these was the son of Kumaragupta II and flourished in c. 480 A.D. The second belonged to the Later Guptas of Magadha and flourished towards the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

The first of these was so far known only from coins, which were found in the Kalighat hoard along with the coins of Narasimhagupta and Kumaragupta II. The presumption therefore was that he must have succeeded the latter ruler, though it was possible to argue that some more kings may have intervened, as the entire contents of the Kalighat hoard are not known at present. One of my students, Mr. Krishna Deva, who is at present an Archaeological Survey scholar, has however recently discovered a fragmentary seal at Nalanda, the inscription on which he will be soon publishing in the *Epigraphica Indica*. The text of this inscription is as follows:—

- 1 राजाधिराजश्री.
- 2 राजाधिराजश्री नरसिंहस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्त्वादादृष्ट्याह.
- 3 राजाधिराजश्री कुमार गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्त्वादानुष्ठायतो मह.
- 4 परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्री विष्णुगुप्त.

This discovery of Mr. Krishnadeva therefore shows that Kumaragupta II had a son named Vishnugupta, who ruled as a Maharajadhiraja after his father. In the light of this inscription, we can now confidently say that the

king Vishnugupta of the Kalighat hoard was the son of king Kumargupta II as suggested by Allan, we can now also understand why the coins of Narsimhagupta, Kumaragupta II and Vishnugupta were found together in the Kalighat hoard. I had recently suggested² that Vishnugupta of the Kalighat hoard might perhaps be identified with Vishnugupta, the son of Devagupta, of the later Gupta dynasty. I had relied upon the evidence of the *Manjusrimulakalpa*, which states that in Bihar a king named Deva was to be succeeded by a king named Chandra³. Now inscriptions of the later Gupta kings show that Devagupta had a son named Vishnugupta and the coins show that his *biruda* was Chandraditya. This naturally tempts one to identify Vishnugupta Chandraditya of coins with Vishnugupta, the son of Devagupta of the inscriptions. Mr. Krishna Deva's discovery however shows that this is a wrong inference, and that we should be on our guard when utilising the evidence supplied by the *Manjusrimulakalpa*. The seal however does not give us the *biruda* of Vishnugupta, the son of Kumaragupta II. The seal would further show that Vishnugupta, the son of Kumaragupta II, was ruling contemporaneously with Budhagupta. This renders it very probable that the Gupta empire was divided during the last quarter of the 5th century. The latest date of Kumaragupta II is 473-4, supplied by the Saranath inscriptions and the earliest date of Budhagupta is 476-7, supplied also by a record from Sarnath. It is doubtful whether Vishnugupta, the son of Kumaragupta II, had really a short reign of about two years.

No record of king Vishnugupta, the son of Devagupta, was so far found; he was known only from the records of his successors. Recently however I have discovered a new inscription of this Vishnugupta at a village named Mangraon in the Buxar sub-division of Bihar, thanks to the information supplied by Mr. Narmadeshver Roy, a mathematics student of the Benares Hindu University. This record does not give us the genealogy of Vishnugupta, but there can be no doubt that he is to be identified with the ruler of that name in the later Gupta dynasty. The inscription is not dated in any era, but its palaeography makes it clear that it has to be referred to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, which was the time of Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty. The findspots of their inscriptions show that the later Guptas were ruling over Shahbad and Gaya districts of Bihar; the Vishnugupta of the Mangraon record was also ruling over that territory, as shown by the findspot of the new record. Nor can we suppose that Vishnugupta of the Mangraon record was homonymous contemporary feudatory of Vishnugupta, the son of Devagupta II; for the Mangraon record shows that even a wandering monk has not forgotten to give him the imperial title of Maharajadhiraja.

The Mangraon inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of the emperor Vishnugupta. This information enables us to be more definite about the chronology of the later Guptas. From the Shahapur image inscription⁴, we know that Adityasena, the grandfather of Vishnugupta was ruling in 672 A.D. No imperial titles are given to Adityasena in this record and we know that he had performed three horse sacrifices as stated in the Deoghar inscription⁵. It is therefore probable that the exploits of Adityasena, which may

1. Allan, A catalogue of Indian Coins Gupta dynasties, pp LX—LXI

2. J.N.S.I., Vol. III pp 57—9

3. 676—7 (Jayaswal's edition)

4. Fleet, Corpus Inscr. Indicarum, Vol. III.

5. " " pp 212—3, No. 3.

have justified the horse sacrifices, were performed after 672 A.D.; it is therefore probable that he may have ruled at least for a decade more, i.e., upto 682 A.D. Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim and a contemporary of I-tsing, who was staying at Nalanda from c. 675 to c. 685 A.D., refers to a temple at Bodhagaya, recently built by a king named Sun-Army, and to the willingness of the then ruling king of Eastern India, Devavarman, to restore the site of the dilapidated China temple, if Chinese priests should come to India from China⁶. King Sun-Army can be no other than Aditya-sena and king Devavarman, who was ruling over Magadha towards the close of the stay of I-tsing, must be the same as Devagupta, the father of Vishnugupta. We may therefore well assume that the reign of Devagupta II began in c. 685 and may have lasted to the end of the 7th century if it had not extended into the 8th century as well.

The accession of Vishnugupta may therefore be placed in c. 700 A.D. The Mangraon inscription is dated in the 17th year of his reign; his reign therefore must have extended upto c. 720 A.D., and may have also lasted for about five years more. The accession of Jivitagupta II may therefore be placed in c. 725 A.D.

Jivitagupta II is the last known king of the house of the later Guptas. If we assume that his rule extended over about 20 or 25 years, we can place his reign during the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. This was also the time when Yasovarman was ruling at Kanauj. The Gunda king, whom Yasovarman is said to have killed, may have been Jivitagupta II. This incident gave rise to anarchy in eastern India, which was eventually put an end to by Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty. The approximate time of Gopala is the beginning of the third quarter of the 8th century. The interval between Jivitagupta II and Gopala was thus not more than ten years in all probability.

THE EASTERN GANGA ERA AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS.

Summary

By

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In the proceedings of the 2nd Indian History Congress, held under the auspices of the Allahabad University in 1938, a Short Paper of mine on 'the Initial year of the E. Ganga Era' was published. In the last para, I wrote that though Several Scholars accepted my view, Scholars like Dr. R. C. Muzumdar, still expressed a different view and held that the period A.D. 550-557 or even the first half of the 6th Century. A.D. better corresponded to the Epoch of G. Era than the period A.D. 494-498 as stated by me and several other scholars. Dr. Muzumdar also stated that *the Ganga Rule ended in the 10th Century* though this view is clearly opposed to Historical, inscriptional, and other Evidences. (Vide his outline of History of Kalinga, reprinted from Decca University Studies).

6. Beal, Life of Himen Tsaug, Introd. pp XXXVI-VII.

While editing the Plates of Hastivarma in Ep. Ind. Vol. xxiii P 63, the same scholar stated thus: "The Epoch of the Ganga Era would fall between 470-570 A.D. This is in accord with the latest theory on the Subject, Viz, that of Prof. R. Subba Rao who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A.D. 494."

In Ep. Ind. Vol. xxiii P. 75, while editing the Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Devendravarman of 308 year, Dr. Chabra states thus: "The year refers itself to the Ganga Era, the initial date of which has been much discussed but not yet been quite settled. Recently, Mr. R. Subba Rao has outlined a History of the Gangas of Kalinga. According to his calculation, the Ganga Years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A.D. 802 and 804 which may not be far wrong if not exact. This date may moreover be borne out by the Palaeographical evidence" (In a footnote he refers to J.A.H.R.S., Vol VI Pp 196 & 197 and A.R. on S. I Ep. 1931-32 P 45 where the origin of the E Ganga Era has been discussed and almost the same conclusion has been reached).

Again Dr. R. C. Muzumdar in a recent article on "the Epoch of the Ganga Era, published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. iv, Pp171-79 has stated that it has not yet been possible to ascertain its epoch or origin. After discussing the views of several Scholars and rejecting them, he states thus:—"To Mr. R. Subba Rao belongs the Credit of bringing to light positive evidences of a satisfactory character, which may perhaps lead to the solution of the vexed problem. But unfortunately, Mr. Subba Rao's deductions and inferences do not appear to be quite correct."

The object of this Paper is to bring upto date the several views of Scholars on this subject and to point out the defects in Dr. Muzumdar's view and to affirm the correctness of my theory.

(1) Fleet's view that the epoch of the Era would fall in the 6th Century is now rejected by all Scholars as obsolete and Groundless.

(2) Mr. G. Ramdoss' view that the Era was founded as a result of Samudragutta's invasion of Kalinga after 330 A.D. is also rejected by all scholars as being based on mere assumptions and on incorrect astronomical data.

(3) The view of Robert Sewell, late R. D. Banerji and B. C. Muzumdar which state that the Era was founded in the latter half of 9th C. A.D., in the 1st half of 8th C. A.D, and in the latter half of 8th Cent. A.D., respectively, are also rejected as they are not based on positive data.

(4) My own views, first stated in 1930 in my *Kalinga Desa Charitra and History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, that the Era was started in A.D. 494 or 495, are now accepted by the following scholars in toto or with slight change of one or two years:

Messrs:

(a) D. C. Sircar (b) J. C. Ghosh (c) Rao Bahadur C. Krishnamacharlu (d) Prof. K. Neelakanta Sastri (e) Suptd. Arch Survey (f) B. V. Krishna Rao (g) and others—

(5) Dr. Chabra states that my views cannot be far wrong though they are not exact. Dr. Muzumdar, while giving credit to me for supplying positive data which will lead to solution of the problem states that my theory is not

quite correct. There is a difference of more than half a Century between our two views regarding Ganga Era. This problem must be soon solved satisfactorily for writing out a correct history of the country.

Dr. R. C. Muzumdar's points are :

(1) The date of Mandasa Plates of the time of Ganga Anantavarma issued by Dharmakhedi is S' 976 or 967 but not S'. 913 as stated by Mr. G. Ramdoss in JBORS Vol XVII, Pts II-III. The 15th regnal year would correspond *fairly well* to S'. 976.

(2) If the date of the Mandasa Plates is taken as S'! 913, then there is no Anantavarma at that time—Vajrahasta 11 had no such title as Anantavarma.

(3) The Donor of Mandasa Plates, Viz, Dharmakhedi who issued a grant in Anantavarma's reign in S'-976 or 967 also issued a grant (Vide JAHRS. Vol. III, Pt. 171-180) (Simhapura Plates) in the reign of Anantavarma's son Devendravarma in the Ganga Year 520. There is no difficulty in identifying these two Ganga Kings with Vajrahasta Ananta Varma (S'. 960-992) and Raja Raja Devendravarma (S' 992-999)- The Ganga year 520 would thus fall between S'. 992 & 999 and Epoch of the Ganga Era would lie between S'. 472 and 479 or A.D. 550 and 557.

(4) The Chicacole Plates (JBORS. Vol XVIII, Pt III) refer to Madhukamarnava, son of Anantavarma. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies him as the son of Vajrahasta Aniyanka Bhima and states that Vajrahasta had the title of Anantavarma. If this is accepted, the Epoch of the Ganga Era cannot of course be so late as 550 A.D. But it cannot be accepted, as it is a mere assumption. The only natural interpretation of the only known positive datum would lead to the inference that the initial data falls between A.D. 550 and 557.

(5) Lastly, Ganga Indra varma of 87th year of Achyapapuram plates granted lands to Durgasarma of Gautama Gotra. The E. Chalukyan Vishnuvardhana granted lands in his 18th year which corresponds to 633 A.D. to the two sons of Durgasarma of Gautama gotra (vide Chipurapalli Plates) If the initial date of G. E is 550, then Durgasarma would receive Grant in 637 A.D. and his sons 4 years earlier than himself. This would also place the Epoch in the 1st half of 6th Century and probably between 550 and 557 A.D.

(6) He does not like to discuss the astronomical data as he is not equal to the task and there is risk in replying on it.

I must answer his points one by one :—

(1) Any one reading carefully Mr. Ramdos' views published in J.B.O.R.S Vol xvii Pp 175-188 and J.A.H.R.S. Vol ix, Pp. 13-22 must be convinced with his arguments. The mode of *Anka* reckoning of dates must be admitted by anyone acquainted with Kalinga or Oriya History. The Style of Mandasa plates which resembles the earlier C. P. grants and the absence of Imperial titles like Tri-kalingadhipati to the king Anantavarma should lead any one to think that the King referred to is the earlier Anantavarma Vajrahasta of S. 901-936 and not his grandson. The 15th Anka year or 13th actual year therefore corresponds to S'. 913 a fact proved by all c. p. grants. If Dr. Muzumdar's argument is to be accepted, the 15 regular year cannot correspond to either S'. 976 or S'. 967. His statement that it corresponds *fairly well* cannot be accepted for want of precision. Moreover the titles

that are found in Anantavarma Vajrahasta III's grants are not found in this grant.

(2) Taking the date of the Mandasa Plates as S'. 913, and considering the usages and practices of the Ganga Kings as revealed in both C. P. and Stone inscriptions and studying the genealogy carefully, the king who ruled in S'. 913 and who had the title of Aniyanka Bhima Vajrahasta must be recognised as an Anantavarma a title which was borne alternately by several kings from his time onwards. Similarly, the title of Devendravarma was borne alternately by the kings. In proof of it, Aniyanka Bhima Vajrahasta 11 Anantavarma had a son Madhukamarnava Devendravarma—His successor, Anantavarma Vajrahasta had a son Devendra varma Raja Raja and a grandson Anantavarma Chodaganga. Thus it is not improbable to believe that Vajrahasta 11 had the title 'Ananta varma'. The Mandasa, Simhapura and Chicacole Plates and the recently discovered ponduru C. P. grant (J.A.H.R.S, Vol IX, Pt III) of 500 G. E. prove it.

(3) The reply for this is that there is greater reason for identifying the same two kings with Anantavarma of S'. 913 and his son Madhu-Kamarnava who issued a grant in Ganga year 526 and who ruled from S'. 941 to S'. 960 according to approved genealogy and chronology. The Grant of Dharma-khedi of 520 Ganga Era may refer either to his reign or to that of one of his two elder brothers who ruled previously within a period of 4 years. But it probably refers to him only. The starting date of the Ganga Era, according to Ganga Chronology as provided in the most reliable C.P. Charters viz, those of Vajrahasta III, would then fall in the period suggested by me, Viz, A.D. 494-497. Moreover, Dr. Muzumdar's identification of Devendravarma of Ganga year 520 with Raja Raja Devendra Varam of S'. 992 to S'. 999 is clearly wrong in the face of Chicacole plates of Madhukamarnava dated Ganga year 526. This King is the immediate predecessor of Raja Raja Devendravarma's father Vajrahasta Anantavarma who ascended the throne in S'. 960 and he issued a grant in G.E. 526. Yet Dr. Muzumdar states that his grandson lived in G.E. 520 ! This is absurd. So, he himself admitted that his theory does not provide for this king who actually lived and ruled from S'. 941 to S'. 960.

(4) & (6) Dr. Muzumdar states that the Ganga Era falls within the first half of 6th C and probably during the period A.D. 550 to 557. If it is so, it not only fails to satisfy certain astronomical data given in the Ganga C.P. Charters but also does not provide for the existence of King Madhukamarnava Devendravarma of G.E. 526 whereas he is a historical King who actually ruled (according to all the C.P. grants of Vajrahasta III) immediately before Vajrahasta Anantavarma. It is proved from Chicacole C.P. Grant dated 526 G.E. and Simhapur C.P. grant dated 520 G.E. that this Madhukamarnava son of Anantavarma had also the title of Devendravarma and *no other King of that name and title existed at a later period.* He lived in the transition period between the Early and Later Ganga periods and it was at this stage that the Ganga and Kadamba kings used both Ganga and Saka years as well as Ganga-Kadamba years in their plates.

(5) Lastly, the synchronism suggested by Dr. Muzumdar does not decide the issue. It was really no synchronism. The facts of the two grants were

suggested by myself 10 years ago in my Telugu Book *Kalingadesa charitra* and 6 years back in my *History of the E. Gangas of Kalinga in English*. The contents of the Achyutapuram and Chipurapalli Grants oppose the learned Doctor's theory rather than help it. They support my theory, that the Ganga era started at the end of the 5th C. A.D. (497 A.D. or near about). Durgasarma of Achyutapuram plates of E. Ganga King Indravarma II of G.E. 87 obtained a grant of land in Kalinga, while his sons were mentioned in Chipurapalli C.P. Grant as getting villages in S. Kalinga at the hands of Kubja Vishnu of E. Chalukyan line in A.D. 632. (Vide Chipurapalli and Achyutapuram Plates) Pulikesin Conquered this Country in or about 610 A.D. as stated in his Aihole Inscription, probably by defeating Danarnava the father of Indra III of 128-154 G.E. Allowing a period of 40 years for the difference in age between father and sons, we get (87 G. E. plus 40) 127 G.E. as equal to 632 A.D., i.e. the first year of G.E. would be about 505 A.D.

In conclusion, I must state, that Madhukamarnava's titles as stated in his inscription of G.E. 526 and other inscriptions would only confirm my theory. Scholars like G. Ramadass, B.V. Krishna Rao M. S. Sarma and others held that the title Devendravarma was borne by this Madhukamarnava also and the C.P. Grants mentioned above have led them also to this conclusion.

There is a Madhukamarnava, son of Anantavarma, of S'. 1071. (Vide S.I.I. Vol V, No 1322). He was also called Kamarnava and he ruled from A.D. 1147 (S'. 1069). He was the son of Anantavarma Chodaganga who fixed his capital at Cuttack and not at Kalinga nagara. Hence this king cannot be identified with Madhukamarnava, son of Anantavarma who issued a grant in G.E. 526 and who had his capital at Kalinganagara. A close examination of all later Ganga inscriptions from S'. 1069 onwards reveals the fact that there is no king called Devendravarma in the whole of the Later Ganga line from A.D. 1076 to A.D. 1434. Hence it must be concluded that the Chicacole Plates of Anantavarma Deva's son Maharajadhiraja Madhukamarnava, dated 526 G.E. and the Simhapura C.P. grant of Dharmakhedi of the Reign of Anantavarma's son Devendravarma dated 520 G. K. Era or G. Era suggest only one and the same person, i.e. Devendravarma Madhukamarnava (S'. 941-960). Two different kings could not exist and rule within such a small space of 6 years from one and the same capital, e.g. Kalinganagara and over one Country, e.g. Sakala-Kalinga. Similarly, both the Simhapura and Mandasa plates mentioned each an Anantavarma and Dharmakhedi and they are in each case one and the same person. But since S'. 913 belongs to Anantavarma's 13th year, and since he had 35 years of rule and since G.E. 520 refers to Anantavarma's third son's reign i.e. to Madhukamarnava Devendravarma's, it follows that the G. year 520 is later than S'. 913 and the Ganga Era starts in or about (S'. 941-520) S'. 421 or A.D. 499. If it refers to Anantavarma's eldest son who ruled in S'. 937, then the G.E. would start 4 years earlier i.e. in A.D. 495 only. But the former date is to be preferred for reasons stated already. Recently, the Ponduru C.P. grant of Kamarnava's son Vajrahasta II dated 500 G. Era and belonging to the 29th regnal year of that king was published in J.A.H.R.s Vol IX, Pt 3, Pp23-30 and this would give (S'. 929-500 G.E) S' 429 or A.D. 507 as the first year of the Ganga Era. If the Anka mode of reckoning is to be applied, then the actual year will be 24 and the initial year of the Ganga Era would be (S'. 924-500 G.E) S' 424 or A.D. 502.

Anyway, the initial year of the Ganga Era cannot be pushed forward to A.D. 550 or 557, ie, by more than half a Century as Dr. Muzumdar has stated. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Mankharis started their own Era in A.D. 499 and so also the Eastern Gangas would have started their Era about the same time. That was also the time when the Chalukyas left N. India and entered the Deccan and founded their line. It was after the fall of the Imperial Guptas that the Gangas founded an Era of their own and not before as stated as Mr. G. Ramados.

The next important question is that of the Connection between the Early and Later Gangas. Some Scholars hold that they belong to different Lines. Dr. Muzumdar held in his "Outline of the History of Kalinga", in the last para, thus:—"The end of the political supremacy of the dynasty was brought about by the E. Chalukyas. The Ganga Kings must have lost their political importance in the latter half of the 9th C. and the *rule of the family was brought to an end in the 10th C.* This fits in well with the epigraphic data of both the Gangas and the E. Chalukyas."

Nothing is further from truth—I have described in my "History of the E. Gangas of Kalinga", published in the Vols V to IX of J.A.H.R.S. how kings of both early and Later Times belonged to the same dynasty and in proof of it, I stated that kings of both Times used Ganga Era and mentioned in their Plates the same phraseology, worshipped the same God Gokarneswara seated on Mt Mahendra, spread Vedic culture and Hindu religion especially Saivite cult by grants of lands and villages to Temples, Priests, Vedic Scholars and ruled from the same Capital Kalinganagara over the same country called Kalinga or Sakala Kalinga or Tri-Kalinga. There are several instances of kings of both lines giving short genealogies only—Besides, the names Ganga and Ganga are both found in the C.P. grants of the kings of both Lines. The suffixes to the names of kings of both lines such as Varma, Deva, and Arnara are found to be the same—The kings of both lines were closely related to the E. Kadambas who were employed under them as Grama Palakas or Executors of grants or District Officials. The seals of the grants issued by kings of both lines resemble closely and contain the same emblems like lotus, crescent, bull and elephant goad. The style of the grants, the characters used, the language employed and the purpose of the gifts are all similar. Hence, the Early and Later Kings belong to the same Dynasty.

It therefore follows that His dynasty ruled continuously from about 500 A.D. to 1434 A.D. with of course varying fortunes as is always usual in ruling dynasties. Merely because the E. Chalukyas conquered S. Kalinga on several occasions—and none of their grants are found in Kalinga Proper where the Gangas ruled throughout the period—it cannot be said that they ended the Ganga Line. Vajrahasta and his successors not only recovered S. Kalinga but conquered Vengi and ruled over it for some time. Devendra Varma Raja Raja and his son Anantavarma Chodaganga rescued the Lord of Vengi when he was about to be drowned in the chola ocean. In my genealogical and chronological table, shown in my work, I proved with the help of 36 C.P. charters—and it was approved by several scholars—that the early ganga line provided a king called Devendra Varma who issued a C. P. grant in G. year 397 891 A.D. The charters of Vajrahasta are believed by all scholars and according to them the first mentioned king ruled about 894 A.D. Hence the gap between 891 and 894 is negligible and the

whole line ruled continuously over Kalinga and the early line did not come to an end but continued in the later one.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE EARLY EASTERN
GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA FROM THE CLOSE OF
THE 5th. CENTURY A.D. TO THE CLOSE
OF THE 9th CENTURY.

Summary

By

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The chief source of information is supplied by several *Copper-plate Inscriptions* of the Kings that ruled over Kalinga (Ganjam and Vizag Dts.) during the four centuries that followed the decline and fall of the Gupta Empire (495-895 A.D.) In addition we have the valuable account of Kalinga given in Yaun Chwang's *Travels*. Also, the *records of contemporary rulers like Harsha* throw a very useful light and reveal the interesting fact that, through the Gupta, Harsha and Early Ganga times, there runs a Common type of administrative system and culture with the same names of officers and same functions. The origin of the three types is to be traced to the code of Manu and it is North Indian Just as the three rulers are also of North Indian dynasties. The Gangas are the Famous '*Gangaridae*' of Alexander's time and they belong to the Gangetic Valley and after migrating from N. India, one branch settled in Kalinga and the other in Mysore. The Early Ganga Line Consists of about 16 kings ruling from Ganga year 39 to G. Year 397. I have shown in several works and papers of mine—and my theory has been accepted by several well known scholars—that the initial year of the E. Ganga Era corresponds to A.D. 496 or near about that year. Hence these early Kings must be held to have ruled over Kalinga from the end of the 5th Century to the End of the 9th Century A.D. The earliest Ganga C.P. inscription which gives important details about the first historical king is the Jirjingi Grant published by me in J.A.H.Rs. Vol III, Pp 49-53. Its characters are box-headed and its style shows that it surely belongs to the beginning of the 6th Century A.D. The King is called *Tri-kalingadhipati* or Lord of three Kalingas and the use of the title *Gangamala Kula* shows how, after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, when several *Mlechcha* or foreign dynasties overran several tracts of N. India and even the Dekkan, this dynasty was able to keep its purity and it remained indigenous and orthodox, devoted to the sole purpose of developing Brahmanical Hinduism and Vedic Culture in Kalinga Desa. The Ganga Kings used an Era of their own and their institutions followed the dictates of Manu. Their inscriptions were composed in Sanskrit language, and written in old Telugu-Kannada Script and also Nagari Characters. They were devoted to the Holy feet of Sacred Is'vara or Siva appearing in the form of Linga (Phallus). The Administrative system of Kalinga from the 6th to the 10th Cent. is known to us from the Inscriptions and Coins and Temples and Buildings of the times. It does not copy any old system but starts an original one. But yet it has not failed to copy certain precedents from N.

Indian Systems. The E. Gangas were not subordinate to the Guptas for, by the time they started their Empire and their Era, the Gupta Kingdom perished. No doubt, they attained an Imperial Status and they established an Administrative system of their own.

The Early E. Gangas ruled over Ganjam and Vizag Dts. They were a local Dynasty. The knowledge we get of their administration from their C.P. grants is limited. This applies to the period extending from the close of the 5th Century A.D. to the Close of the 10th Century A.D. During the period—11th to the middle of 15th Century A.D. the Administration was highly organised as we get more details from stone Inscriptions also. The Govt. was Monarchical. The King was the State. There were ministers but they were servants of the King. The C.P. Inscriptions record that the King granted lands or villages only after assembling all family heads and local chiefs and ministers and acquainting them of the facts of the Grants. It was a Royal Order which had to be obeyed.

But royalty recognised the local leadership in villages and Districts and held them as responsible officers and treated them with regard and respect.

Royal titles are mentioned in the Inscriptions. The Eldest son is Yuvaraja; other royal relations are given high posts as executors of grants or commanders. The Kadambas chiefly are mentioned as Executors of grants Commanders, Village heads etc., other officers are mentioned. A *Kumara Amatya* might refer (1) to the King's son being appointed as Minister or (2) to the minister appointed by Heir apparent. The manternal uncle of the king were holding high posts and advising him in making grants. *Kumara Amatyas* were appointed as *Vishayapaties* or Dt. Officers. Not only Brahmins but Vaisyas also held high offices. The Gangas fought with Devapala and other Pala Kings of Bengal and also with the E. Chalukyan Kings of Vengi. They also copied their administration. The official designations of both dynasties can be compared with those of the E. Gangas. An account of their history will prove this.

The earliest Ganga Copper-plate inscription which gives important details about the first historical king of the dynasty is the Jirjingi one, published by me. It throws considerable new light on the difficult problem of the Ganga Era, both on account of the characters in which it is written and the titles it bestows on its royal donor. The king is called Tri-kalingadhi-

It would appear, both from the name of this dynasty and the use of such qualifying terms as "*spotless*," that the Ganga Line was purely indigenous and orthodox, devoted to the purpose of developing Brahmanical Hinduism and Culture in Kalinga country. The Ganga kings used an Era of their own as opposed to the Saka Era used by the kings of the several dynasties then ruling over South India. The inscription is written in Vegi or old Tel-Kannada characters of the 6th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the closing verses of Vyasa, the rest of the inscription is in prose. The grant was made from the capital city of *Dantapura* by the king who was devoted to the feet of Holy Isvara. He had the titles of *Maharaja*, *Tri-kalingadhipati*, *Thousand-fold Sun in the sky of the pure Ganga family* and *Victor in several battles of four-tusked elephants*. He granted the village of Jijjika, modern Jirjingi, in Tekkali Taluq of Ganjam district,

free from all kinds of taxes and obstacles, to Agniswami and his son Rudraswami, in two equal shares.

The object of the grant seems to be to encourage the settlement of Vedic or Vaidika Brahmins in Kalinga country so that the Vedic lore and cult might spread. The king was a devotee of Parameswara and hence the Saivite form of worship spread in right earnest along the east coast. From the Godavari Plates of Prithvimula, we learn that that king, acting under the orders of the Ganga King, granted a whole village called Chuyipaka to Vedic scholars. It was thus the practice of the several kings belonging to the several dynasties then ruling over the South of India to encourage the spread of Vedic learning and Saivite faith. It was an Age of Devout Saivism.

A conner-plate grant of Devendravarma's Son Satyavarmadeva (G.E. 51 i.e. A.D. 547) was made from the victorious Kalinganagara by the king who was devoted to God Gokarnaswamin of Mahendra hill, who acquired supremacy by the edge of his sword over the whole of Kalinga and who was a Parama Maheswara. The order, which was made to the *Kutumbis* or families of cultivators of the village of Taru in the district of Galelai, States that the same village was granted on the occasion of solar eclipse, free of all taxes for the religious merit of himself and his parents as an *agrahara* to the village God and given to Kamalasana Bhattaraka in the 51st year of Ganaveva era, for the conduct of the worship of Siva. Thus, it was a gift to the Brahmin for the conduct of the worship of Siva-the tutelary village God. This grant—a Devagraharam clearly shows that, in all the villages also, the worship of Siva was firmly established and the State made statutory and permanent land provision for the conduct of such worship. This grant is important in showing that while Indravarma I was only called the Lord of Tri-kalinga, Satyavarma was called the Lord of All-Kalinga. Probably, there were five or even seven Kalingas at that time, including the islands in the seas. In Pliny's time, some of the Kalinga tribes occupied the islands at the mouth of the River Ganges and in the 6th Century they probably occupied the East Indies and paid homage to the Maharajas of Kalinganagara. The Tamil work *Kalingathuparani* expressly states that Rajendrachola II sent an expedition, at the close of the 11th century, against the Lord of Seven Kalingas.

Hastivarma's C.P. inscription dated 80 G.E. records the grant of a piece of land at the village of Hondevaka in Krosh tuka-Vartani (district) as an *Agrahara* to Javasarma of Urlam. It was purchased by the king from the owners of the village and made into an *Agrahara*, free from all taxes. The language spoken and written, was Telugu. The people, Kalingas as well as Andhras spoke and wrote in the same language. The capital continued to be at Kalinganagara only. The king who is a devout worshipper of Siva states some very interesting facts Viz., the purchasing of a piece of land from the owners of the village and constituting it into a tax-free *agrahara* for the benefit of a learned Brahman. What is still more interesting is the practice of summoning all the cultivators and heads of families and sometimes royal officials and ministers with a view to acquaint them with the nature of the royal donations so that they (the grants) might be continued, free of taxes and all kinds of obstacles, in the enjoyment of the Donees. In this case, as in other cases generally, the gift was made for the merit of the king and his parents.

The grant of G.E. 12 of Indravarma III was composed by *Amatya* (Minister) Davachandra's son *Rahasika* (Private Secretary) Sankaradeva and engraved by Vinayachandra's son, Aditya *Manchi*. (Engraver) The plates of this king of G.E. 146 which do really belong to G.E. 138 are also written in old Tel-Kannada letters. The grant was made on Rathasaptami, the 8th day in the month of Magha. In addition to the usual titles, the king had two special ones, Viz, "he, who has attained the proficiency of a holy teacher by the purity of all the numerous sciences and accomplishments that have been well-mastered by him" and "he, who is the full autumn moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gangas". Such king intimates to all the assembled cultivators of the village of Talamula in the Krostuka Panchali that he constituted that village into an agraphara free from all taxes and betowed it on two Brahmins who were the residents of Avarenga and Kalinganagara. The executor of the grant is named Mahamahattara (the great elder or elderman) Gaurisarma, the writer Bhavadatta, son of *Amatya* (Minister) Ahkakade and the engraver *Akshasali Bhogika* (Collector of land tax or Inspector of revenue).

The Executor of the grant is *Mahamahattara* Sivasarma, while the composer is *Sarvadhikari* (Superintendent of household) sambapuroadhyaya, the son of *Hastyaadhyakasha* (Supt. of Elephants) Dharmachandra. The royal offices, *Mahamahattara*, *Sarvadhikari* and *Hastyaadhyaksha* correspond to "the great village elder" "the General-in-chief", and "the president of the elephant forces" respectively. Similarly, if we examine the official titles of the times, we get several interesting types showing that, in the general administration, the king was helped by officers of different grades. Thus, the C.P. grant of Maharajah Indravarma I of G.E. 39 was written by *Sandhi vighraha* Devasingadeva. The term "Sandhivighraha" corresponds to Secretary for peace and the War or Foreign Secretary.

The official title of the writer of the C. P. grant of Anantavarma's son, Devendravarma is "*Sri Samanta*" which means "the illustrious vassal" while that of the engraver is '*akshasali*' which means "engraver of letters". The order of Indra II of 87 G.E. was published orally through Talavara-deva '*Bhogika*'. This term is identified by some scholars with Boyi, a Village Servant. I think it corresponds to a Land Revenue Collector. The C.P. Grant of Indra III of 128 G.E. was composed by *Rahasika* Sankaradeva, the son of *Amatya* Devachandra and engraved by Aditya *Manchi*, son of Vinayachandra. '*Rahasika*' would mean private Secretary or One in charge of private or secret affairs of state. '*Amatya*' is Minister.

The executor of the C.P. grants of Indra III dated 138 and 154 G.E. was *Mahamahattara* (the great village elder) Gaurisarma and their writer was Bhavadatta, son of *Amatya* (Minister) Ahkakade and engraver *Akshasolika* (Revenue collector).

We learn from this inscription that there was a measure called *Brahmadeyam* in which the fields were then measured. The practice of granting one or two plough-shares of land is also interesting. The royal command that the land granted shall be cultivated by water running through two channels called Karakhandi and Brahmanapalani from the Tunganna tank shows what irrigation facilities were provided in ancient times and how Varikas and Bhogikas collected water and land taxes from the cultivators.

All the villages and lands granted by this king are found in the modern Chicacole, Tekkali and Parlakimidi Taluqs showing that they were directly under the control of the king and in the heart of the Kingdom. All the donees were Brahmans well-versed in Vedas, vedangas and Sastras. The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit while the characters are Telugu, Kannada, Grantha and Dravidian. There is no doubt about the fact that the Andhras and the Kalingas who lived, then as now, along the East Coast and in the Ganjam district used the Telugu-Kannada scripts. Since the grants were made from both Dantapura and Kalinganagara, both were probably used as royal residences. It shows and Yuan-Chwang confirms this view-that Dantapura, the city of Buddha's tooth relic, was still in a flourishing condition then. It is not known when and how the city met with the unfortunate ruin in which it is still found.

It would seem that, during the reign of this king, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan-Chwang visited Kalinga. After leaving China in A.D. 629, he visited India and toured throughout the continent for 15 years learning Buddhist principles of life and collecting works on the same. After leaving Karnasuyarna he travelled south-West above 700 Li or 140 miles and reached Utu or Udra (Orissa) country.

From Udra, the pilgrim travelled South-west through a forest for over 1200 Li and reached Kungyuto or Kongodu country, which was 1000 Li in circuit.

From Kung-yu-to (Kongodu), the pilgrim travelled South-west for 300 miles and reached Kalinga which was above 500 Li in circuit. Its capital was above 20 Li in circuit. The Country was filled for hundreds of miles with great forests which abounded in dark wild elephants. The people were rude and obstinate but were noted for good faith and fairness. Their speech was fast and clear, differing somewhat from that of Mid-India. There were only 10 Buddhist monasteries filled with 500 monks of the Mahayana School, while there were more than 100 Deva temples, thus showing that Brahmanical Hinduism flourished at the expense of its rival, Buddhism. The pilgrim states that the country, once thickly populated, become thin on account of the curse of a holy Rishi. But the real reason, for the scanty population seems to be the frequent wars that were fought between kings of the rival dynasties for possession of Kalinga. It will be interesting in this connection to note that Kalinga which was once united and strong under the Andhra kings in the third century A.D. became divided into 4 or 5 small principalities at the time of Samudragupta's invasion, about the middle of the 4th century A.D. The Chinese pilgrim's account only confirms this fact because, at the time of his visit about 638-629 AD., Kalinga was split up into several countries like Udra, Dakshina, Kosala, Kongyuto and Kalinga. This disintegration of the once powerful Kalinga Empire led to internal feuds and external wars. The inscriptions of the Gupta, Vakataka, Vishnukundin, E. Chalukya and E. Ganga kings clearly reveal this fact. Hence the pilgrim's statement that Kalinga was thinly populated should be believed, though the cause of it should be ascribed to wars and not to curse. It might be a fact that Kalinga was treated in early times as a polluted ground for Aryans to dwell in and hence the E. Ganga and Kesari-kara kings of Kalinga and Kongodu respectively, encouraged, by means of liberal land gifts to Vedic Brahmans and Saivite temples, the establishment of Aryan culture and faith. The pilgrim's statement that

Deva temples and Hindu faith flourished in these countries, at the expense of Buddhist monasteries and faith, is again in proof of it. This is also confirmed by the information supplied by the several C.P. Inscriptions.

The pilgrim does not mention anything about the government of the country or the location of the capital, though he states that "near the south wall of the capital there was an Asokan tope beside which were a sitting place and exercise ground of the Four Past Buddhas." Cunningham identified the capital with Rajamahendravaram on the River Godavari, while Fergusson stated that it was not very far from the modern Kalingapatnam. We have now learnt from the several C.P. grants of the E. Ganga king Indravarma III who at this time ruled over Kalinga that Dantapura (modern ruins of the fort of the same name) and Kalinganagara (modern Nagara-Kataka and Mukhalingam villages) were both the capital cities of the Empire, the latter being the chief capital. Both are situated on either bank of the River Vaninsadhara.

A. C.P. Inscription of Anantavarma's son Nandavarma of G.E. 221 A.D. 717 mentions the grant of certain lands made by Maharaja Nandavarma son of Annantavarma dated in the Ganga year 221. It was actually made on the 5th day of the month of *Ashada*. The king, who possesses the usual titles found in all the E. Ganga C.P. grants, having assembled the *Bhogikas*, *Varikas* and *Kutumbinas* of Chikallika Grama, informs them that, on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, and for the increase of his merit, he granted certain lands in it to Adityasarma, Matrusarma and Durgasarma, three Vedic Brahmins of Kaunlinyasa gotra free from all taxes and obstacles.

The '*Bhogikas*' seem to be the Royal Officers in charge of land revenue and the '*Varikas*' the water-tax collectors, while the '*Kutumbinas*' are heads of families of cultivators in the village and as usual, the king intimated the gifts made by him to them. It was incumbent upon them to continue the royal gifts in the enjoyment of the Donees according to the royal order. But the king sometimes paid them cash or gave land in substitution for converting the lands of the village which were granted to Brahmins into Freeholds.

The object of the grant of Anantavarma's son, Devendravarma III (G.E. 254 A.D. 750) was to bestow some villages in the district of Devadamana on God Dharmeshwara as Devagraharams. The king states that he was instructed to perform this act of religion by his maternal uncle Dharmakhedi—a Kadamba Chief, in connection with an *ayana*—the act of granting the villages noted above, to the Holy God Dharmeswara Bhattarakka after duly installing him. The act of naming Gods after kings or their consorts or close relatives is known to, and practised by, the kings of the several dynasties then ruling over South India. In the presence of *Purohita* (Royal priest) Adityadeva, the grant was written by Ugradeva, son of the *Rahasya* (Private Secretary) Durgadeva and engraved by *Akshasali* (Engraver) the Samantakhandi in G.E. 254, at the time when the Superintendent of the shrine, "*Sthanadhikara*", belonged to the holy Bhramin Somacharya. From the several C.P. Grants examined so far, we learn that almost all the Early Eastern Gangas installed Sivalingams, built temples and constituted both Deva and Brahmana agraharams. Rich endowments were made to them. The Brahmins who were wellversed in Vedas, Vedangas and Sastras were encouraged to settle in the Kalinga country. The tutelary or family God was Gokarneswara, seated on Mount Mahendra in Ganjam District,

The Ganga kiggs called themselves the devout worshippers of Iswara. It is probable that, by encouraging Brahmanical Hinduism, by patronising Vedic learning and by reviving Sanskrit studies, they paved the way for the fall of Jainism and Buddhism in Kalinga. The king states that, being influenced by his own maternal uncle Dharma Khedi, he installed the *linga* form of Dharmeswara named after him only. Now, it is known that *Khedi* is the titular sign of kings belonging to Kadamba Dynasty. In Mysore, the W. Kadambas and the W. Gangas lived as independent dynasties but in Kalinga, the E. Kadambas were employed as Village-heads, Governors of districts and Commanders under the E. Ganga Kings. They were related by marital ties also to their Overlords. Even now, in some districts of Orissa Feudatory States, the descendents of both the E. Gangas and the E. Kadambas still exist.

The grant published in Ep. Carnataka mentions that the king Rajendravarma's son, Devendravarma IV. (G.E. 310 A.D. 806) possessed the titles of Maharajadhiraja (great king of kings) and Parameswara (Lord paramount). These titles indicate that the king made large conquests and had several feudatory kings under his control. The grant is particularly interesting to us because it reveals clearly that, among the early kings, he alone has such Imperial titles. Perhaps, this king conquered the E. Godavari District in the southwest and Kongoda or north Ganjam District in the north-east.

The grant states that Maharaja Devendravarma, son of Maharaja Rajendravarma, informed the villagers of Niyina, in the district of Rupavartani (Tekkali) of the fact of his granting the said village, free of all taxes, to a Brahmin poet, the son of *Maha Pratihara* (the great door-Keeper).

It was written by the illustrious vassal (Samanta) Sarvachandra and inscribed by the illustrious vassal Khandimala in the Ganga year 310.

The Cheedivalasa Plates of king Bhupendravarma's son, Devendravarma V. (G.E. 397 i.e. A.D. 893) edited by me are very important as they throw much useful light on the religious and social history of Kalinga at the close of the 9th century, besides giving us the genealogy of the E. Ganga Kings for four generations.

This grant is important for the following reasons:—

- (1) It is the longest grant so far discovered of the early Eastern Ganga Kings, consisting as it does of 42 lines.
- (2) It gives the pedigree of the Early Ganga Dynasty of four generations unlike the other grants which mention only the king's name or sometimes his father's name also.
- (3) It is the only record, among the early ones, in which we get mention made of gifts to Vanga or Bengal Brahmins.
- (4) It mentions the following titles for the King's father viz., Maharajadhiraja, Parameswara, and Parama Maheswara and these titles prove the paramount supremacy which the dynasty attained in the 9th century A.D. over the whole of Kalingadesa.

The inscription records the grant of 'sividi' a site in the village of Kandalivada, made by Bhupendravarma's son, Sri Devendravarma, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, to the villagers of Sipidi, by name Aditya Bhatta, Yajubhatta and Sendidevabhatta and others who were native of

Vengadesa (Bengal) and who were of Bharadvaja gotra and who were enthusiastic in performing sacrifices and reciting Vedas.

It would appear that the Donees were invited, on account of their Vedic scholarship, to settle in Sividi in Kalingadesa. They were Bengal Brahmins and probably some of the present-day Kalinga Brahmins whose names end in Bhatta are the descendants of these Bengal Brahmins. The village Sividi which was granted to them became Seedi or Cheedi-*Valasa* (colony) where the Plates came to be discovered. From Kalinganagara, which was said to contain many temples of great prosperity, the king, who worshipped the God Gokarneswara, seated on the Mahendragiri whose Caves were the abodes of the illustrious Siddhas and Tapasas, issued the grant. He had the titles of Maharajadhiraja and Parameswara (Paramount Sovereign). He was the son of Bhupendravarma whose father was Marasimha and grand-father Vajri (Vajrahasta). He issued the order to the cultivators of Kandalivada in Koluvartani *vishaya*, (District) informing them that the grant of Sividi region in Kadalivada village was made, for the merit of himself and his parents, on the occasion of solar eclipse, to certain Bengal Brahmins who observed Gojadiksha, who were of Bharadvaja gotra and who showed much enthusiasm in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas and Vedangas and who always practised Dharmas described in Srutis and Smritis. It would appear from the charter that they got certain sacrifices performed by the king who, in return, granted them taxfree the said village.

A NOTE ON VISNUKUNDIN GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY.

BY

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The genealogy and chronology of the Visnukundins are matters of serious difference of opinion among scholars. Besides Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Fleet and Dubreuil who have made valuable suggestions, many other scholars have attempted to solve these problems. The late Mr. K. V. Lakshmanarao held that there were altogether nine rulers and that their rule lasted between 357—610 A.D. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. R. Subbarao accepted this number of rulers but assigned them to the period 400—600 A.D. ⁽²⁾ Mr. M. S. Sarma held that there were eight rulers and that they flourished between 400—612 A.D. ⁽³⁾ According to Mr. B. V. Krishnarao also there were nine kings but they ruled between 420—624 A.D. Dr. K. R. Subrahmanian believed that there were ten generations of Visnukundin kings and that they ruled from about the middle of the fourth century to 610 A. D. ⁽⁴⁾ Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently made another attempt to determine the genealogy and chronology of this dynasty and estimated that there were seven kings in this family who actually ruled and their period was between 500—670 A.D. ⁽⁵⁾ An attempt is made in this paper to study these problems afresh and examine the views of the previous writers.

Genealogy.

Five copper-plate grants of the Visnukundin family have been brought to light so far and each of them contains a short pedigree of its donor. The following information is obtained from these grants.

Chikkulla grant.

Madhavavarman.

Devotee of the lord of Sripārvata,
performer of 11 Asvamedhas and 1000
Kratus.

Vikramendravarman.

One who adorned the Visnukundi
and Vakataka lines.

Indrabhattaraka.

One who obtained victories with
his Caturdantis.

Vikramendravarman.

Adorned by kingly qualities even
in infancy and one on whom the
burden of the stated was put.

(the donor)

Ramatirtham grant.

Madhavavarman.

Devotee of the lord of Sripārvata,
performer of 11 Asvamedhas and
1000 Kratus.

Vikramendravarman.

One who adorned the two lines.

Indrabhattaraka.

One who obtained victories with
his Caturdantis.

(the donor)

1. Bharati 1931 p. 303.

3. Ibid V. pt. 3. p. 184.

5. See p. 114 of his Andhra Buddhism and Andhra history. One defect common to all these schemes is that the initial year of Visnukundin rule given by them becomes incorrect in view of the fact that Salankayana rule lasted over Vengi till about the end of the third quarter of the 5th century A.D.

6. See his table on p. 392 of his book entitled Successors of the Satavahanas.

7. E. I. IV. pp. 193—198.

2. JAHRS. VI. p.19

4. Bharati, August 1934, p. 307.

8. Ibid XII. pp. 133—136.

Ipur I set.

Govindavarman.

Madhavavarman.

Beloved of the women of Trivara-
nagara, born of Hiranyagarbha per-
former of 11 Asvamedhas and 1000
Agnistomas. | |

Mancyannabhataraka.

Polamuru grant.

Vikramahendrarvarman.

Govindavarman.

Madhavavarman.

Beloved of the women of Trivara-
nagara, born of Hiranyagarbha, per-
former of 11 Asvamedhas and 1000
Kratus. the ordainer of many kinds
of Divyas and Janasraya.

(the donor)

Ipur II set.

Madhavavarman.

Performer of 11 Asvamedhas and 1000 Agnistomas.

Devavarman.

Madhavavarman.

Devotee of the lord of Sriparvata and ruler of Trikuta-Malaya.

A glance at the tabular statement above would indicate two points beyond any doubt—viz. (1) that the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates agree with each other perfectly and that together they yield four generations of Kings. (2) that most of the epithets given to Madhavavarman in the Polamuru and Ipur I set are identical. From these two sets of two grants each we get the following groups of kings :—

Chikkulla & Ramatirtham.

Madhavavarman.

Vikramendravarman.

Indrabhattaraka.

Vikramendravarman.

Ipur I set and Polamuru.

Vikramahendra.

Govindavarman.

Madhavavarman.

Mancyannabhataraka.

Two questions arise at this juncture viz was there any relation between these two groups of kings? What is the position of the three generations of kings mentioned in the Ipur II set with regard to these two

1. Ibid XVII. pp. 334—337.

2. c. p. 7 of MER 1914 and Bharati VII. pp. 468—480.

3. E. I. XVII. pp. 337—339.

groups of kings? These questions have lead to considerable difference of opinion.

Mr. B. V. Krishnarao identifies the Madhavavarman of the Ramatirtham and Chikkulla plates with Madhavavarman II of the second set of Ipur plates on the ground that the epithets of this king in the three inscriptions are identical.⁽¹⁾ This view is obviously incorrect because the epithets given to Madhavavarman in the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates are positively at variance with those borne by the second Madhavavarman of the second set of Ipur plates.

The above writer⁽²⁾ and Mr. M. S. Sarma⁽³⁾ identify Vikramahendra of the Polamuru grant with Vikramendra II of Chikkulla plates, though the epithets of these two kings do not justify this identification. They seem to rely on the statement of the Madras epigraphist⁽⁴⁾ that the alphabet of the Polamuru grant is much later compared with that of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates but these writers fail to notice the further remark of the epigraphist that "if Vikramahendra is identical with Vikramendra and could be identified with Vikramendra II of the Chikkulla plates, two further generations of Visnukundin kings may be supplied by these plates. But it is very doubtful if on account of the later type of the characters we can do so". The epigraphist has further remarked that the prasasti of Madhavavarman of the Polamuru grant is nearly identical with that of his namesake of the Chikkulla plates. It is not known how these writers have missed this valuable suggestion.

Dr. K. R. Subramanian holds that Madhavavarman of the first set of Ipur plates cannot be identified with his namesake of the second of Ipur plates because the epigraphist places the first set later than the second set in point of time.⁽⁵⁾ An examination of the internal evidence of these two grants shows that this view is wrong and that the identification is quite tenable. This scholar obtains a curious genealogy for the Visnukundins consisting of four Madhavavarmans and two Govindavarmans and containing in all ten rulers.⁽⁶⁾ Though he does not explain how this is derived, he seems to have adhered strictly to the so called 'paleographic order' of the plates viz. Ipur II, Ipur I, Ramatirtham, Chikkulla and Polamur. This procedure is too mechanical, places undue reliance upon paleography and conflicts with the internal evidence of the inscriptions.

Dr. Hultzsch, the editor of the first set of Ipur plates, had identified Mahdavavarman, the donor of the plates, with Indrabhattarakavarman's grandfather Madhavavarman, the donor of the Ramatirtham plates. This identification is supported by the internal evidence of both the plates—viz. that in both of them the king is described as the performer of 11 Asvamedhas. In one of them he is said to have performed in addition, 1000 kratus while the other credits him with the performance of 1000 Agnistomas. Another argument may also be advanced in support of this

1. Bharati, August 1934, p. 30.

2. Ibid p. 303.

3. JAHRS. V. pt. 3. p. 184.

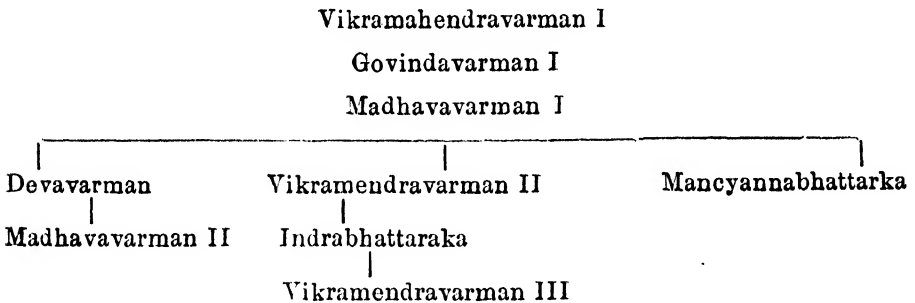
4. MER 1914 pt. 3. para. 35.

5. See his "Andhra Buddhism and Andhra history p. 113.

6. Ibid p. 114.

identification. The first set of Ipur plates and the Polamur grant were both issued by Madhavavarman himself and this explains the presence of a fuller list of his epithets in them than in other records which were issued by rulers who were two or three generations later than him. According to this identification Govindavarman and his father Vikramahendrarvarman of the Polamuru and Ipuru first set would become the father and grandfather respectively of the Madhavavarman of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates. Since Madhavavarman I of the second set of Ipur plates is credited with the performance of 11 Asvamedhas and 1000 Agnistomas like his namesake of the first set of Ipuru plates and the Polamuru grant, these two rulers may be considered to be identical and may also be identified with the Madhavavarman of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates. The absence of the usual title of Maharaja in the case of Madhavavarman II of the second set of Ipur plates and his association with Trikutamalaya, obviously under the supervision of a Visnukundin overlord, may be taken to indicate that this prince and his father Devavarman did not ascend the Visnukundin throne. It is probable that Madhavavarman's other son Vikramendra and his descendants, being Vakataka relations, usurped the throne. The allusion to Indrabhattaraka's fight with Dayadas supports this view. Madhavavarman I seems to have had three sons, Devavarman, Vikramendra and Mancyannabhattaraka.

In view of what has been stated above, the genealogy of the Visnukundins may be stated as follows.⁽¹⁾



Chronology.

We have mentioned above the opinions of various scholars regarding the duration of Visnukundin rule. The genealogy derived by most of these writers is untenable in view of what has been stated above. Dr. D. C. Sircar, whose genealogical scheme agrees with the one derived above, has made a fresh attempt at evolving Visnukundin chronology based upon this genealogical scheme. This chronology is as follows.

Vikramendravarman I	500—520 A.D.
Govindavarman	520—535
Madhavavarman I	535—585

1. Dr. D. C. Sircar also derives a similar genealogy in his book entitled "Successors of the Satavahanas".

2. Ibid p. 392.

Madhavavarman II	585—615
Vikramendravarman II	615—625
Indrabhattaraka	625—655
Vikramendravarman III	655—670.

The following arguments of this writer may be noted in this connection:—

(1) He considers the date of Madhavavarman I as the determining factor of the above chronology. This date has been derived by him by commuting the deference between the Polamuru grants of Madhavavarman and Calukya Jayasimha to be about 50 years. Assuming that the date of Jayasimha's grant is 637 A. D. and also taking his stand on the fact that Madhavavarman's grant was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on a Phalguna-purnima day, Dr. Sircar concludes that Madhavavarman began to reign some time between 516-535 A. D. ⁽¹⁾ (2) He seeks, further, to justify his date 625-655 A. D. for Indrabhattaraka by mentioning Kielhorn's identification of the Indrabhattaraka of the Godavary plates of Prithvimula with the Visnukundin king of that name and by quoting Fleet's opinion that the Indrarvarman of the Ganga Era 128 and 149 (said to correspond to 624 and 642 A. D.) fought with Visnukundin Indra. ⁽²⁾ (3) That Pulakesin II defeated near the Kolleru lake either Madhavavarman II or Vikramendravarman II, both of whom were weak kings. ⁽³⁾ (4) That the Visnukundins were ruling over Vengi while the early Eastern Calukyas ruled over Pistapura. ⁽⁴⁾ (5) That Visnukundan Indra invaded Eastern Calukyan territory and penetrated up to Ramatirtham as a measure of retaliation to Jayasimha's and Pulikesin's raids. ⁽⁵⁾

Every one of these arguments is open to criticism and there are several defects in the general chronological scheme. (1) The writer states in several places that it is probable that both Devavarman and his brother Vikramendra II predeceased their father but he actually omits the former and assigns a period of ten years to the latter. ⁽⁶⁾ Since both these princes are mentioned in Visnukundin grants without either the title Maharaja or any other appellation indicative of independent rule, their having died without ascending the throne need not be doubted. ⁽⁷⁾

(2) Madhavavarman II is simply styled as the lord of Trikuta-malaya and not as maharaja. Further, in his Ipur grant there is reference to a Visnukundy-adhiraja, which obviously means an overlord, probably Madhavavarman I. Thus it would be more reasonable to treat Madhavavarman II as his grandfather's viceroy rather than as an independent ruler. ⁽⁸⁾

(3) Thus there would be a difference of 40 years in the chronology.

1. Sircar's book pp. 107-112.

2. Ibid pp. 112-114.

3. Ibid p. 116.

4. Ibid p. 117.

5. Ibid p. 121.

6. Cf. Ibid. pp. 105 & 107 and p. 392.

7. In the Ipur (II set) grant Devavarman is described as Ksatriy-avaskanda-pravartit-apratima-vikhyata-parakrama; The Chikkulla grant describes Vikramendra II as Visnukundi-Vakataka-vamsa-dvay-alamkrtajanna; In the Ramatirtham plates of Indrabhattaraka this prince is described as Ubhaya-vamsatmaj-alamkara-bhutah.

8. Ipur (II set) plates Ep. Ind. pp. 337-339.

(4) Sircar's date 637 A. D. for the Polamuru grant of Jayasimha is obviously based upon Fleet's date of 615 A. D. for the commencement of Kubjavisnuvardhana's reign.⁽¹⁾ This date of Fleet is open to serious criticism and there are at least two alternative dates which Sircar admits to be probable and possible.⁽²⁾ Even if Fleet's date is accepted tentatively and even if it be held that Sircar's statement that 587 A. D. corresponds to the 40th year of Madhavavarman,⁽³⁾ it follows that the reign commenced in 547 A. D. But curiously the writer assigns the 'commencement of the reign to 535 A. D.'⁽⁴⁾ The Polamuru grant was made by Madhavavarman on a Phalguna-purnima day on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The writer mentions six dates⁽⁵⁾ on which there were lunar eclipses in the latter half of the 6th century but none of these dates agrees with 587 A. D. which is supposed to be the date of the Polamuru grant. If, on the other hand, 535 A. D. is taken to be the correct date the date of the Polamuru grant would then be 575 A. D. in which year there was a lunar eclipse of a Phalguna-purnima day, on 11th February. But this date indicates an interval of 62 years between the two Polamuru grants and shows that Sircar's estimate of 50 years is wrong.

(5) There is absolutely no justification for the identification of the Adhiraja Indra of the Godavary plates with any Ganga king of that name. The former was the son of Mitavarman, a native of the village of Minalkudi and not of Kalinga proper. The father of no Ganga king is known to have been a Mitavarman. This Adhiraja was so humble in status as to request a petty ruler like Prithvimula to grant a village.⁽⁶⁾ This is certainly unbecoming of a Ganga king. Further this Adhiraja does not have the usual Ganga appellation Kalingadhipati. Thus, this far fetched identification does not justify the date assigned to Indra, the Visnukundin king.

(6) The contemporaneity of Vikramendra II with Pulakesin II is untenable whether the Calukyan king's eastern campaign is assigned to 611 A. D. or 634-35 A. D. for the Visnukundin prince according to Sircar's chronology comes after 611 A. D. and died before 634 A. D.

(7) This writer's view that the Visnukundins ruled over Vengi for a considerable time while the Eastern Calukyas were ruling in southern Kalinga is equally untenable.⁽⁷⁾ This view is against known facts of Calukyan history. It is known that the rule of Kubjavisnu was confined to the Plaki-visaya and Dimilivisaya⁽⁸⁾ An analysis of the records of his son and successor Jayasimha throws fresh light on this point. His Polamuru plates,⁽⁹⁾ dated in the 15th year of the reign, contain a gift of that village situated in the Guddavadi-visaya which probably stretched up to the Godavary. His Pedavegi grant,⁽¹⁰⁾ discovered very near the Visnukundin capital, registers gift of a village in the Kanyeravati (Ganderuvati) visaya. His Peddamaddali plates dated in the 18th year of the reign and discovered in the Gudivada taluk of the Krishna district, contain a gift in

1. See Fleet's Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas in Ind. Ant. XX, pp. 95-104 & 266-285.

2. See Sircar's book p. 399.

3. Ibid p. 110.

4. Ibid p. 392.

5. Ibid p. 111.

6. JBBRAS. XVI. p. 144

7. See p. 122 of Sircar's book.

8. Cf. his Chipurupalli (I. A. XX. p. 16.) and Timmapuram (E. I. IX. p. 317) plates.

9. E. I. XIX. p. 254 & JAHS. IV. P. 76.

10. E. I. XIX. p. 258.

the Gudrahara-visaya.⁽¹⁾ The Niduparru grant discovered in the Guntur district contains gift of a village in the Ganderuvadi-visaya and mentions a royal residence at Ganderu.⁽²⁾ The Moparru plates discovered in the Tenali taluk of the same district register gift of a village in the Canurpalli-visaya.⁽³⁾ It will thus be seen that the authority of Jayasimha extended over the East Godavary, West Godavary, Krishna and Guntur districts. The discovery of one set of plates very near the Visnukundin capital and the presence of a royal residence in the Guntur district prove beyond doubt that the extension of Eastern Calukyan authority over this region was not a mere passing phase. Two of the grants of Visnuvardhana II, the successor of Jayasimha, were discovered in the Kaikalur and Gudivada taluks of the Krishna district.⁽⁴⁾ This indicates uninterrupted sway of the Calukyas over Vengi. Even if Fleet's date is accepted and even if it be supposed that the Polamuru Plates of Jayasimha are dated in the 5th and not in the 15th year of his reign, it is clear that this monarch extended his authority into the Guddavadi-Visaya by 638 A.D. and gradually expanded it into the Guntur district. This renders the simultaneous rule of the Visnukundins at Vengi impossible.

(8) It cannot be held that Indrabhattaraka's aggression up to Ramatirtham in southern Kalinga was a measure of retaliation against Jayasimha's inroads. It is now known that there was no break in the prevalence of Calukyan authority over Vengi. The presence of a royal residence of Jayasimha at Ganderu in the Guntur district supports this view further.

It is necessary to dispose of one or two minor issues before we give our own view of Visnukundin chronology. One of these issues is the date of the commencement of Kubjavisnu's rule at Pistapura. Fleet has assigned this event to 615 A.D. and held that it coincided with the installation of this prince as his brother's viceroy.⁽⁵⁾ A careful examination of the dates and astronomical details contained in numerous Eastern Calukyan grants prove that this date is untenable and that the initial year of the king coincided with the beginning of his independent rule. Mr. M. S. Sarma has suggested⁽⁶⁾ 633 A. D. and Mr. B. V. Krisharao 624 A. D.⁽⁷⁾ as the initial years. The bulk of evidence seems to support 624 A.D. and the arguments in favour of this date are quite convincing. We hold, therefore, that this date is correct.

It is necessary at this stage to mention a few important points which help the determination of Visnukundin chronology. (1) Devavarman, Madhavavarman II and Vikramendra II do not bear the title Maharaja and do not, therefore, seem to have ruled independently. Thus there would be only five kings who actually ruled. (2) The Eastern Calukyas were familiarly known as rulers of Vengi by the middle of the 8th century A. D. They must have been ruling from Vengi for at least a century in order that they should be closely associated with that city. This points to the middle of the 7th century for the Calukyan conquest of Vengi. (3) There is no reference in the records of either Kubjavisnu or his son Jayasimha to any

1. I. A. XIII, p. 137.

3. c. p. 9 of MER 1920.

5. I. A. XX, P. 3.

7. JAHRS, XI, pt. @ pp. 1—32.

2. E. I. XVII, p. 57.

4. See his Pamidimukkala (MER 1917 p. 115) and Pallivada (I. A. VII, p. 191) grants.

6. JORS, IX, pp. 17—45.

fight with rival ruling families. Similarly, the Visnukundin records also do not mention the Calukyas. Obviously, the great Visnukundins including Indrabhattaraka, who expanded up to Vizianagaram in the north, were gone by the time of the foundation of Calukyan rule.

In view of what has been stated above the chronology of the Visnukundins may be stated as follows :—

Vikramahendra I	500-525 A. D.
Govindavarman	525-545
Madhavavarman I	545-595
Indrabhattaraka	595-625
Vikramendra III	625-635

The following arguments may be mentioned in support of the chronological arrangements.—

(1) Madhavavarman I is known to have issued his Polamuru grant in the 48th year of his reign on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which is said to have occurred on a Phalguna-purnima day. That year corresponds, according to the above arrangement, to 593 A.D. There was a lunar eclipse satisfying all the above conditions on the 21st February.⁽¹⁾

(2) Indrabhattaraka's expansion up to Vizianagaram in Kalinga was about the 27th year of his reign. This date would correspond to 622 A. D. i.e. two years before the date of the foundation of Kubjavisnu's independent rule at Pistapura. Thus, this date renders Visnukundin expansion into southern Kalinga possible.

(3) According to the above arrangement Calukya Jayasimha's southern expansion would have reached Guddavadi-visaya in 657 A. D. (supposing) that his reign started in 642 A. D. and the Vengi region in 660 A. D. The provenience of his grants and those of his successors indicates unbroken sway over Vengi from this date. According to the above chronology Visnukundin rule in Vengi ceased by 635 A. D. and this accounts for the unimpeded progress of Calukyan arms to the south.

(4) It is known that Kubjavisnu was his brother's viceroy in Maharastra up to 615 A. D. the date of his Satara grant.⁽²⁾ By 624 A. D. he was ruling over Pistapura and southern Kalinga. What made him come to the east coast? Pulikesin had conquered Kalinga and Vengi as early as 611 A. D.⁽³⁾ It may be held therefore that some trouble or other in this region brought Kubjavisnu here. This trouble might in all probability be the aggression of the Visnukundin king Indrabhattaraka up to Vizianagaram in Kalinga.

(5) The Visnukundins seem to have crossed the Godavary twice and lead expeditions into Kalinga, once in the time of Madhavavarman I and again under Indrabhattaraka. The cause of these expeditions seems to be

1. See Sircar's book p. 111.

2. I. A. XIX. p. 309.

3. We believe that the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmanrao's view regarding the date of the Koppuram grant of this king is correct.

the advent of some trouble or other near the northern border of the Visnukundin kingdom. Three members of the Ramakasyapa family are known to us and the last of them Prthvimaharaja ruled from Pistapura for 46 years at the least. This ruler is assigned by one writer to the first quarter of the 7th century A. D.^{1&2} It is however certain that the rule of this Prthvimaharaja was either over or brought to an end by 624 A. D., the year of Kubjavisnu's establishment at Pistapura. Hence this last member of the Ramakasyapa family may be assigned to the period 574-624 A. D. His father was a certain Vikramendra and it is doubtful if he ruled. Vikramendra's father was Ranadurjaya and he seems to have ruled for sometime. Vikramendra of this family suggests the Visnukundin prince of the same name. It is likely that Ranadurjaya was a subordinate of Visnukundin Madhavavarman I and was sent to the north in order to safeguard the border of the Visnukundin kingdom. But this chieftain seems to have taken advantage of the fall of the Matharakula in this region, usurped Pistapura and established his independence there. Ranadurjaya's grandson Prthvi-maharaja was a powerful ruler. The growing power of this Ramakasyapa family must have worried Madhavavarman and lead to his crossing the Godavary with the desire of conquest. The Gangas established themselves securely by the first quarter of the 7th century calling themselves Kalingadhipatis and Sakala Kalingadhipatis. This new danger must have lead to the second Visnukundin expedition in the time of Indrabhattaraka.

(6) According to the date accepted by us for the foundation of Kubjavisnu's rule at Pistapura, the 15th year of Jayasimha's reign, in which his Polamuru grant was issued, would correspond to 657 A. D. According to the scheme of Visnukundin chronology suggested above, Madhavavarman I's Polamuru grant issued in the 48th year of his reign has to be assigned to 593 A. D. There would then be an interval of 64 years between the two Polamuru grants. The course of contemporary events justifies this interval. Sivasarman, originally a resident of Karmarastra, obtained Polamuru as an *agrarahara* from Madhavavarman I in 593 A. D. and in all probability migrated to the village granted to him. His son Rudrasarman seems to have also resided in Polamuru for some time. Subsequently, however, he seems to have migrated to Asanapura-sthana and re-obtained Polamuru from Calukya Jayasimha in 657 A. D. What necessitated this migration? There was Pulakesin's invasion of the east coast in 611 A. D. Then there was the northern expedition of Visnukundin Indrabhattaraka in 622 A. D. This was followed by the southern expansion of the Calukyas in the time of Jayasimha into the Guddavadi-visaya in 647 A. D. and farther south in subsequent years. It is likely that on account of these disturbances Rudrasarman left his *agrarahara* and migrated to Asanapura which was a famous seat of learning and a more secure place.

We conclude, therefore, that the rule of the Visnukundin dynasty lasted between 500-635 A. D.; that there were five kings of this family who actually ruled; that Visnukundin expeditions into Kalinga took place before the establishment of Kubjavisnu's rule in Southern Kalinga in 624 A. D. and that the Visnukundins ceased to rule by the time Calukya Jayasimha started his southward expansion in or about 647 A. D.

AVANTISUNDARIKATHA AND ITS HISTORICAL VALUE.

BY

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Since the publication of the *Avantisundarikatha* and *Avanti sundarikathasara* in 1924 by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, many theories have been put forward about the identify and chronology of the kings referred to therein by scholars; and yet no finality of conclusions has been reached. The subject, therefore, is fascinating and seems to yield fruitful results to the research student.

My friend Dr. V. Raghavan, of the Department of Sanskrit, Madras University, has recently drawn my attention to a manuscript of *Avantisundarikatha* of Dandin, available in the Trivandrum Curator's office. A transcript of it is available in the Madras University. The Trivandrum *ms.* is less worm eaten, contains fewer lacunae, and therefore supplies more details than Mr. Kavi's *ms.* The Trivandrum *ms.* also begins rather abruptly towards the end of a description of Kanci, the Pallava capital. At page 6 it refers to the Pallava king Simhavisnu and then, describes the ancestry of Dandin. One day when Simhavisnu was holding court a Gandharva appeared before him and recited the following verse :

दनुजमति हृदयभूधर विभेदविज्ञात शक्तिनख कुलिशम् ।

जगदुदयहेतु विष्णो रवतुबभ्रुः नारसिंह वः॥

The king was astonished at the beauty of the verse and asked the Gandharva the name of the poet that composed such excellent poem. The Gandharva then narrated the story of the poet. There was born in the Kausika *gotra* a highly intelligent and gifted brahmana named Narayana-svamin in Acalapura in the Nasikya (Nasik) country. His son was Damodarasvamin, who even as a bare youth attracted the attention of the celebrated poet Bharavi by his precocity and remarkable poetical talents. Damodara followed Bharavi and was in due course introduced to prince Visnuvardhana.* Damodara and Visnuvardhana became friends. On one occasion Damodara accompanied Visnuvardhana during a hunt. After spending several days without food, Damodara, on account of excessive hunger was compelled to eat raw meat. As *prayascitta* for his act, he took leave of prince Visnuvardhana and went on a pilgrimage. During the course of his travels he met Durvinita, the Ganga king who was 'renowned for his wanderings'.⁽¹⁾ Damodara was just twenty years old at that time. He was the author of that verse, Simhavisnu was so pleased with the poem that he wanted Damodara to come and stay in his court. That could not be easily done. He sent a number of *Srimukhas*, and entreated Damodara to come to Kanci. At last the young poet came; and the king treated him with be fitting honours and even bestowed upon him a *Brahmadeya* village.⁽²⁾ He treated him with excessive grace, honoured him as his own son, and got him married. Damodara was a great poet both

* Here Mr. Kavi's manuscript is full of lacunae. And no sense can be made out of it.

१. भ्रमणशीलकीर्त्तः गाङ्गेयकुलव्रजस्य दुर्विनीत इति विपरीतनाम्नः

२. पुत्रीकरणेत दर्शिताति प्रसादः

in Sanskrit and Prakrit. In course of time he had three sons, Simhavisnu, Manoratha and Atilobha. The youngest Atilobha begot four sons, Damodara (II), Bhavadasa, Simhavisnu (II) and Viradatta. Viradatta married Gauri and had by her many daughters, and at last a son named Dandin. Viradatta died soon after Dandin's birth and Dandin's boy hood was spent in a *gurukula*. While he was still young Dandin was deprived of his family estate during the disturbed condition of the Kingdom which resulted on account of total defeat of the Pallava king of that time and the occupation of Kanci by the enemies. The enemy devastated the entire countryside, and even the people of Kanci fled for their safety. Dandin became an exile and wandered for a long time. He returned to Kanci when he learnt that the Pallava king had conquered his enemies and occupied the kingdom once more. By that time he acquired great celebrity as a poet and soon he established his literary prestige after coming to the Pallava court. By the grace of the king he recovered his family estate. One day Lalitalaya, a great architect and a disciple of Mandhata, came to the court of the Pallava king and having heard of the reputation of Dandin requested the latter to accompany him to Mahamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) to see his skill in the re-joining of the broken wrist of the deity Anantasayana in the stone temple at that place. Dandin accepted the invitation and went with a number of his friends. He was astonished to find that there could not be seen any trace of the re-joining of the broken limb and greatly admired the skill of the of the architect.

There are two things in the Trivandrum *ms.* which are not found in Mr. Kavi's original. On account of the lacunae, Mr. Kavi and all those who saw the published book believed that Damodara's another name was Bharavi, and that Dandin was a great-grandson of Bharavi. Now it is clear that Damodara and Bharavi were two different persons. It is also clear that it was Damodara that ate raw flesh in the company of Visnuvardhana.

The foregoing account brings to our consideration the following: namely, (1) the date of Durvinita, the Western Ganga king; (2) the identity of prince Visnuvardhana; (3) the date of Simhavisnu; (4) the name of the Pallava king who was the patron of Dandin and (5) the date of Dandin.

Date of Durvinita. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil allots a reign of forty-five years, 605—650, to Durvinita,¹ and Dr. Venkatramanavaya accepts the date.² To Simhavisnu, the French Savant assigns a period of 25 years, c. 575—600. In view of the fact that *ASK* refers to Durvinita as a contemporary of Simhavisnu, the dates assumed by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil become incompatible. Either both the dates have to be rejected or at least one of them, if we are to accept the contemporaneity of the two monarchs. I have else-where shown that Simhavisnu, father of Mahendravarman I, seems to have reigned for about twenty years, from 580 to 600.³ There is agreement that is to say between myself and the learned professor. If this date for Simhavisnu is accepted then the period of

1. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 107

2. *Triveni*, Vol. I, (1928) pp. 112-120. '*Durvinita and Vikramaditya II*.'

3. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* (Vavilla Press), p. 252 & 303.

Durvinita has to be shifted to an earlier date. I have elsewhere allotted to Durvinita a reign of forty years only, from c. 570-610.⁽¹⁾ on this assumption. This date is in suitable agreement with that of Bhuvikrama, the successor of Durvinita, according to the Bedirur plates.⁽²⁾ The inscription gives the date of the edict as Thursday, the 10th *tithi* of Caitra coupled with *naksatra* Magha, S. S. 536. The details of the date correspond to March 16, 634, in the Christian era. That date falls in the twenty-fifth year of Bhuvikrama; and that means the king's accession took place in 609-10. It is apparent that both Srivikrama and Muskara, father and grandfather respectively, died before they were anointed on the throne and that the succession passed on to Bhuvikrama on the death of his great-grandfather, Durvinita. This assumption rests on two important facts. In the scheme of the Ganga chronology there is no room for these two princes, Muskara and Srivikrama. There are also no records of their time to show that they reigned. Nor the inscriptions of Bhuvikrama, surnamed Gangavikrama, refer to these princes as crowned kings. The reigns of Avinita-Ganga and Durvinita occupy nearly a century; the reign of Avinita was preceded by a long reign of his father Madhavamahadhiraja II (c. 472-500) and both these kings ascended the throne as mere infants. Avinita's death cannot be placed later than 570, and in the same manner the death of Durvinita cannot be assumed to have occurred later than 610 in any view. Considering all these facts, it is reasonable to presume that Bhuvikrama succeeded his great-grandfather on the throne in 609-10 and that his father and grandfather were not crowned as kings.

We have assumed that Durvinita's reign lasted for forty years from 570 to 610. Therefore he would be a contemporary of Simhavisnu. From the statement in *ASK* it appears that Durvinita was already a king when Damodara reached his court. It is also evident from the chronology we have adopted that Damodara migrated to the Pallava court and settled down in Kanci before the death of Simhavisnu about 600. Durvinita was a great scholar; he wrote a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of *Kiratarjuniya* and even translated *Brhatkatha* into Sanskrit. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the departure of so great a poet as Damodara from his court at the inducement of Simhavisnu caused Durvinita great displeasure and possibly led to the breaking out of bitter hostilities between the two kingdoms.

The Humcha stone inscription of 1077⁽³⁾ describes the exploits of Durvinita in a single verse. It runs as follows :—

Vasudhage Ravana-pratiman-amba negertteya Kaduvettiyam visasana rangadol pididu tanna tanujeya putranam pratisthisi Jayasimhavallabhanan-vaya rajyadol urbbiyol vigur-bir-sida nidi enagurbbo nija-dorbbala d-unnnati Durvinitana.

"Seizing on the fleeing of slaughter Kaduvetti who was celebrated as Ravana to the earth, and having established his own daughter's son in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha, he became famous in the world : Such is Durvinita." In this poem two famous achievements of Durvinita

1. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 273.
2. *Mys. Arch. Surv.* 1925, No. 105, p. 85ff.
3. *Ep. Carn Nagar* 35. p. 250.

are recorded: (1) The capture of Kaduvetti on the battlefield and (2) the placing of his own daughter's son on the throne of the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha. These are apparently two distinct achievements and it cannot be said whether one had anything to do with the other. Kaduvetti is beyond doubt the Pallava contemporary of Durvinita whom we may identify as Simhavisnu. Lewis Rice interpreted the 'hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha to mean the Pallava kingdom.' It is incorrect, and the language of the poem as well as the rules of construction do not warrant such an interpretation. By the very mention of Jayasimhavallabha, it must be obvious, that the poet meant the Calukya kingdom and not the Pallava kingdom. The earliest names of Calukya family, of both the Vatapi and Vengi, are those of Jayasimhavallabha and his son Ranaraga. Both these princes are mentioned in the earliest instance in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa (1) and the Aihole inscription of Pulikesin (2) II. Both the inscriptions speak of Jayasimha as a *rajan* or 'crowned king.' According to the former record Jayasimha was the founder of the dynasty. His son was Ranaraga. The Aihole inscription supports this statement.⁽³⁾ The historical fact that Jayasimha founded the kingdom was remembered for a long time by his descendants. According to a statement in the Kauthem grant of 1009, (4) it was Jayasimha who re-established the Calukya sovereignty for the first time after a long period of obscurity. It is no doubt true that we have no genuine records of his time but we cannot easily brush aside the statements of the Mahakuta Pillar and Aihole inscriptions proclaimed roughly a century after the illustrious king flourished. Dr. Fleet fixes 550-566 as the period of Pulikesin I, whom alone he regards as the first genuine historical personage. But it can be slightly altered 540-566. Ranaraga and Jayasimha also may be regarded as genuine historical kings. Now reckoning at the rate of twenty five years for each generation, the rise or period of Jayasimha would fall about 490-520 in the turning of the fifth to the sixth century. The hereditary kingdom of Jayasimha, therefore is doubtless the Calukya kingdom of Vatapi.

Who was then the daughter's son whom Durvinita placed on the throne of Vatapi? Dr. Venkataramanayya believes him to be Vikramaditya I, son of Pulikesin II. (5) This view seems to be untenable. As the date of Durvinita cannot go beyond 610 on the strength of the Bedirur plates, this achievement of Durvinita must be placed sometime before his death about 609-10. If this view is accepted, Pulikesin II would be the daughter's son of Durvinita. On Kirttivarman's the succession passed on to his younger brother Mangalesa. Presumably Pulikesin II was still young and under eighteen years of age.* Having occupied the throne, Mangalesa attempted to secure the succession after him to his own son to the exclusion of his nephew, the rightful heir. That was the cause of breaking out of hostilities between Pulikesin and Mangalesa. In the end Pulikesin II defeated

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 7 ff.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 237 ff.

3. This is the passage : Text line 5.

नानाहेति शताभिघात पतित भ्रान्ताश्च पत्तिद्वये नृत्यद्भीमक नन्द खड्ग किरण ज्वाल सहस्रेण ।

लक्ष्मी भावि तत्रा पलापित्र कृत्वाशौयेण येनात्म साद्राजासीज्यवल्लभ इति विख्यात इत्यलु क्यक्यान्वयः॥

4. *Indi. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 15ff.

5. Durvinita and Vikramaditya I. in *Triveni* 1928, Vol. I.

* Kirttivarman I reigned from 566 to 598. And Pulikesin II ascended the throne in 609-10, roughly a decade later. If the later was about sixteen years of age on the date of his father's death, he would about twenty seven years old at the time of his coronation. We may assume that he was born about 584.

his uncle, put down the insurrection of his treacherous vassals and occupied the throne. We have stated elsewhere that his accession took place about 609. ⁽¹⁾ In conquering back the kingdom, Pulikesin II would certainly have received assistance from his mother's father, Durvinita. And it is possible to believe that after having secured the crown of Vatapi for his grandson, the aged western Ganga King died on a battlefield.

WHO was the Kaduvetti that was captured by Durvinita according to the Humcha inscription? The Pallavas were no doubt related to the Gangas, but the very relationship seems to have been the cause of hostility between Durvinita and Simhavisnu. According to a statement in the Hosakote plates, the queen mother of king Simhavisnu of Kanci was a Ganga princess and was related to the boy king Avinita Ganga.⁽²⁾ The lady seems to be a daughter of Madhava II and therefore an elder sister of Avinita-Ganga. The edict is dated in the twelfth year of Avinita-Ganga's reign, which according to the chronology adopted for the reign of the king ⁽³⁾ (535-570) falls about 547. Accordingly it appears that Simhavisnu whose mother was related to the Ganga king Avinita was not the Simhavisnu who was a contemporary of Durvinita. No doubt the Hosakote plates refer to Simhavisnu as a reigning king at that time.⁽⁴⁾ Therefore it must be that there were two kings of the name of Simhavisnu, one a contemporary of Avinita and another of Durvinita. Unfortunately we do not know of a Simhavisnu in the Pallava genealogy according to the Pallava charters who would be a contemporary, of Avinita. But it is not unreasonable to identify Kumara Visnu III (not II) of the Cendalur plates for whom we have elsewhere assigned a reign of five years, 545-550 ⁽⁵⁾ (in the middle of the sixth century) with Simhavisnu, the contemporary of Avinita-Ganga. If this identification is accepted, the date of Hosakote plates, 547 which we have adopted becomes quite proper. It is thus plain that Durvinita's contemporary was Simhavisnu, father of Mahendravarman I. He must be the Kaduvetti who according to the Humcha stone inscription was captured on the battlefield. If the assumption that Durvinita waged war against the Pallava king on account of the latter inducing Damodara to leave the Ganga court and migrate to Kanci, is accepted then it becomes clear that Durvinita wreaked vengeance upon Simhavisnu by defeating and capturing him on the battlefield. The event may be placed about 600.

Durvinita is described as *bhramana-sila-kirttē*, 'who was well known for his wanderings' in *ASK*. The statement seems to have a significance. Avinita-Ganga had apparently more wives than one, and Durvinita was born on the princess who was a sister of Skandavarman, lord of Punnata *visaya*.⁽⁶⁾

1. Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas : JAHRS, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 11-12.
2. Mys. Arch. Surv., 1938, p. 80.
3. Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, p. 252.
4. Prof. M. H. Krishna believes that Avinita-Ganga reigned at least for fifty years and that his period was 555-605, and that the Hosakote plates of Avinita were dated the year 567. If this assumption is correct Prof. Krishna must be able to show a Simhavisnu reigning in Kanci in 567. But then Avinita according to his adjustment of the Ganga reigns must be able to show that Avinita was a contemporary of two Simhavisnus. The *ask* says that Durvinita and not Avinita was a contemporary of the Pallava Simhavisnu. Therefore Prof. Krishna's dates for Avinita and his son Durvinita are not probable and much less tenable. (See Proceedings of The Third Indian History Congress, Calcutta., p. 518, No. 25.)
5. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 300.
6. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 138 ff.

According to a statement in the Siddagatla plates,⁽¹⁾ Durvinita seized the sovereignty of the Ganga kingdom by *coupe-de-etat*, though apparently his father had intended the kingdom for his step-brother. He "caused the goddess of sovereignty to reside for ever on his broad chest after having with his powerful arm dragged her by her hair though she had been firmly held within the fold of the arms of his own step-brother." The meaning of this passage seems to be that Durvinita incurred the displeasure of his father and consequently became an exile and wandered for a long while, but hastened to the kingdom when he learnt that his father died and that the throne was occupied by his step-brother. The seems to be the reason for Durvinita acquiring the epithet *bhramanasilakirtiteh*.

Visnuvardhana is referred to a mere *rajasunuh*, 'Prince' and not as a reigning king. It is probable that the prince was a lad in his early teens when he met Damodara and accepted him as his companion. Bharavi may have been a middle aged person and a friend or *guru* of Visnuvardhana. The passage in *Avantisundarikatha* which refers to the meeting of the prince and Damodara at the instance of Bharavi is full of significance. Here is the passage :

यतः कौशिक

कुमारः महाशैवं महाप्रभावं गवाप्रभवं प्रदीप्तभासभाखीं रविमिवेन्दुः अनुसृज्य वरं इव
पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्द्धनाख्ये राजसूनौ पण्यमन्वबभ्नात् ।

Here the subject Kausika-kumara refers to Damodara. Bharavi is compared to Sun and Damodara to Moon and Visnuvardhana whereat both joined to Darsa, i.e. Amavasya. The meeting of Visnuvardhana and Damodara may have taken place about 595 but not later. For shortly after Damodara left Visnuvardhana, went on a pilgrimage and met Durvinita. He was then only twenty years old. And before Simhavisnu was captured that is before 600, he was already in the Pallava court, comfortably established in an enviable position. Visnuvardhana, would appear to be the younger brother of Pulikesin II, who afterwards became the founder of the Eastern Branch of the Calukyas in Andhra.

Damodara's marriage must have taken place before 600. He was probably twenty five years old at that time. If that were so his great grandson, Dandin, who was removed from him by at least three generations, must have lived at least one century later. Accordingly, Dandin's birth may be placed with certainty in the first decade of the eighth century. Dandin was the youngest son of his father who was himself the youngest son of his father Damodara. Soon after Dandin's birth, Viradatta died. It is also reasonable to assume that Dandin lived up to a ripe old age and that his death took place about 770 or even 780. For, he was for a very long time in exile and did not return to Kanci until he heard that the Pallava king had conquered back the kingdom, restored peace and order once more.

Dandin refers in his *Dasakumaracharita* to Jayasimha, king of Andhra in the story of Mantargupta's adventure in Kalinga. In the story Jayasimha is treacherously decoyed to a lake near Andhranagari, which is presumably vengi at that period, and killed at night while he was actually bathing in

1. *Mys. Arch. Surv.* 1924, p. 71, text lines 25 - 27.

the lake. Dandin here clearly betrays his inveterate hatred of the king of the Andhra country. Jayasimha is doubtless a Calukya and seems to be the second king of that name who reigned for 13 years from 706 to 718.⁽¹⁾ It is therefore evident that Dandin lived long after the death of Jayasimha II, whom he apparently portrayed in his *Dasakumaracarita*. It is probable that some unpleasant incident took place in Andhranagari during Dandin's sojourn there, in his exile and that was the cause of the poet defiling the character of the lord of Andhra country.

The ASK refers to the military occupation of Kanci by some enemy who invaded the Pallava kingdom and to the consequent devastation of the country and misery of the people that lasted for several years. It also states that people deserted Kanci and fled, and that Dandin too, having lost his estates fled and was an exile for a long time. Some of these events are narrated in the inscriptions of that period. About 733, Paramesvaravarman II died.⁽²⁾ For a long time before his death there were no wars between the Pallavas and Calukyas. An opportunity arose on the death of Paramesvaravarman II for the Calukyas to revive their old feuds and wreak vengeance. Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, a lad of twelve years ascended the throne by popular consent. In the words of the Vakkaleri grant,⁽³⁾ Vikramaditya II, having resolved to uproot the natural enemy namely the Pallava completely, made a sudden and expeditious incursion into the Tundaka country, attacked and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavaraman who had come to meet him, and took possession of his musical instruments, his royal insignia, his banner and, of huge quantities of elephants and rubies. He then entered Kanci but refrained from destroying it. There he acquired merit by granting heaps of gold to the Rajasimhesvara and other temples which Narasimhavarman II had built. And having destroyed the power of the Pandya, Cola, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings, he set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. The conquest of Kanci is also mentioned in the Pattadakal inscriptions. That Vikramaditya II did really occupy Kanci is proved by the remains of an inscription of his in the temple of Rajasimhesvara.⁽⁴⁾ There appears to have been also a second invasion of Kanci in the reign of Vikramaditya II which was led by his son Kirtivarman II as *yuvaraja*, from the same Vakkaleri plate. On this occasion Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, unable to meet the western Calukya prince in open field suffered a terrible and disastrous defeat. Vikramaditya II's reign lasted from 733 to 746. The two expeditions against the Pallava country must therefore fall during this period. This period seems therefore to have been the period of Dandin's exile.

Nandivarman's troubles were apparently not at an end with the death of Vikramaditya II. After the Calukyan invasions, Citramaya a pretender, attempted to seize the kingdom and crown himself king in Kanci. This fact is proved by a number of sculptures in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanci,⁽⁵⁾ and copper-plate inscriptions.⁽⁶⁾ Till the

1. See my Revised Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas, (*JAHRs.*, 1X part 1, pp. 31—32.
2. *Ep. Ind.* XV111, p. 115 ff.; *S. J. I.*, Vol. IV, G. No. 135, p. 10ff.
3. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Kl. 63—*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V111, p. 23ff.—*Ep. Ind.* p. 206ff.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.
5. *S. J. I.*, Vol. I, p. 147.
6. The Kasakudi plates: *S. J. I.*, Vol. III, p. 344 ff.
7. Sculptures in the Vaikuntha-Perumal Temple at Conjeevaram. Monograph by Dr. C. Minakshi. p.

twenty-first year of his reign, it would appear that Nandivarman-Pallavamalla was fighting his enemies everywhere and that his position was still not secure. An inscription purporting to be dated in the 21st year of Nandipottaraiyar, i.e. Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, from a hamlet near Lalgudi in Tanjore district states that 'the king after gaining a victory in the battle of Tellaru, obtained the kingdom.'⁽¹⁾ The 21st year of Nandivarman falls about 754-55. Dandin apparently returned to Kanci sometime after this date and established his position as the celebrated poet of the Pallava court. We can therefore reasonably assume that Dandin's composition of *Avantisundarikatha* and visit to Mahamallapuram to see the miraculous joining of the broken wrist of the deity took place sometime after 760. Thus it is evident that Dandin lived in the court of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, who had a long reign of about 65 years, 734-799.⁽²⁾

THE VALABHI KING DHARASENA IV.

BY

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The mention of the imperial title 'Chakravartin'⁽³⁾ in the case of Dharasena IV, the Maitraka ruler of Valabhi, requires explanation and confirmation since, he was the only ruler of the dynasty who assumed this title. Is this merely an ornamental appellation or had it any basis of fact? The history of this dynasty is so little known, that to verify the truth underlying this assumption it is necessary to trace the course of events from the beginning down to the time of Dharasena IV, when the Maitrakas are seen boldly to flaunt their independence.

The first two Maitrakas, were, as is usual with the progenitors of dynasties, content with the title of Senapati.⁽⁴⁾ lest perhaps they should offend some overlord and be taken to task by him. Who this overlord was, is still an unsettled question. But we think we shall not be far wrong, if we suggest that they began as feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. For one thing it is known that they adopted the Gupta era as their own; for another their currency was closely modelled on that of the Guptas. In fact, the badly minted coins of the Gupta ruler Kumarapala are so common in Saurashtra that one is naturally led to the conclusion that it was at least for a time the accepted currency of the Valabhi State.⁽⁵⁾ Thirdly, there is the Junagadh legend, which, it cannot be denied, possesses an inner core of truth. According to this story Kumarapala was entrusted by his father with the task of conquering Sourashtra. Having fulfilled his mission, he left as his Viceroy in the city of Wamanasthali, Chakrapani, a son of Prandat, one of his *amirs*. Kumarapalagupta was succeeded by Shandagupta. The later was a *roi faineant*. So Bhattaraka, his Senapati, took advantage of his weakness, replaced the imperial governor at Wamanasthali with his

1. Ep. Colln. No. 144 of 1928-29, *A.R.S., I.E.* for 1928-29, p. 65 f.
2. From a number of inscriptions (No. 82 of 1908 (of Vedali, N. A. dist.) dated in the 14th year, No. 144 of 1928-29, Tandantottam plates etc. the date is fixed. Nandivarman's date is discussed in *ARSIE*, 1926, p. 97.
3. *J. A.*, I, p. 14, VII, p. 73; XV, p. 339.
4. All available Valabhi plates show this.
5. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I.

own, and carved for himself a kingdom in Saurashtra with Valabhi as its capital.⁽¹⁾

The relation with the Gupta empire being thus established, we may next suppose that with the gradual waning of the Gupta power and the relaxation of control by the central Government, the Maitrakas naturally gathered more and more power into their hands. Accordingly, we find the third King Dronasena assuming the title of 'Maharaja'.⁽²⁾ His earliest known record bears the Valabhi Samvant 18 i.e. A.D. 502. This *birduda* continued to be borne by his successors a fact, which shows that the status which had been acquired by Dronasena was maintained by his successors. In the later half of the 6th century, however, they would seem to have suffered an eclipse, as may be deduced from the assumption of the inferior title of Senapati again by Dharasena II.⁽³⁾ It was however, not long before this loss of power was made up, and at the dawn of the 7th century the Maitrakas emerged as independent rulers, acknowledging no suzerain power.

In the absence of State Papers or Court chronicles, it is not possible accurately to determine the extent of the Valabhi kingdom at this stage. However, locating the find spots of the Maitraka grants, and the place-names therein mentioned,⁽⁴⁾ coupled with whatever information that Hsien-Tsiang⁽⁵⁾ has to give us, an approximate idea is arrived at, which would show that it comprised part of Gujerat and Kathiawar, to which Western Malva was added by Siladitya. The latter has been correctly identified by M. Silvain Levi with Siladitya of Molapo, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim.⁽⁶⁾

1. I. A., II? p. 312.
2. J. B. B. R. A. S., XX; E. I., XVI.
3. I. A., XV, P. 187 Bharnaga inscription, P 31. & I. A. VIII, p. 301.
4. Places from which grants were issued :—
 - (a) Valabhi; J. B. B. R. A. S., XX and IV N. S. I., E. I. III, VIII, XI, XVI, XVII, I. A. XV, X, XII, A. B. O. I. IV.
 - (b) Khetaka : I. A. XV, IV, VII, *Historical Ins. of Guj.* I. E. I, XXI, IV, J. B. B. R. A. S. XI, P. 335, VII, Ns. III.
 - (c) Puludaka or Aliudaka : I. A. VII.
 - (d) Anandapur : I. A., VII, C. II. III, *Guj. Ins.*, P. 173.
 - (e) Devisaras : E. I., XXI.
 - (f) Bhadresvara : (out side Valabhi) *Jour Uni Bom.*, III.
 - (g) Vandi tapall : E. I., VIII, I. A. VIII, *Hist. Ins of Guj.*, I.
 - (h) Sirsiminika : I. A., I, *Histo Ins. of Guj.* I.
 - (i) Ujain : *Seventh or Conf.*, 1933, *Rept. Wat. Mus. Raj* 1933-4.
 - (j) Tank of Balditya : I. A. IV.
 - (k) Puranika : *Prakrit & Sank Ins.*
 - (l) Bharukacda : I. A., XV, VII.
 - (m) Vijayaskandhavaha :
 - (n) Godhraka : I. A., VI, p. 17, J. B. B. R. A. S. I.
 - (o) Bhadrappattana : J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S. I. p. 24.
 - (p) Pukdikasaska : P. R. A. S. W. C.-1915-16, Megavana : E. I. XXII.
5. Beal, Si-uu-ki, II. p. 269.
6. This Siladitya Dharma ditya was Siladitya of Molopo, whose nephew was Dhruvasena II.

It is obvious that this extension of their kingdom could have been accomplished by the Maitrakas only at the expence of their neighbours, such as the Gurjaras. But in the early part of the 7th centnry the development of events in Hindusthan seems to have brought these powers of Western India close together. This was the time when Kanauji was developing as an imperial power under Harshavardhana. The latter had successfully imposed his yoke on almost the whole of the Aryavarta. He would surely have annexed the Dekkan as well, but for his defeat at the hands of Pulikesi II. Fearing the aggressive imperialism of Harshavardhana, the powers of Saurashtra seem to have joined in a defensive alliance against him ⁽¹⁾. Harsha soon realized that so long as this alliance lasted, his efforts against Saurashtra would be in vain. Consequently, Harsha seems to have attempted to detach the Valabhi ruler from the cofederacy. The bait of a matrimonial alliance was held out,⁽²⁾ and Dharasena seems to have succumbed in a moment of weakness. The result was that, left alone in the field, the Gurjaras were not able to resist the attacks of Harsha. Friendly relations continued between Valabhi and Kananj. At a great religions meeting convened by the Emperor at Prayaga (Allahabad) Dhruvabhata (i. e. Dhruvasena II, the Tu-lu-po-po-ta mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim) is said to have been in attendance.⁽³⁾

It is thus seen that when Dharasena IV came to the throne the Valabhi kingdom had been raised almost to the first rank.

Happily four copper-plate grants of this ruler have come down to us, giving dates ranging from V. Samvat 326-33 i. e. A. D. 645 to A. D. 649. ⁽⁴⁾ The last known date of his father Dhruvasena II is V. Samvat 321-4. ⁽⁵⁾ and the first available document of his successor Dhruvasena III records V. Samvat 332. ⁽⁶⁾ It follows from this that Dhruvasena IV. ruled from eight to nine years, the V. Samvat 322-23 i. e. A. D. 641.42 being his first regnal year.

Dharasena seems to have followed the traditional policy of hostility towards the Gurjaras. Their power had been all but crushed by his maternal grandfather, Harsha. Dharasena is represented in two of his records as making grants from his victorious camp at Broach in the autumn of 648.⁽⁷⁾ Now, it is well-known that Broach was the capital of the Gurjaras. Naturally, the presence of an alien monarch exercising authority at their seat of government could only mean that he had overrun their kingdom and was now lording it over their capital. As a result of this victory over the Gurjaras, Dharasena may be said to have made himself the master of the entire Broach district as far as the Narbada.

Apparantly, the war with the Gurjaras was made by Dharasena on his own account, and not at the command of any suzerain power. If this

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 1; *I. A.*, XIII

2. Beal, *Op Cit* II, p. 269,

3. *Ibid*, p. 185,

4. *I. A.*, I. p. 14., 45.; VII. Xi, XV, & *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 66.

5. *E. I.* VIII, p. 196, *Annual, Report A. S. I.*, 1902-3, p. 235.

6. *Bombay Gasetteer*, I. P. 92.

7. *I. A.*, XV, Buhler's article.

be so, the position of Dharasena in relation to Kanauj could not have been that of an ordinary vassal. At the most it was that of a subordinate ally.

The next important event in Dharasena's reign is the conclusion of an alliance with the Pallavas of Kanchi to stem the on rushing tide of the Chalukyan aggression. Pulikesi II had by now made himself the undisputed master of the Dekkan so that the only kingdom left to be brought under his yoke in the south was that of the Pallavas. The Chalukya records of the period rightly observe that the Pallavas had been made 'to vanish behind the walls of Kanchi,'⁽¹⁾ Now that the Maitraka frontiers had been pushed south-wards to the Narbada, the two kingdoms had become contiguous to each other with the result that the famous observation of Chanakya that the neighbouring powers are enemies and the alternate ones allies must have come true. The Karnul plates of Vikramaditya I, the son of Pulikesi II, affirm that the destruction of the latter was accomplished by three allied kings.⁽²⁾ It may reasonably be assumed that two of these kings were the Maitraka ruler Dharasena IV and the Pallavas king Narasimha I.

But the alliance did not last long. It would appear from the Gaddamane *virgal*⁽³⁾ that soon after the destruction of the chalukyat power Dharasena turned against his late ally. He overran the whole of the Karnataka⁽⁴⁾ and threatened the Pallava territory itself. The reason for this appears to be that he was not allowed a fair share of the spoils of war, as may be inferred from the fact that after the defeat of the Chalukyas the whole of their Empire was annexed by the Pallavas. As a good statesman, Dharasena would not hazard a war with the Pallavas, as long as the great king Narasimha was on the throne. But on his death, he seems to have availed himself of the change of rulers, and invaded the Pallava territory. Mahendravarmana II was defeated⁽⁵⁾ and the Pallavas were compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. This may have occurred somewhere after 650 A. D.

A few years before this, he had already assumed the Imperial style of Chakavartin. There are two grants issued by him in A. D. 646. In the first of these issued in Kartika there is no mention of this title; while in the other, issued sometime later in Asadha he seems to be already a full-fledged Emperor.⁽⁶⁾ How is this to be explained? Dharasena, as we know, was a grandson of Harshavardhana. Now, the latter having died with a direct male issue, the Imperial title may have been claimed by his grandson, basing this claim on the Mitakshra system of the Hindu Law, a supposition which receives confirmation also from the *Sri Arya Manju Sri Kalpa*. Far from being satisfied with theory, Dharasena seems to have made good his claim by defeating in battle Arjuna⁽⁷⁾ the minister of Harsha. Subsequently, he also defeated the greatest South Indian power, the Pallavas,

1. *Heras studies in Pallava History*.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XVI, p. 226.

3. *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 83.

4. Meraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 65.

5. *Ibid*, p. 66.

6. Bhandarker's List, No. 138, 49.

7. Arjuna was Harsha's satrap at Tirhut, Behar.

with the result that his claim to this title could now no longer be questioned. It is thus clear that the appellation was not an empty boast, but one, which was won by him on the field of battle and by dint of his victories.

Turning from political history to internal history it is found that there is much to commend in the social and religious conditions that prevailed in the Empire of Dharasena IV. The greatness of his capital and the prosperity and culture of its citizens is testified to by Hieun Tsiang himself. Its circumference was six miles, he says; its population numerous and wealthy. "There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million. The rarest merchandise from distant countries is found there in abundance." The caste system prevailed, but was devoid of the rigidity associated with it in later times.⁽¹⁾ Education had made sufficient progress, and instances are not lacking of educated women. The appearance for example of Dharasena's daughter in the official capacity of a *dutaka*⁽²⁾ may have startled the later day believers in the seclusion of females.

Religious discussions were carried on without the least interference from the state. The rulers were quite catholic in their religious outlook, and though themselves Saivites they seem to have been proud to see their capital developing as a renowned centre of Buddhist studies. In early days of the Maitraka power the Buddhism which found favour at Valabhi was of the Hinayana variety. But in the 6th and 7th centuries, viz, in the heyday of Maitraka power the chief form of that religion, must have been Mahayanic. We have the testimony of Hieun Tsiang⁽³⁾ who speaks of the monks Sthiramati and Gunamati, the two known champions of Abhidharma or the beginning of Mahayanism. In a good many copper plates of the Maitrakas, there are direct references to the bathing of the Buddha images. A copper-plate of Dharasena records a grant made to the Yodhavaka monastery which was intended for the Mahayana monks staying there.⁽⁴⁾

But this should not be taken to imply that Brahmanism was on the verge of decay. As we have noted already, like his ancestors Dharasena himself was a practising Saivite. Bhartihari,⁽⁵⁾ the author of the famous *Bhattikavya* or *Ravanavadha*, wrote his work under the patronage of Dharasena IV. *The Katha-Sarita Sagara*⁽⁶⁾ has a story of a Brahman youth of Antardvedi, who was sent to Valabhi for higher studies, though centres like Benares were not far off. Similar instances of learned Brahmanas from Valabhi migrating from one place to another are not wanting – a circumstance, which leads one to conclude that interest in Hinduism and other cultural activities connected therewith did not flag. The reason for this is that the state not being confessional, the various religions could develop their activities unimpeded.

Not much evidence is available regarding the administration of the Maitrakas. Their grants supply information regarding the leading office-

1. Beal, *Op. Cit.* P. 269

2. *J. A.*, Vv, P. 73.

3. Beal, *Op. Cit.* P. 28 Watters, Hieun tsiang.

4. *J. A.*, I. p. 45.

5.

6. Chapter: XXXII., pp. 42-43.

bearers in revenue, police and village administration. We also find four territorial divisions viz., (1) *Vishaya* the largest division corresponding to the modern district (2) *Ahara* or *Aharani*, a subdivision (ahar, collection) corresponding perhaps to the modern taluqa, (3) *Pathaka* of the road, a still smaller sub-division, which comprised the village and its surroundings and lastly (4) *Sihali* a village without surrounding territory.

Two separate systems of land assessment seem to have prevailed in Kaira and Kathiawar; that of Kaira by yield, and the other of Kathiawar by area. In Kathiawar the measurement was by padavarta, while in Kaira it was by yield, the unit being *pitaka* or basketful. The latter system seemed to have prevailed through-out Dharasena IV's kingdom as is seen by his grants.

SOMAKULI KINGS OF TRIKALINGA AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH BENGAL.

BY

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Dr. D. C. Sircar has written the following in his paper on "Bengal and the Rajputs" which he read at the meetings of the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress held in 1938 :—

"According to the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar's list No. 1556), king Mahasivagupta I Yayatideva was lord of Trikalinga which he acquired through his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vanga and is said to have seized Gauda and Radha. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called *vanganvaya* has led Bhandarkar to suggest that the family of the king came from Vanga or eastern Bengal."⁽¹⁾

On referring to the "List of Inscriptions of Northern India" I have found that Dr. Bhandarkar after summarising the inscription has written in the footnote 2 at page 215 that "as he is said to have acquired Trikalinga through his arms, he seems to be the first of his dynasty, which, as his next epithet shows, came from Vanga (East Bengal)", and in the foot note 3 he has given the reading of the text—'Asmad Vanganvaya kshine'—in support of the word Vanga found in line 3 of plate II. From this it appears that Dr. Sircar's conclusion is entirely based on that of Dr. Bhandarkar.

This theory of emigration of Yayati, one of the Somakuli kings, from Bengal was advanced by Mr. B. C. Mojumdar in 1916 who edited first this inscription⁽²⁾ and deciphered the couplet following the imprecatory verses as follows :—

"Asmad Vanganvaye kale yah kaschit nripatirbhavet
Tasyaham padarajosmin Yayati prayata?"

1. Proceedings of I.H.C., Allahabad, p. 198.

2. J. B & O., R.S. Vol. II, 1916 pp. 45—59.

In the foot-note he wrote thus :—" We expected naturally the word *rajadevah* here but the partly intelligible letters look wholly different from the components of the word suggested ".⁽¹⁾

Mr. Majumdar's historical note on the above couplet runs as follows:—

" The sentence, without those illegible letters after the name of Yayati, means distinctly as follows :—

Whoever will become King in future in our Bengal line (Asmad-Vaganvaye), the dust of his feet am I – Yayati. That the different branches of the Kosala Guptas reigned independently at different places was shown by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pages 101–4. It appears that a branch of the Kosala Guptas became supreme in Bengal and Yayati or more properly his father Janamejaya, who was a scion of that family, conquered the Trikalanga countries and became the supreme lord of the Sambalpur tract which was an outlying portion of the Kosala-desa. Perhaps Yayati did not cease to acknowledge the supremacy of those who were ruling a portion of Bengal, and for that reason called himself the dust of the feet of the Bengal King who might be expected in future to interfere with the grant. This explains clearly why we get the Bengali Kayasthas in the in the service of the Kosala Guptas" J.B. & O. R. S. Vol. II p. 51).

In his *Orissa in Making* pp. 173–5 published by the Calcutta University in 1925, Mr. Majumdar adhered to his previous findings and tried to explain his theory in the fanciful way.

Then Dr. H. C. Ray included this inscription in the " Dynastic History of Northern India " Vol. I, which was published in 1931 and in a foot-note at page 402 he wrote the following note of warning :—

" In view of the importance of this inscription it deserves to be re-edited in E. I. Before its re-edition it would be risky to form any theory on the origin of the Dynasty on the basis of the word *Vanganvya* which according to the editor describes the lineage of Yayati. For this theory see O. M. pp. 174 ff ".

Dr. Ray very rightly doubted the correct reading of *Vanganvaya* but he accepted the reading of *Sitangavanga vimalambara purnachandra* in line 3 of the second plate first side.⁽²⁾

Dr. Bhandarkar supported Dr. Ray for the suggestion that the Somakuli kings should be considered separate and distinct from the *Pandavas* of Kosala,⁽³⁾ but it is not clear as to how he did not take notice of Dr. Ray's note of warning in the interpretation of *vanganvoya*. It has been shown above that Dr. Bhandarkar introduced the correct reading of *kshine* in place of *kale* in the 6th line of the inscription which follows *asmad vanganvaye*. It is a pity that this question escaped the notice of the eminent scholar of India like Dr. Bhandarkar who would have been able to decide the controversy in the best interest of history.

1. *Ibid* p. 55.

2. *Ibid* p. 53.

3. L. I. N. I. p. 403 fn. 11. and I.A. Vol. LXI, 1932 pp. 40–1.

I am indebted to my friend Pandit Binayak Mishra for the suggestion of the correct reading of this line where he read *asmad vamsakshaye* which he published in his 'Mediaeval Dynasties of Orissa' p. 107, in 1933. Recently I had the occasion to study the Jatesinga-Dungri (Mr. Majumdar's Muranjamura) inscription in connexion with my paper on the Brahmeswara Inscription of Bhubaneswar and I found that the reading of the text as published by Mr. Majumdar is far from what is met with in the facsimile print of the plates, I am not going to give here all the improved readings of mine but I can safely say that Mr. Majumdar made a mistake in reading *vanga* for *vamsa* everywhere. The portion of the text of line 3 of the second plate first side may be cited as an instance where the actual reading is *sitamsu vamsa vimalambara purnachandra* but it has been read by Mr. Majumdar as *sitanga vanga vimalambara purnachandra*. Yayati belongs to Somakula which has been written in this inscription as *sitamsu vamsa* and the epithet *situmsa vamsa vimalambara purnachandra* of this inscription stands for *somakulatilaka* which is met with in all the copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty. So there is no word *vanga* anywhere in this line.

The couplet beginning with *asmad vamsakshaye* has been written after the imprecatory verse— "*samanyoyam dharmasetu nripanam kale kale palaniyo bhabadbhih sarvanetan bhavino Parthivan bhuyo bhuyo yachate ramachandrah*" and before "*itikamaladalambu vindu lolam sriyamanuchintya manushya jivitamcha sakalamida mudahritam cha vudhva nahi purusai parakirttayo bilopya*". So there is no doubt about it that this verse is one of the imprecatory verses of inscriptions. Let us compare the reading of this verse with that published in other inscriptions edited by different authors at different times and everybody will agree with me that it is an imprecatory verse commonly found in the copper plates of other parts of India.

The following verses will show that the couplet under reference is an imprecatory one and has no specific reference to Vanga.

1. "Asmin vamsakshaye kshine ye kechit raja bhavisyati,
Tasyapade lagnō ham mamadatta mopaharet".⁽¹⁾
2. "Asmad vamsa parikshine yah kaschit nripatirbhavet,
Tasyaham padalagnosmi mamadatta nupalanat".⁽²⁾

This verse is found in the Devalpadi copper-plate inscriptions of Netta-Bhanja published in the J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VII. p. 113, but the Editor has not been able to decipher it correctly.

3. "Asmin vamse parikshine ye kaschit nripatirbhavet
tasyaham padalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet".⁽³⁾
4. "Asmad vamsa parikshine yah kaschit nripatirbhavet,
tasyaham karalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet".⁽⁴⁾

1. Vol. xxiii, p. 143.
2. *Ibid.* xxiv p. 19.
3. *Ibid.* xxi p. 96.
4. *Ibid.* xiv p. 295.

This verse is found also in the Khaira plate of Yasovarmadeva in E. I. Vol. XII p. 214 in which the word *hasta* has been replaced for *kara* of above.

5. "Asmin vamse dvijaghnopi yaschanyo nripatirbhavet
tasyapi karalagnoham sasanam na byatikramet".⁽¹⁾
6. "Asmad vamsa yadakshine yah kopi nripatirbhavet
tasyaham kare lagnah sasanam na vyatikramet".⁽²⁾

All these references leave no ground for any shade of doubt that Mr. Majumdar's reading of the couplet supported by Dr. Bhandarkar is not only fanciful but is characterised by want of historical accuracy.

Like the reading of Vanganvaya many other fanciful readings of Mr. Majumdar can be cited. In his paper on the 'Taspikera charter of Ranaka Rana Bhanja' and 'Kumar Kela charter of Ranka Satru Bhanja Deva'⁽³⁾ he picked up the reading of *boudhapati* (Lord of Boudha) in the well-known form of order '*manayati Vodhayati Samadisayati*' and utilised the grant to prove his own pet theory.

It is proved that the Somakuli kings of Trikalanga had no connexion with Bengal and their dynasty never came from Vanga. The Brahmeswara inscription relates that the founder of the family came from Trilinga which I will discuss in a subsequent paper.

SOUTH INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE HAMSA-SANDESA OF VENKATANATHA

BY

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1. The great poets of Sanskrit Literature have been mainly attracted by the srngara rasa more than any other, of the nine rasas or sentiments. Of the two types of srngara rasa the *Sambhoga* and *vipralambha*, the latter is depicted in the sandesa kavyas represented by the *Megha-duta* of Kalidasa and the *Hamsa-sandesa* of Venkatanatha. These two outstanding works represent a class of lyrical poetry by themselves, excelling each other in the richness of imagery and sentiments expressed. Venkatanatha or Vedanta Desika came in point of time, considerably later than Kalidasa and his work the *Hamsa-sandesa* reveals, on a comparative study with the *Megha-duta*, an improvement on that of Kalidasa, as though suggesting that the same sentiment would have been better expressed if it had been put in the form in which it appears in the *Hamsa-sandesa*. A few examples may not be out of place in this context :

1 *Ibid*, xi, p. 145.

2. *Ibid*, p. 312.

3. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II, 1916 pp. 167-178 and pp. 429 to 435,

- (a) *Megha-duta* ends with the line
Kantopantatsuhrdupagamah sangamat kincidunah

The same is expressed in the *Hamsa-sandesa* :
Kantaslesadadhikasubhagah kaminam duta-labbah

- (b) *Megha-duta* - verse 5, 1st ucchvasa :
Kamarta hi prakrtikrpanah cetanacetanesu

Hamsa-sandesa

Vislesena ksubhitamanasam megha-saila-drumadau
Yacna-dainyam bhavati kimuta kvapi samvedanarhe.

2. While Venkatanatha improved upon the ideas of the great poet of India for all time he has also thrown hints in the course of his work about the geographical condition of the country through which the Hamsa is requested to travel in carrying the message of Sri Rama to Sita. His hero is the well-known subject of the Ramayana.⁽¹⁾ The heroine is the world-mother Sita. The messenger is the Hamsa the descendant of the vahana or carrier of Brahma. The poet verily claims a high place for his work by the intrinsic merit of the subject matter, even if that alone be considered.

3. To the historian the sandesa type of kavya is of particular interest. The messenger has to be informed of the route he has to follow. Incidental references to names of cities, countries, rivers, the manners and customs of the people inhabiting the country are mentioned which are valuable to the historian. Venkatanatha the author of the *Hamsa-sandesa* had travelled throughout India during the most troublesome period of her history from the Himalayas to the southern most parts of India from Benares to Srivilliputtur and Alvarthirunagari and Tirukkurungudi⁽²⁾ and must have had personal knowledge of the condition of the country, the routes to be traversed, the habits and manners of the people etc. Therefore what he has recorded in the *Hamsa-sandesa* can be taken as actually representing his impressions-which, if accepted, give the most valuable contemporary evidence of the times. We get such glimpses in the *Hamsa-sandesa* which it is the object of this paper to record.

4. Instructing the Hamsa on the route to be traversed Rama states that Hanuman had informed him of two approaches one through the western region and the other through the eastern countries. The former though nearer was *anatisubhaga* i. e. say not advisable from the point of view of the Hamsa or easily traversable on account of the incessant rain falling in the region of the Sahyadri.⁽³⁾ This particularly refers to the

The references to the verses in the *Hamsa-sandesa* are all to the first Uchchvasa.

1. According to principles governing the composition of works the hero must be a *dhirodatta*-one whose position of eminence is unchallenged and whose social status is high. For a kavya of the first rank this is one of the main factors. The *Megha-duta* has a certain Yaksha where the theme of *Hamsasandesa* is Sri Rama with Sita.
2. An all-india tour seems to be prelude for universal acaryaship. Sri Ramanuja visited Kashmir and other places in North India. Sri Madhvacarya went twice to the Himalayas. Sri Sankara's *digvijaya* has become classic in the various works dealing with his life. After Ramanuja only Vedanta Desika completed an all-India tour.
3. *Hamsa-sandesa*—verse 18.

Margau samyak mama Hanumata varnita dvau tayoste
Sahyasannopyanati-subhagah pascimo nityavarsah
Pracinesu pratjanapadam sambatavadbhutanam
Magna drstih kathamapi sakhe matkrte te nivarya

Kerala tract which has plenty of downpour in its regions for nine months in the year.

5. The first place of importance mentioned is Tirupati⁽¹⁾ or the Vengadam hills of the Tamil literature. The region further north is inhabited by uncivilized hordes whose women would look at the Hamsa without the embellishments of civilised women trained in the art of *bhrubhanga* or movement of the eye-brows.⁽²⁾ This region is followed by the border land of the Kannada and Telugu countries where the cultivation of Sugar cane and Rice is important to note.⁽³⁾ The Tirupati hills form the main land-mark between the Tamilakam and the territory of the Vadugar or northerner. The shrine of Venkatesvara was frequented in those days as much as now. An old tradition that the Kalahastisvara was worshipping Visnu in the form of Venkatesvara is recorded in verse No. 23.⁽⁴⁾

6. The Tundira mandala is called *mahitam mandalam*,⁽⁵⁾ the eminent mandala and comes next in order. In that country is the *Satyavrataksetra* or Kanci. This is the centre of interest to the poet. He devotes eleven verses (in a collection of 110 verses) to this particular ksetra which is significant and enhances the value and importance of the place in contemporary history.⁽⁶⁾ An examination in detail of the description of Kanci is worth some trouble.

7. It was a city filled with the best of commodities *ratnas*. It was reverberating with the sound of music everyday without interruption, and possessed of splendour suitable to its name Kanci or the belt of the earth.⁽⁷⁾ The Hamsa was to bow to the city with due respect. The antiquity of Kanci has to be traced to the beginning of the Kṛta-yuga.⁽⁸⁾ Apart from

-
1. Ibid, verse 21 last pada :

Agre bhavi tadanu mayane ranjayamanjanadrih

2. Ibid, verse 19 :

Srutva subdam savana-madhuram tavakam pamarinam
Iratyasannat sapadi bhavanat sadaram nirgatanam
Abhrubhange pyanatisubhagaih niscitangah kataksaih
Desanatan vana-giri-nadi-sumvilbhaktan vyatipyah

3. Ibid, verse 20 :

Iksucchaye kisalayamayam talpanatasthusinam
Sallapaistair muditamanasam sali-samraksakanam
Karnatandhra-vyatikaravasat karbure gitibhede
Muhyanthinam madanakalusam maugdhyamasvadayethah

Probably during the days of Vedanta Desika the best music came from the border land between the Telugu and Kannada countries.

4. Ibid, verse 23 :

Stokonmagna-sphuritapulinam tvannivaseccchayeva
Draksyasyarat - Kanakamukharam daksinamanjanadreh
Asanuanam vana - vitapinam vicihastaih prasunan
Nyarcaketorupaharati ya nunamardhendu-mauleh

5. Ibid, verse 25 :

Tundirakhyam tadanu mahitam mandalam viksumanah etc.

6. Ibid, verses 25 to 35; eleven verses in all.

7. Ibid, verse 26

Nanaratnairupacitagunam nityasangitanadam
Bhumerdraksyasyucitavibhavam bhusanam tatra Kancim

8. Ibid, verse 27 :

Tamasidan pranama nagarin bhakti-namrena murchna
Jatamadau Kṛtayuga-makhe dhaturicchavatsena

tradition, Kanci has a history going back to the beginnings of the first century before Christ. It is one of the seven cities of India greatly honoured and respected, as residence in any one of them guaranteed *moksa*.⁽¹⁾ It is no wonder then that the poet devoted a tenth of his *sandesa kavya* in describing the shrine and tirtha of Kanci and its greatness. One feature of interest may be noted in passing. The festivals in the shrine of Arulalaperumal or Varadaraja in which the processional image was taken round the streets was carried with a certain speed, characteristic of the country which has survived even to-day.⁽²⁾ The area to be covered and the distance to be traversed—of nearly seven miles,—every time the processional image is taken out, must partly account for the speed of those who carried the image on their shoulders.

8. Curiously enough Vedanta Desika in referring to Varadaraja mentions the *vahana* horse in both the *Varadaraja pancasat*⁽³⁾ and the *Hamsa-sandesa* V. 27. In the former is described the increasing degree of splendour of the Lord on the Horse, Garuda, *syandana* or ratha and *andolika*.⁽⁴⁾ One Campa son of Vira Cola. dedicated in A. D. 1314 (Saka 1236) a new *ratha* to God Varadaraja.⁽⁵⁾ Has the poet this in mind when he mentions the *syandana*? The dedication has inscriptional testimony to corroborate it. I am inclined to take this as a reference to the ratha dedicated by the king of the times as that must have attracted much attention and importance. Venkatanatha would then have been forty six years of age. Such an important contemporary event in the history of the temple of Varadaraja should find a fitting mention in the work of his devotee.

9. Crossing the middle country, the next land-mark is provided by the Cola-desa with dense groves of date-palms and consequently black to look at from a distance.⁽⁶⁾ The entire region of the Kavery is filled with the trees and flowers of various sorts. The cultivation of the best variety of Sugar-cane in the basin of the Kavery is mentioned in verses 42 and 43.⁽⁷⁾

10. The intervening territory between the Cola and the Pandya kingdoms was full of forests echoing with humming sound of insects and

1. Cf. the oft-quoted verse mentioning the seven holy cities of India :
Ayodhya Madhura Maya Kasi Kanci hyavantika
Puri Dvaravati caiva saptaite muktidayakah

2. *Hamsa-sandesa* verse 27 :
Yadvithinam kartgripitch vahavegavadhutan
Dhanyan renumstricasatayo dharayantyuttamangaih

3. *Varadaraja-pancasat*, verse No. 48
Turaga-vihagaraja-syandandolikacli
svadhikamadhikamanya matma sobham dadhanam

4. See Note 14

5. The inscription of Campa son of Vira-Cola is edited in the *E. I.*, III. p. 71. This records the gift of a new *Pusya-ratha* to the god of *Tiruvattiyur* or Little Conjeevaaram. It consists of a single verse composed by one Vanbhidi:

Tungasrika sananmite sakanrpe sriman
Asau sasvatannidraparyava sanajanyavijaysri Viracolatmajah
Pumse Pusyaratham navam karigiristhanaya dattva ciram
Campah purnamanoratho vijayate vikhyata dervikramah
Tan Mntrina Vanabhida proktah (51 of 1893)

6. *Hamsa-sandesa* verse 36 :
Jatapritih Janapadamtho madhyamam langhayitva
Durallaksyakramukanivahasyamalan yahi colan

7. I refer to the verses beginning with
Srotovegadatha janapadam, and Sahyotsangat sapadi.

infested by robbers.⁽¹⁾ The author has particular reason to remember the condition of the country partly because of personal experience and partly because of the information of the vicissitudes to which the image of Sri Ranganatha⁽²⁾ was subjected in the days of the Muhummadan invasions. It was while the image was being carried in this forest that the party was attacked by robbers and deprived of the treasure and jewels of the deity on their way to Tirumalirunjolai or Alagarkoil in the Madura district.⁽³⁾ The Hamsa was not to make its presence known till it crossed the dreaded portion and the crossing was to be accomplished within the minimum time required. *Sighrameva vyatiyah* ⁽⁴⁾

11. The Pandya country receives four verses for its share.⁽⁵⁾ The important shrine of Sundararaja is noticed by verse 49.⁽⁶⁾ Verse 48 contains a beautiful description of the way in which the women of the country would welcome the Hamsa. They dress, their hair in a way that is particularly attractive and unwinds itself. Braids of hair move hither and thither clearly showing to advantage the gems in their ear-ornaments.⁽⁷⁾ Their forehead is tastefully decorated with the dust of pearls. These practices are noteworthy as revealing the keen observation of a contemporary polyhistor.

12. The country itself is very prosperous. It is studded with cities and villages inhabited by good citizens and comparable in wealth to the abode of Kubera. The fertility of the soil is well-served by the timely rains that fall in the country afraid of being imprisoned for default. The kings of the country belonged to the race of ksatriyas who had learnt the *astra-vidya* at the feet of Isvara. Their country once suffered from drought which caused great suffering. By propitiating Siva one of them attained the power of imprisoning all clouds that came near his country and compelling them to pour down their watery content. Remembering this incident the clouds always took care to keep the Pandya country well-filled.⁽⁸⁾ Stripped of the imagery the Pandya country enjoyed a prosperity at the time of the poet which he has recorded. It is noteworthy that Venkatanatha has not referred to the kings of any other tract in this *sandesa*.

1. Ibid, verse 47 :

Corakrantam tadanu vipinam colapandyantaratam
Jhillinadasravanaparusam Sighrameva vyatiyah
Trine tasmin prakataya sakhe sitalams te ninadan etc.

2. *Guruparamparabhava*, edited by Pandit V. Ananthacharya, 1913, p. 148.
3. Ibid p.
4. See note 19
5. *Hamsa-sandesa* verses 48 to 51

6. This verse refers to Alagarkoil which was the refuge of the Ranganatha image during the troubled times of the muhummadan invasions. It was installed at Jinji for some time till restored to Srengam under the patronage of the Vijay anagar kings represented by the general Gopanna and his master Kumara Kampana udaiyar of the Sangama line, see *Guruparampara pra bhava* p. 152-34.

7. *Hamsa-sandesa*, verse 48 :

Srastapadam pracaladalakam vyakta-tatanharatram
Muktacurna-sphurita-tilakam vaktramuttananyantyah

8. Ibid, verse 50.

Isadastanyadhigatavatam ksatriyanam prabhavat
Karavasa-smaranacakitih sikta-sasyan payodaih
Pasyan yayah paramalakaya spandhana-nairajasram
Punyavassih purajanspadaih manditan Pandya-desan

13. One of the chief ornaments of the Pandya country is the *Tambraparni*⁽¹⁾ the gift of the sage Agastya to the Tamil country. The pearl-fishery at the mouth of the river is of puranic and epic fame.⁽²⁾ The presence of the lotus in that river receives special attention.⁽³⁾ The *Tambraparnimahatmya*⁽⁴⁾ also mentions the availability of the lotus in the region of Attazhanallur on the banks of that river. The present river has few lotuses though at one time it must have had them in plenty. A special feature of the southern most tracts of the Tinnevely district is the presence of the palmyra trees in such abundance that it has won the nick-name of the Palmyra district. It is interesting that Venkatanatha should describe the sea-shore to the left of the rivermouth as filled with groves of palmyra trees and other vegetation black in colour. ⁽⁵⁾

14. The value of the *Hamsa-sandesa* lies in that it contains information useful to the historian recorded by one of extra-ordinary intellectual equipment with power of keen observation and easy expression. Not less important is the personal contact of the author with the various parts of the country described, during his all India tour. The telling effect with which he catches hold of the peculiar features of the country as in the case of the borderland between the Telugu and Kannada country or the Pandya women is only a true picture in spite of the poetic imagery. The historian of south India will do well to make a thorough study of the work as furnishing corroborative evidence, woven into the fabric of ordinary literature.

THE TERM RAJPUT (RAJAPUTRA).

BY

Miss Padma Misra, (Calcutta).

Rajput, at present, stands for 'The Hindus of the second caste or a class of Hindus who claim descent from the Ksatriyas'. Munshi Devi Prasad Ji describes it admirably. He remarks that "Rajputs attach a great importance to the possession of land, and their honour, dignity and rank depend upon it." (*Census Report of Marwar, 1891, p. 18.*) In other words the term Rajput implies a class of nobility or landed gentry.

Rajput is derived from the Sanskrit word Rajaputra, though the latter has several senses. Ra)put, as has been said above, stands for a class of nobility, while the principal meaning of Rajaputra is 'son of a king.' But we shall try to ascertain here whether Rajaputra was used also in the sense

1. Ibid, verse 51;

Muktajaleir janita-pulinam sukti-santana-muktaibh
Tarapurnam divamiva Tattastamrapamim bhajetah

2. Refer the Ramayana *Kiskindha-kanda* chap. v. also refer to the Tamil works of *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai*.

3. See my paper on the *Gajendramohsa* - An Identification submitted to the Eleventh session of the Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, December 1941, History section.

4. The *Tambraparni-mahatmya*, folio No. of Adyar Library manuscript No.

5. *Hamsa - sandesa*, verse 53:

Savyam tasyah kiyadiva gatah syama - tali - tamalam
Vtatprayanam taruna vayasam cetaso nandayirim
Velamabdhah vividhalahari datta-muktabhiramam
Draksyasyarat dviguna - pulinam ketakinam paragaibh

of landed gentry in Sanskrit literature and inscriptions. Let us take the literature first. A story of the two rogues called Siva and Madhava is narrated in the Kathasaritsagara (24, 82 ff.). One of whom, i.e. Siva took the guise of an ascetic and Madhava that of a Rajaputra. Rajaputra, here, obviously denotes a member of nobility. If Madhava had personated a prince, he would have certainly attracted attention. This surmise is strengthened on going through the whole story carefully and on finding that the meaning of 'a member of landed gentry' fits in better, wherever Rajaputra occurs in this story. And, in fact, C. H. Tawney has rendered Rajaputra by Rajput in the English translation of this Taranga. Other stories, narrated in Taranga XXXVIII (verse 17 and 74), LXXIV (59) and CXI (24, 29) of this work may similarly be referred to, specially the verses where *Rajaputra* is used. Similarly Kalhana in his Rajatarangini uses Rajaputra not always in the sense of 'a prince' but some times of 'landed gentry'. In one verse King Ananta is described as being followed by 'bands of Rajaputras horsemen, armed soldiers and Damaras' (VII. 360). Here Rajaputras cannot mean princes as they have already been specified in a previous verse by the term *Nrpatmajah*. Sir Aureil Stein and Mr. R. S. Pandit, instead of rendering Rajaputra by an English word here and in some other verses (VII. 48 & 325) retain it in its Sanskrit form, which indicates that they took it in the same sense in which Rajput is now generally understood. These works belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some earlier references to Rajaputra can be traced where it denotes 'a member of the ancient nobility'. In Valmiki's Ramayana, Trisanku is addressed not only as Rajaputra but also as Rajan in the same verse (I. 58, 15). If Trisanku was a king, what could they mean by addressing him as a Rajaputra? Rajaputra here cannot but mean a person belonging to the landed gentry.

An earlier reference is contained in a passage of Prasnopanisad VI. 1, which contains the phrase '*Kausalyo rajaputro*'. The text by itself is not of much help in deciding the meaning of Rajaputra. So we have to turn to commentaries and translations. Max Muller has translated it as 'the prince of Kosala' (S. B. E., Vol. XV. p. 283). This would have been justified, if the text had been *Kosala-rajaputrah*. But Sankaracharya in his commentary explains it as 'a Ksatriya born in Kosala'. This is distinctly a better and natural meaning. The earliest reference, however, is in the Aitareya-Brahmana (VII. 17). Here Visvamitra is addressed as Rajaputra by Sunahsepa. It cannot mean 'a prince', as Visvamitra has been called a 'Rsi,' earlier by Sunahsepa's father. It cannot but mean here a member of the landed gentry. That Visvamitra was a man of property is clear from the fact that he declared Sunahsepa to be the rightful owner of his primogeniture (*jyaisthya*).

Let us now see what light the epigraphic records throw on the meaning of Rajaputra. Some of the Chamba inscriptions contain the passage: '*Samupagatan sarvan evaniyogasthan raja-rajanaka-rajaputra-rajamatya-rajasthaniya etc.*', followed by an exhaustive list of the various office-holders. (*Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I., pp. 166, 193, 198-99). Prof. Vogel, while discussing these titles, makes the following remarks about Rajaputra. "It is a title of nobility or a class name". Further on he says "It is, however, possible that from its original sense, 'a son or near relative of a Raja,' it had already like the modern Rajput come to be used of the nobility in general." (Op. Cit., p. 122). In this connection the meaning of *niyogastha* is also to be settled. Vogel renders it by 'official,' which does

not seem suitable. Some of the Rajans, Rajanakas and Rajaputras might have been appointed as officials, but they by themselves could not be designated officials. Functionaries would be a better English word for *siyogastha*, as they had to discharge certain functions in regard to the land they and their neighbours owned. In any case it is clear that Rajans etc. were as much concerned with the grant of land of the State as the Rajamatyas and other officers. We learn from these inscriptions that three classes of landed gentry were known to Ancient Chamba. But in Bengal and in somewhat later times a different classification is found. In the copper plate charters of Vallalasena and his son Laksmanasena the following passage is generally found: *samupagatasesa-rajā-rajanyaka-rajni-ranaka-rajaputra* along with the designations of other officials. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III., pp. 73, 86, 95, 102, 111). This list has two additional names and shows that there were five different classes of landed gentry in Bengal when the Senas were in power. Of these Rajans were the topmost and Rajaputras the lower most in the gradation of landed gentry.

As the Rajputs trace their origin from the ancient Ksatriyas, it would not be out of place here to consider what the term Ksatriya originally meant. At present it denotes the second class of Hindus, which is far from the sense it specified in Vedic literature. Wherever Ksatriya occurs in Rgveda it is explained as meaning a 'king or ruler'. In the two verses (IV. 42, 1 & VIII. 56, 1) where Sayana takes it in the sense of a member of Ksatriya caste, it qualifies Varuna and Aditya. As it does not seem probable that the gods had this four-fold social division, it is reasonable to take Ksatriya as denoting 'a ruler' in these two verses also. The term which specified the second order was Rajanya and not Ksatriya. This is clear from the twelfth verse in Purusa Sukta (X. 90), which enumerates the four divisions of the Aryan Society. In the Brahmanas Ksatriya begins to denote the second order but retains its original sense also. It is noteworthy that when both these words are used side by side as in the Aitereya Brahmana (VII. 20) Ksatriya means a ruler. Though it cannot be stated definitely what Ksatriya conveyed in Atharvaveda, it appears that it was used for a king as well as a member of the class, as can be seen from a careful study of the two verses IV. 22, 1, and XII. 5, 46. Gradually the meaning of Ksatriya also deteriorated like that of Rajaputra, and it began to denote the members of the royal family, nobles and their retainers. This is the meaning attributed to it in the Jatakas according to Fick. He thinks that 'there belong to the Khattiyya class the kings and their kinsmen and the ruling princely houses'. (*The Social Organisation in North-East India*, Trans. by Maitra, pp. 79-80). The caste system was not strict in the Vedic times. It was only in the 4th century B. C. that it began to acquire rigidity, when Kantalya laid down the duties of the four Varnas, (Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 13), which must have helped the development of caste system. Governing, fighting and protecting might have become the sole occupation of Ksatriyas, after this strict division of labour, and the term Ksatriya began to denote the second or military caste. That its original sense was 'a king' and then 'a class of nobility' we have already seen, and it is noteworthy that Rajaputra signifies the same.

HISTORY OF EARLY VAISNAVISM IN KAMARUPA

BY

Mr. B. K. Barua, (Gauhati.)

(Summary)

When Kamarupa came to be included in the Aryandom and how? The evidence of the Manu Samhita, the two great Epics etc., are examined. The established supremacy of Hinduism in the light of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta. The testimony of Hieun Tsang and the copper-plate records of the early Kamrupa kings. References to the sculptural representations of Visnu and the temples dedicated of the period; discovery of other archaeological antiquities bearing on the subject.

THE ORIGINS OF THE MEDIAEVAL TEMPLE STYLES.

BY

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The Indian *Silpastras*⁽¹⁾ recognise three main styles of temples, known as the *Nagara*, the *Dravida* and the *Vesara*. The descriptions given of them are, however, rather vague and inadequate and it is not possible at the present stage to equate the descriptions with any of the known examples of Indian temple architecture. The term *Dravida* indicates that the names are primarily geographical. The various texts also contain passages mentioning the respective regions in which the different styles were current, though some of the texts maintain that all the styles may be found in all the regions (*Sarvani sarvadcesu bhavantityapi kecana* - *Isanagurudevapaddhati*; *Sarvam Sarvatra sammatam* - *Kamikagama*). All the available texts are agreed on the point that the *Nagara* style was prevalent in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhya.⁽²⁾ The *Dravida* country is well known and the texts rightly confine the *Dravida* style to that part of the country lying between the river Krsna and the Kanya-

1. *Mayamata* Chaps. XIX & XXI; *Isanagurudevapaddhati*, *Patala* XXX; *Tantrasamuccaya*, *Patala* II; *Suprabhedagama*, Chap. XXX (*Kesara* of this text is apparently a mistake for *Vesara*); *Kamikagama* *Patala* XLIX; *Kasyapasilpa*, Chap. XXV; *Silparatna*, Chap. XVI.
2. *Nagarasya smṛto desah Himavad-Vindhyamadhyagah Isanagurudevapaddhati*, *Silparatna*. *Himavad-Vindhyayormadhyam sattvikam bhutalam smṛtam Nagaram sattvik dese* Cf. identical statements in *Kasyapasilpa* and *Kamikagama*. The *Aparajitapraccha* confines the *Nagaari* (*Nagara*) style to Madhyadesa and further mentions *Lati* and *Vairati* (evidently of the Lata and Virata regions) as separate styles:

Nagari Madhyadesa tu Lati Late prakirttita

Dravidi daksine bhage Vairatitu svadesaja.

Form Ms. in S. K. Ray collection Fol. 5 *Lati* and *Vairati*, should, however, be considered as ramifications of the *Nagara* style which was current throughout Northern India.

kumari.⁽¹⁾ A careful study of the monumental remains would inevitably lead to the conclusion that the temples erected in each of these two regions in the mediaeval period admit of some common denominator, both as regards ground plan and elevation, and on the basis of this common denominator the temples of these two regions are sharply distinguished from each other. The *Nagara* and the *Dravida* styles can thus be explained with reference to Northern India and the *Dravida* country and the characteristic form and features of each determined. The term *Vesara*, however, is not free from vagueness. Some of the texts ascribe the *Vesara* style to the country between the *Vindhya*s and the river *Kṛṣṇa*,⁽²⁾ or, as some texts mention, between the *Vindhya*s and the *Agastya* (the location of which is uncertain). In this region, or more properly in the region at one time under the domination of the *Chalukya*s, a separate style of temple architecture may be recognised—a style that is known to the archaeologists as the 'Chalukyan'. This style, however, is a hybrid one—a combination of the *Dravida* and the *Nagara* elements—and becomes clearly distinguished not before the 11th century A. D. Thus, with regard to the evidence of the monuments, the three styles of the texts can be resolved ultimately into two the *Nagara* and the *Dravida*.

None of these two styles again can be said to have evolved its typical form before the 8th century A. D. An enquiry into the origins of these two styles requires a preliminary idea of the characteristic form and features of each, for which, however, the texts, as has already been observed, are of very little help to us. The three styles—the *Nagara*, the *Dravida* and the *Vesara*—are always distinguished in the texts by their shapes. As for example, the texts are all agreed in laying down that a *Nagara* temple is quadrangular all over,⁽³⁾ i. e., from the base to the *Stupi*.⁽⁴⁾ But this feature of the plan is so very general and common that it is difficult to consider it as a sure and distinctive cognisance of a particular style. In its origin every type of building may be found to have begun from a quadrangular shape and to have retained it, with slight modifications, until a very late stage in evolution. The octagonal and circular shapes, respectively of the *Dravida* and the *Vesara* styles, are also too inadequate to be regarded as sure and distinguishing marks for the styles concerned. Under the circumstances, one has to depend on the evidence of the monuments themselves for a knowledge of the particular form and features of any one of the styles.

A study of the temples of Northern India, in which, the texts are all agreed, the *Nagara* style was widely prevalent, reveals two distinct features one in planning and the other in elevation. In plan it is always a square

1. *Isanagurudeva paddhati, Kamikagama.*
2. *Kamikagama; Isanagurudeva paddhati; Silparatna; etc.*
The interchange of the *Dravida* and the *Vesara* regions, as we have in the *Kasyapasilpa*, is apparently a mistake.
3. *Sarvam vai caturasram yat prasadam Nagaram tvidam—Silparatna. Muladyasikharam yugasraracitam geham smrtam Nagaram—Tantra-samuccaya.*
4. *Upana-stupiparyantam yugasram Nagaram bhavet—Kamikagama. Stupyanlam caturasram yan-Nagaram parikirtitam—Mayamata.*
Here *stupi* simply means the top of the *sikhara* and should not be confused with the domical crowning element (technically known as the *stupi* or *stupika*) of the *Dravida* temples.

with a number of offset projections in the middle of each side, which give it the shape almost of a cruciform. In elevation it exhibits a high tower (*Sikhara*), gradually inclining inwards in a convex curve, for which we have the term *Sukanasa sikhara* (i.e., the *Sikhara* which is curved like the parrot's beak) in the *Puranas*. On account of the prominence of the vigorous and unbroken outline of the tower it is also known as the *Rekhha sikhara*. Widely distributed over the whole of Northern India the *Nagara* style is expected to exhibit distinct varieties and ramifications in different localities, conditioned not only by local factors but also by the different lines of evolution and elaboration that each locality chose for itself. The cruciform plan and the curvilinear are common to every mediaeval temple of Northern India, wherever it is situated. In spite of elaborations and modifications in different localities, these two fundamental facts of a Northern Indian temple cannot be lost sight of and may be considered as distinctive characteristics of the *Nagara* style of temple architecture. The projections on each face of the square plan each leave out a small portion at either corner and thus give rise to a number of projectings angles (*asras*) and facets (known as (*rathakas*) in Sanskrit and *rathas* in the canonical texts of Orissa, which was one of the most important provinces of the *Nagara* style). In this connection it should be observed that some of the texts describe a *Nagara* temple both as *caturasra* (quadrangular or square) and *ayatasra*.⁽¹⁾ The latter term has been interpreted as rectangular.⁽²⁾ It appears, however, that *caturasrayatasra* of the texts should better be taken to mean 'square with angles projected' (*ayatasra*, i.e., *asras* or angles made *ayata* or projected). This sense finds confirmation in the plan of the *Nagara* temple; which on account of the projectings on each face, may appropriately be described as a square with projecting angles (*caturasrayatasra*).

The fundamental characteristics of a *Nagara* temple are hence the cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower (*sikhara*) and the simplest archetype of the style may be seen in a group of shrines that were in vogue in the 6th century A. D. The most representative examples of the group are furnished by the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (Lalitpur district, C.P.)⁽³⁾ and the brick temple at Bhitargaon (Cawnpore, U.P.)⁽⁴⁾ Though belonging to the Gupta age in its later phase, each of them presents a distinct deviation from the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines in having a low and stunted *sikhara*, gradually diminishing towards the top, over the square sanctum. The *sikhara* type appears to be an elaboration of the flat-roofed temples of old, from which it differs little in plan and arrangement. The *sikhara*, however, is a distinct innovation. In religious architecture there is always an aspiration for ascending height and though no *sikhara* temple of a date prior to the 6th century A.D. is extant now,

1. *Caturasrayatasram yan-Nagaram parikirttitam — Kamikagama, Mayamata*,
2. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII. pp. 74, 75.
3. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 105—10, Pls. XXXIV—XXXVI; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 80 *Modern Review*, Vol. XLV, 1929, p. 60; R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 146-152.
4. *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 40-45; *HIA*, p. 80; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1908-09, pp. 6-16, Pls. 1—V.

the inscriptions⁽¹⁾ speak of the existence of high and lofty *sikhara* temples even in the 5th century A.D.

Elsewhere⁽²⁾ the present author has discussed in detail the various types of Gupta temples and only a brief notice of the *sikhara* type with reference to its associations with and contributions to the development of the *Nagara* style of temple should be made here. The *sikhara* temples of the Gupta period provide a significant contrast to the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines and may be classed with the mediaeval Northern Indian *sikhara* temples, of which they are surely the precursors. The walls of the flat-roofed Gupta temples are severely plain, but the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh presents a new feature, apart from the *sikhara*, in the arrangement of three sculptured niches on the three walls, each as a sunken panel between two pilasters. These niches, along with the projection of the portico in the front wall, appear to set off the walls in the middle of each face. The arrangement of the niches on the plain walls may be regarded as the beginning of a device that subsequently develops into the practice of setting forward the middle of each side, a practice that was characteristic of the ground plan of *Nagara* temple of later days. One such projection may already be noticed in the brick temple at Bhitargaon and in the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara (Ajaygarh state, C. P.),⁽³⁾ the latter being slightly later in date (c. 7th century A. D.) than the Deogarh and the Bhitargaon examples. The *sikharas* of the two earlier temples are badly damaged. The Deogarh tower probably shows the use of corner *amalakas*⁽⁴⁾ and in each of the two examples the projections on the body of the sanctum, either by sculptured niches or by regular offsets, have been carried up the body of the tower. These two features constitute two other main elements of a *Nagara* temple and the recessed frieze, separating the walls of the sanctum cella from those of the tower, may also be found in the early examples of the *Nagara* style. The graceful and well-preserved Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara exhibits slight convex curvature of the *sikhara* as it goes up and offers the nearest approach to a temple of the *Nagara* style in all its essential elements. The brick temple of Laksana at Sirpur (C. P.),⁽⁵⁾ contemporary to, or only slightly later than, the Nachna Kuthara monument, also exhibits a form of the tower which is not removed from that of a *Nagara* temple. With its origins and antecedents in the Gupta period the *Nagara* style emerges in its typical form and characteristics by the 8th century A. D.

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1. *Vistirtatungasikharam sikhari prakasam—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, no. XVIII, verse 30.
Kailasatungasikhara pratima—Ibid., No. XVII, v. 21, No. XVIII, v. 12.
 2. S. K. Saraswati, *Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143-158.
 3. *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 98; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for the year ending 31st March, 1919*, p. 60; *AIG*, pp. 154-55.
 4. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, Figs. 248, 252.
 5. *HIA*, Fig. 180.

The *Dravida* style was current in the south (*Dravidi daksine bhage*),⁽¹⁾ evidently in the Dravida country (*Dravidasyo'cito deso Dravidah syanna canyatha*),⁽²⁾ roughly the country between the river Krsna and Kanyakumari (*Krsnadikanyantam*),⁽³⁾ Characteristically vague and inadequate, the texts merely lay down that a *Dravida prasada* should be octagonal (some say hexagonal) from the neck to the top,⁽⁴⁾ or, as one or two would enjoin, from the base to the top.⁽⁵⁾ But an examination of the temples of the Dravida country is enough to show that such descriptions are too meagre altogether to fit the facts.⁽⁶⁾

A study of the temples of the Dravida region, which may be found to belong to one uniform type, clearly shows that the outstanding characteristic of the *Dravida* style of temple is the pyramidal elevation of the tower (*vimana*), which consists of a multiplication of storey after storey, each a replica of the sanctumcella and slightly reduced in extent than the one below, and of a domical member, technically known as the *stupi* or *stupika*, as the crowning element. This storeyed arrangement of the tower in gradually receding stages is a distinct individuality of the *Dravida* style that cannot be missed, though in the later phases of evolution the stages themselves become more and more compressed, so much so that they are almost masked under a profusion of details, which came to be characteristic of the subsequent evolution of the style. In plan the *Dravida* temple presents an inner square chamber as the sanctum and a bigger square enclosure, covered and roofed over, as the *pradaksina* around. The division of the external walls into niches by pilasters is also a characteristic element of the South Indian temples. The convex roll cornice with *cailya* window motifs, demarcating each of the stages, and the little pavilions in the upper storeys may also be regarded as peculiar features of the style. The pillared halls and corridors and the immense *gopurams* (gateways) are invariably associated with examples that are considerably late and may be left out in the present discussion.

Many of the distinctive elements of what came to be known as the *Dravida* temple style may be found in a particular type of Gupta temple architecture, which exhibits a building consisting of an inner sanctum with a covered *pradaksina* forming a bigger square around. Examples of the type may be seen in the so-called Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara⁽⁷⁾ and

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1. *Aparajitapraccha*.
 2. *Isanagurudeva paddhati*; *Silparatna*.
 3. *Kamikagama*.
 4. *Mayamata*; *Isanagurudeva paddhati*; *Suprabhedagama*; *Tantra samuccaya*; *Silparatna*; *Kasyapasilpa*.
 5. *Kamikagama*; *Mayamata*.
 6. The description of the *Is-nagurudeva paddhati* that a *Dravida* temple may also be square below the neck and octagonal above has a general likeness with the early mediaeval temples of the Dravida region.
 7. *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 96-97, Pls. XXV & XXVI; *PRAS*, WC, 1919, p. 61, Pls. XV & XVIa; *MR*, XLV, pp. 54-56; *AFG*, pp. 127-29, Pl. III.

the Siva at Bhumara⁽¹⁾ in Central India and the Lad Khan at Aihole²⁾ in the Bijapur district. The roof is flat, and in two of the examples (Parvati at Nachna Kuthara and the Lad Khan at Aihole) we find an upper storey, which, being placed above the inner sanctum cella, is necessarily set back. These storeyed structures are in some respects analogous to the storeyed pavilions, shown in relief, on the Audumbara coins from the Kangra valley of about the 1st century A. D.⁽³⁾ Structurally however, such buildings are for the first time met with in the Gupta period and in these Gupta temples we find just the rudiments of accumulating storey after storey, in gradually receding stages, that form the nucleus of the *Dravida* type of *vimana*. The plan of the inner sanctum with a covered cloister around is a characteristic particularly common to this type of Gupta temple as well as the *Dravida* style. Again, the scheme of the division of the walls of the *Dravida* temple by pilasters and niches may have its origin in the peculiar device of enclosing the *pradaksina* square with thin slabs of stone socketed to pilasters, as we have them in the Lad Khan at Aihole. The Lad Khan further shows the use of the roll cornice carved with well-shaped *cailya* arches—a decorative scheme that came to be regarded as a distinguishing mark of the *Dravida* style. Already then in the Gupta period the distinct characteristics of what came to be subsequently known as the *Dravida* temple style may be noticed in a well-defined group or type of temples. The association of the type with the Dravida country, however, is an event that is still to come. But there can be no doubt that the *Dravida* temple is an adaptation of the earlier storeyed form of the Gupta temple, enriched further by new elements in the matter of details, which may be said to be of local origin.

With reference to the standing monuments, it has been shown that the three mediaeval styles of temple architecture ultimately resolve into two—the *Nagara* and the *Dravida*—the origins of the characteristic elements of which may be noticed among the varied forms of the Gupta temples. At the same time it should be remembered that the regional definition of the styles is not clear as yet. It comes later. Even in the 7th century A. D. the two distinct types occur side by side at Aihole and Pattadakal. The *sikhara* and the storeyed forms of the Gupta period—archetypes respectively of the *Nagara* and the *Dravida* styles—may also be regarded as elaborations of the archaic Gupta type of the flat-roofed temple. The Gupta period may thus be said to have supplied the basic foundation of the subsequent Indian architecture, the history of which is the story of the two styles, the *Nagara* and the *Dravida*, with their various elaborations and ramifications. In this respect Gupta architecture presents a picture, contrary to what we find in sculpture. In the history of Indian sculpture it has been truly observed that the Gupta period marks the fulfilment of earlier tendencies. In the history of Indian architecture it is just the formative and creative age with unlimited scope for future unfoldment and elaboration.

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1. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16; *PRASI*, WC, 1919, pp. 57-58; *AIG*, pp. 142-45. Pls II & IV.
 2. *HIA*, p. 79, Fig. 148.
 3. *HIA*, Figs. 116 & 117; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68, Pl. IV, 2.

SECTION 2

Ancient India, Part II

(711—1206)

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**INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, V SESSION
(HYDERABAD, DECCAN), DECEMBER 1941**

ANCIENT INDIA II SECTION

Presidential Address of

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Later Ancient India and the Dakhan

I am grateful to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for having invited me to preside over the Ancient India II section, which I understand comprises the period from 711 to 1206 A. D. In offering me the office I believe the Executive Committee must have had specially in view the fact that I am particularly interested in a part of the history of the period, namely that relating to the Dakhan states and dynasties.

Later Ancient India, C. 550 to C. 1300 A. D.

The demarcation of the period Ancient India II (711 to 1206) itself needs to be reconsidered. It appears to be based on a foreign view of Indian History and not so much on an internal view. I am inclined to think that the date 711 A. D. does not signify any very great event in the history of our country. On or about that date no important state or dynasty of India inaugurates its regime or ends its career except the Arab state of Sindh. States which began two or three generations earlier were in the full enjoyment of their power and it would be inappropriate to commence the period when a number of Indian States were in the middle of their career. It would be better to begin the period sometime earlier, preferably with the establishment of the Chalukya power in the Dakhan and of the empire of the 'Vardhanas' at Kanauj. Personally I should think that the empire of Harsha Vardhana has as good a claim to belong to the latter part of Ancient Indian history as to the earlier part. To correspond with it in the history of the Dakhan, we can conveniently commence with the foundation of the early Chalukyan empire. So the date c. 550 A. D. may be accepted as approximately beginning a new epoch, since at least two great events took place namely the final disappearance of the Hun power from India and the rise of the Vardhana dynasty as a factor in Indian history and the foundation of the Chalukya empire in the Dakhan. Even for the close of the period the date 1206 A. D. does not suit thoroughly. No doubt the conquest of India by Muhammad of Ghor was a very great event in northern Indian History. But the Dakhan was not conquered by the Muslims for several generations more. So far as the history of the Dakhan is concerned the Muslim conquest is to be dated from c. 1310 A. D. Thus I feel inclined to include in Ancient India - II, Later Ancient India, the historical events

that occurred in our country from about 550 A. D. to about the Muslim conquest. Even in the length of the period involved these seven centuries would perhaps balance better with the twelve centuries of the preceding Imperial period which stretches from about 650 B. C. to about 550 A. D.

The Muslim conquest

Though it would be a mistake to view the history of India during this period purely from the point of view of the progress of the Muslim power, still the actual conquest is an extraordinarily interesting historical event, particularly because of its great consequences. But it should not be forgotten that the Muslim connections with India begin even earlier than Muhammad-bin-Kasim's conquest of Sindh, for the Arabs had already settled down as traders in the important parts of the Dakhan. The conquest of Sindh by the Arabs was a matter of comparatively less importance to the historical progress of the major states of India at the time. And further the next Muslim invasion of India came almost three centuries later. It is doubtful if we could trace any continuity between the work of Muhammad-bin-Kasim and that of Mahmud of Ghazni. Even between Mahmud of Ghazni and the conquest of northern India by Muhammad of Ghor there intervene more than a century and a half. The conquest of the Dakhan was effected almost a full century after the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Thus the Muslim conquest of India may be said to take place in four different stages, the first two of which are not historically of serious consequence, while the last two involve the real conquest of the country. The whole series of events is spread over a period more than 600 years. Thus the Muslim conquest need not be taken as the primary fact of the Indian History until we reach down to 1190 A. D. Surely the events connected with the Indian states during the period and their political and cultural achievements deserve to be considered definitely more important. As it is, students care more for the Arab administration of Sindh than for the administration of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire, and the sack of Somanath has the appearance of being more important than the cultural achievements of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

The Northern Powers

It is well known that the history of India during this Later Ancient period, otherwise known as the early Medieval period has been comparatively less studied than the preceding or early Ancient period which has been also called the 'Imperial period'. The vast mass of materials now available to us definitely proves that this period does not deserve the neglect that has fallen to its lot. Even in northern India there is reason for us to think that the continuity of Indian history is not broken in any way. For in the early as in all epochs of Indian history periods of Imperial power were followed by periods of independent states and the great empires of the Mauryas, the Kushans and the Guptas lived their full lives and fell into disruption and decay giving place for a time to smaller states. The Gurjara empire rose in its turn and distinguished itself as the supreme power in the north. In the extent of its territory, in the length of its life, in the literary and artistic performance and its cultural achievements the Gurjara empire does not appear to have been inferior to some of the empires that preceded it. It is high time that a proper history of the Gurjara-Pratiharas is written. The space

work in this direction has been excellently done by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, R. C. Majumdar and Hemachandra Ray. The frame work is there, but it needs to be filled in with the flesh and blood of cultural and administrative achievements. Perhaps from the latter point of view some of the smaller states of northern India, like Kashmir, Jajakabhuti and Bengal deserve equal attention. Very often the small states have contributed at least as much for culture as the great empires. If they have not acquired wide expanses of territory they have often done intensive service to welfare and culture which has earned for them a place in history. The literary work carried out in the kingdom of Kashmir and Dhar, the architectural output of the Chandella Kingdom and the general cultural achievements of the Palas and Senas of Behar and Bengal are in no way inferior to the achievements of imperial dynasties. As history is not merely a chronicle of the great empires and their military achievements, as history is a record of the progress and happiness built up by peoples in times of peace, of noble social and monumental edifices constructed by them and the success achieved by them in the fields of literature and art, of philosophy and administration, the history of these smaller states should be of considerable interest to us. So much depends upon whether we take a political view of history or a cultural view. Kumarila and Abhinava Gupta, Rajasekhara and Bhavabhuti, Brahmagupta and Bhoja, Abu and Khajuraho, Konark and Bhuvaneshwar are monuments of human achievement of which northern India may well be proud. No brand of inferiority may be put on Later Ancient India from the point of view of cultural history. The tradition of the 'Imperial period' or 'Early Ancient India' was kept up by it grandly and unfalteringly. I am inclined to think that except after about 1000 A.D. in the five centuries of the Late Ancient epoch preceding that date, the political unity, military power and cultural greatness of the Indian states was not inferior to that which ordinarily obtained in the earlier epochs. With the decline of the Gurjaras of Kanauj, the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Cholas of Dravida or the Tamil country, there come in a period of smaller states extending over about a century, during which the political unity of India and her military strength decline considerably.

Greater India

Before that date, however, it was the period not only of political and cultural glory both in the north and in the south of India, but also of a great overseas expansion both in Indonesia and Farther India. It would be a defective treatment of Indian history to confine our attention to the events occurring within the four corners of British India as Smith and other classical writers did. No history of Ancient India whether of the earlier period or of the later one can be considered complete unless it reviews the political history and cultural achievements of the colonies beyond her borders. We must include, in our study of the period we are reviewing, not only the political history of Champa and Kambhoja of Sri Vijaya and Java, of Khotan and Tibet, but also of the glorious monuments of Angkor Vat and Borobudur. This would serve not only to erase from the mind of the student of history the misconception existing about the insular nature of our people in the past, but also present to us a more correct picture of the position of India in the Ancient world.

The Rajputs

Much has been made by some foreign historians of the theory that after the fall of Harsha's empire the supremacy in political affairs fell to

the hands of the Rajputs. The theory of the foreign of the Rajputs has been successfully disputed by many writers like Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Pandit Gauri Shankar Qjha, and I believe that it has now been proved that the Hindu rulers of the post-Harsha period were in no way substantially foreign in origin. Even the name Rajput comes more commonly into use only from about the 11th century A. D. onward, so that, it is incorrect to speak of the post-Harsha period as the Rajput period or even to attribute the decline of India to the Rajputs. The rulers of the Dakhani states and those Bengal never knew that word in a communal sense and the princes both in north India and in the south believed sincerely that they were Indians from the days of the sun and the moon. The foreign elements that entered their ranks and were absorbed by them do not appear to have been more than a minor strain as in the earlier epoch of Ancient India.

Tamil Powers

A general defect in the presentday treatment of our Indian history is to concentrate on the history of northern India to the neglect of the southern powers. Thanks to the labours of Tamil Savants like Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Professor Nilakantasastry, the Tamil area has atleast acquired a place and a respectable one in the history of India. No history of India is now considered complete without a study of the Pallava contributions to Indian culture and the Chola administrative system. The Tamils have now no reason to complain of the neglect of their contributions. But I am afraid a sufficient place has not yet been given to the history of the Dakhan.

The Dakhan

Many general students of Indian history and even some of the writers on the subject are so very ignorant of the history of the Dakhan before the rise of the Maratha power in the late Mughal days that they are not sure where it is and what it is correctly. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar thought that it was identical with the Marathi speaking country and that everyone who lived between the Narmada and the Krishna spoke Marathi and was a Maratha. The Hyderabad historians think that it is only Hyderabad, while Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar and other south Indian savants feel that it is all the country between the Narmada and the Tungabhadra, the Mysore plateau being excluded from it and forming part of South India along with Madras. Geographers think that it is the vast stretch of territory which includes all the highland between the Eastern and the Western Ghats and between the Vindhyan range and the Nilgiris. It consists of a population of 5 crores of people inhabiting an area which is atleast one-fourth of India and speaking the great languages of Marathi, Telugu and Kannada. The historical achievements of these people are comparatively little known, except only one chapter of their history when under the lead of the valiant Marathas in the eighteenth century they subverted the Mughal empire and built up a political hegemony over a large part of India. It is unfortunate that the Dakhan is historically known to the layman primarily for the Maratha achievements and for little more. I may be pardoned if today I plead for greater interest in the earlier history of the Dakhan and the states of Karnataka, Andhra and old Maharashtra for giving it a substantial place in Indian history. My appeal has special significance because it is made at Hyderabad, one of the greatest centres of power and culture in the Dakhan of today. The present Hyderabad state contains in it Paithan and Malkhed,

Kalyani and Warangal, Gulbarga and Bidar and many other capitals of empires famous in history, which deserve an enduring name for their political and cultural achievements. The Telugu or Andhra country occupies the eastern part of it and has been generally a unit by itself with its centre more often in the eastern coast plain. Marathi whose original home appears to have been in the Vidharbha and Asmaka countries appears to have spread southward to the extent of many districts along the Sahyadri range into what was originally a Kannada speaking area. A substantial portion of the Dakhan extending from the Nilgiris to almost the Godavari was in historical times and is even now Karnataka which speaks the Kannada language. Historically and culturally this country has a considerable importance of its own. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and C. V. Vaidya who have both made highly valuable contributions to the history of the Dakhan have attempted to attribute to their own Marathi speaking people not only what is rightly their due but also what is really due to the Karnatakas. It looks as if they have almost declined to take cognizance of the existence of the Kannada people except as an adjunct to Maharashtra and of the Andhras as an adjunct to the Tamil country. Some of the epithets used by Vaidya when referring to the Kannada people in his Marathi works are unworthy of a great scholar. They conveniently forget that many of the great empires of the Dakhan were built up and ruled over by people who spoke Kannada. C. V. Vaidya's contention that the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and other great rulers of the Dakhan were all Marathas, is a historical misappropriation and it cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. I am glad that the role of modern Maharashtra in the history of India has come to be well recognised, so that almost a period of Indian history comprising the 18th century is often called the 'Maratha period.' But I plead for a detailed study of the rest of Dakhan history. I suggest that with much better reason the period of Dakhan history stretching from 550 to 1100 A.D. may well be called 'the Karnataka period.' During this epoch, Karnataka empires followed one another in a glorious succession and by means of the service rendered by them to peace, prosperity and culture, built for themselves such an all-Indian importance that their fame was international. At the same time it ought to be recognised that Karnataka and the southern districts of Maharashtra being placed in contiguity so very closely have formed before the Muslim conquest almost one unit in history. And this unit was more often dominated by the Kannada speaking people than by the Marathi speaking people. I claim that Karnataka the Cinderella of Indian history, should be given its due place in the history of India and her culture, more particularly in the history of the Dakhan. Her proper place is that of the leading power in Later Ancient India.

Early Dakhan Empires

Among the great historical powers which originated in the Dakhan and followed one another in succession keeping up their high ideals of administration and culture and trying on the whole to achieve the objects of Dharmarajya, three atleast had existed in the 'Imperial' period. The great Satavahana empire, the founders of which are said to have had their homeland in the heart of Karnataka in the Bellary and Chitaldroog districts, flourished gloriously for nearly four centuries and a half, ruled over almost the whole of peninsular India and a good part of northern India for a short time, laid the foundations of a revived Hindu culture in the Dakhan and earned an enduring place in Indian history. The Vakatakas of Vidharbha who built up a mighty empire in succession to the Satavahanas

conquered a good portion of central and northern India and built up the culture which is characteristic of the Gupta period. The rest of the Dakhan plateau, comprising the Kannada country or Kuntala, developed into Kadamba empire which stood for the encouragement of Aryan culture in the Dakhan. We have now definite epigraphic proof to say that the Kadambas used a highly classical style of both Sanskrit and Kannada.

Chalukyas of Badami

In the period under review we ought properly to include the history of the Chalukyas of Badami. Thanks to the evidence of Yuanchwang and of the Aihole inscription, the power and strength of this empire has been recognised. As random instances of its contribution to culture the art of Ajanta and the cave temples of Badami may be sufficient. The Badami Chalukya empire flourished uninterruptedly for nearly two centuries and lived much longer than the duration of the Vardhana empire of Kanauj. Its eastern branch developed into the East Chalukya kingdom, which along with the Kalinga Gangas and the Kakatiyas became the pride of the Telugu people.

The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed

More is known about the Rashtrakuta empire today, thanks to the labours of Dr. Altekar, than of the Chalukyas. The controversy regarding the origin and nationality of the Rashtrakutas has, I hope, been finally been set at rest by his work. In my humble opinion, the early Rashtrakutas of Vidarbha belonged to Maharashtra and the great Rashtrakutas of Malkhed spoke Kannada, encouraged Kannada literature and used Kannada as their official language. Their Kannada and Sanskrit inscriptions are found spread not only over the Dakhan but also over Malva, while not even one record of theirs is in Marathi, and Malkhed is situated in a purely Kannada speaking district. It may be imagined that the Marathas of the northern fringes of the Dakhan formed part of the Rashtrakuta forces, which conquered the vast empire. But their position was definitely subordinate, just as the Karnatakas played a subordinate part in the days of the Peshwa occupation of northern India. To the Rashtrakutas we owe the architecture and art of Ellora, the rise of a great classical literature in Kannada and the prosperity and good Government of the Dakhan during the two centuries of their rule.

Kalyani Chalukyas

The later Chalukyas dominated Gujarat and Dakhan for another two hundred years and became famous by the cultural contributions of Chalukya architecture, of Vijnaneswara and Bhaskaracharya, of Bilhana, Pampa and Ranna. Undoubtedly they were a Kannada dynasty backed by the Kannada people more than all, Maharashtra playing a secondary part as the northern province of their empire. It is a moot point for consideration in the history of the Dakhan whether the Kalyani Chalukyas who built another empire in succession to the Rashtrakutas cannot be considered to be another dynasty ruling over practically the same empire.

The Karnataka period

I am inclined to think that the continuity of language, nationality, ideals and traditions, of the administrative system and the military

organisation existing among the earlier Karnataka empires namely, the Badami Chalukya, the Rashtrakuta and the Kalyani Chalukya compels us to combine them into one great historical unit and regard them as one Karnataka empire ruled over by three different dynasties from three different and not very distant centres. The dynasty and capital changed, but in little else was there any serious change. The great Karnataka empire of Later Ancient India fully deserves to be recognised as an important factor in Indian history. Its length of life extending over six centuries, its contributions to learning and art and not the least its spectacular military achievements and administrative efficiency win for it the foremost place in the history of Later Ancient India. I may go farther and I claim that the Karnatakas during this period rose to the position of establishing their hegemony over the greater part of India and that they wielded such power and influence as had never fallen to the lot of Vardhanas or the Gurjara-Pratiharas or of any other Indian empire of the period. Verily during this period the Karnatakas established their imperial sway over practically the whole of the Dakhan including the Tamil, Telugu and the Marathi areas, founded their minor dynasties in Gujrat and Kalinga and occupied the throne of Bengal and of Nepal through Karnataka families made the rulers of Kanauj not only fear their power but also feel proud of their matrimonial and other connections with them, the Karnatakas became the leaders of India to such an extent that Harsha the famous ruler of Kashmir is described in Rajatarangini as having been considerably influenced by Karnataka customs and fashions. Surely this period was the most glorious epoch of the Kannada people backed of course by the Marathas, Andhras and other nationalities of the Dakhan and it is possible to take the view that a good part atleast of this period, namely that connected with the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and their immediate successors may well be termed 'the Karnataka period of Indian history'. This may be done with as much truth atleast as the term 'Maratha period' can be applied to the 18th century and comparatively the Karnataka achievement was much greater in time and area, in intensity and quality.

Yadava Empires

It is true that after the fall of great Kalyani Chalukya empire and the end of the Kalachurya dynasty the Dakhan broke up into three parts comprising the Kakatiya or eastern region, the Yadava or northern region and the Hoysala or southern region. Of these, while the Kakatiyas brought glory Telugus, and the Hoysalas were undoubtedly Kannada, the Yadava of Devagiri were a Kannada dynasty related to the Chalukyas, who settled down at Devagiri and ultimately became identified as the rulers of Maharashtra. But it is a notorious fact that the Yadavas have left for us an immensely large number of inscriptions in Kannada than in Marathi, and that the southern half of their kingdom comprises the eastwhile Chalukya territory of the Kannada speaking people. The Karnatakas claim the Yadava dynasty equally with the Marathas. Just as happened in northern India in the 12th century A. D. so in the south in the 13th century, the Hindu rulers stood divided from each other and could not combine their forces to defend their subject to and states from the hands of Turkish Muslims. Thus the Dakhani power fell a prey to the aggression of the Sultanate of Delhi, one by one. When the freedom of a part of the Dakhan was wrested from the Muslim, it was by Karnataka under the leadership of the founders of the Vijayanagara. The latter event, which is considered one of the most heroic and successful episodes in the history of the opposition offered by the Hindus to Turkish aggression, was mainly the effort of the Karnatakas. Though not in the

extent of its territory atleast in the excellence of its administration and its cultural achievements, Vijayanagara has earned a place in Indian history, second to no other empire and all India could will be proud of it. Even in the great days of Maratha supremacy over India the power that stemmed its tide on the south and proved its great rival was Mysore, once again a Kannada power. Even during the mediaeval period of muslim rule, the Bahmani empire and its successors the Shahi states deserve to be better known, since they first set the example of the cultural and religious amity and progress which was so successfully adopted by the mughal empire.

Both by reason of the achievements of Marathas and of their predecessors and the fact that Hyderabad is the only remaining remnant of the the Majestic Mughal power of India and the true inheritor and also by reason of the fact that Hyderabad and Mysore are the two greatest historical relics of the Muslim and Hindu powers that ruled India in the centuries of her freedom does the history of the Dakhan deserve an adequate place in the general history of our country. Politically, being circumscribed by the seas, the historical powers of the Dakhan might not have been able to command such large territorial patches of colour as some of the northern ones did. But the empires which produced Ellora and Ajanta, Sankara and Ramannja, the Rashtrakutas and the Marathas can very well claim with pride their proper place in the attention of the Indian people.

Paucity of materials

Perhaps the remark may be made that scholars are not taking sufficient interest in the history of the Dakhan for want of adequate literature on the subject. It must be confessed that inspite of what Bhandarkar and Fleet wrote 60 years ago and the publications of Rice, Narasimhachar, Dubrenil, Vaidya, Moraes, Altekar, Saletore and other writers, the history of the Dakhan has not yet received sufficient study or publicity. More monographs and other historical works would perhaps have poured in by this time but for the fact that even a considerable amount of the original sources remain untapped. The literary sources though not prolific area and still available both in Sanskrit and in Kannada. It is the duty of Dhakani scholars to work up these sources.

Epigraphic survey

Further this period of history has mainly to be built up from epigraphic sources, and the only area where a proper search has been made for inscriptional sources has been the Mysore State, which has collected more than seventeen thousand inscriptions. The Bombay Province has been insufficiently surveyed for inscriptions. We are grateful to the Bombay Government for founding the Research Departments of the Deccan College at Poona and the Kannada Research Institute at Dharwar. This Institute has begun in right earnest to survey the southern districts of Bombay for inscription and manuscripts. As for the Kanarese inscriptions of Madras one volume has already been published in the south Indian Inscriptions series and we are looking forward eagerly to the publication of of another volume. But the area in which the collection of inscriptions has made the slowest progress is the homeland of many of the great Dakhani empires, namely the Hyderabad State. It will not be out of place if I should make an appeal on this important occasion to the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to take up the work of

an epigraphic survey of their territories particularly in the southern districts in a more earnest and thorough-going fashion. If this material is not made available to the world of scholars a proper history of the Dakhan could not be written. The world of scholars is grateful to the Nizam's Government for the great interest they have evinced in the preservation and study of the great monuments of Ajanta, Ellora and Bidar and in the collection of inscriptions belonging to the Muslim period. But as in the case of modern Egypt and Iran the present-day Hyderabad should take pride in the the past of his country, and in the achievements of his and ancestors realise well that the history of Hyderabad did not begin when the wise and valiant Asaf Jha founded the present Nizam's State or even when Allauddin Khilji took the fortress of Devagiri. Hyderabad has had an immensely greater past, for when the Arab khalifs were ruling at Bagdad, their greatest friend was the Rashtrakuta Vallabharaya of Malkhed who was considered to be one of the four greatest emperors of the world. If an earnest, thorough and quick survey can be conducted by Hyderabad, I feel that at least five thousand lithic records could be copied and published and on this basis a fuller and more up-to-date history of the Dakhan could be written up.

The History of the Dakhan

Therefore I consider that an up-to-date history of the Dakhan giving all its states, old and new, from the Satavahana to Nizami, their due position in the political and cultural history of India is a great desideratum. Perhaps some research monographs on its various empires may have to precede its production and I believe this work could very well be taken up by the five Universities concerned, namely Bombay, Hyderabad, Audhra, Mysore and Madras. Just as the works of Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mr. Nilakanta Sastri and other scholars have won for the Tamil country its due place in Indian history these monographs may be expected to prove Dakhan's claim for a better place in the annals of our land.

The full history of Later Ancient India

It is only after such a history of the Dakhan and a cultural history of the Later Ancient north India are written up that we shall be in a position to take a view of the various Indian states of the period in their proper perspective, estimate their contributions to political and cultural history and assign to the period its proper place in Indian history. I feel sure that when this is done it will be found that the Later Ancient period extending from about 550 A. D. to the Muslim conquest forms in the excellence of its administrative systems, in the greatness of its cultural achievements and in the glory of its political traditions as important and interesting a chapter in Indian history as any other preceding or succeeding period. On the other hand, including as it does, the story of the bigger and the smaller states, the vision of Indian history presented by it would be more real and more true to the proper nature of our country in the past. It will not do to produce an artificial history comprising only the story of a few large states. It may be very pleasant, it may be also easy; but it would be historically untrue. The real picture of Indian history ought to contain an account of the bigger states and the smaller ones, of the empires and of their vassals for the primary interest of our country's history is, in my humble opinion, the story of her culture more than the story of her military powers or of the founders of her larger empires.

Even apart from the history of the states and their achievements, the work of the thinkers and the saints, the poets and the scientists, the architects and sculptors, the painters and musicians, the artisans and traders and the condition of the common people has to be discovered and properly evaluated. Here is a vast field of work for the students of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada, for the archaeologist and the artist, for the geographer as well as the historian. The ancient sites particularly are unexplored mines and storehouses of historical material which are likely to yield to the scientific excavator numerous gems of historical truth. The mounds and fields of Suvarnagiri and Paithan, of Banavasi and Badami, of Manyakheta and Kalyani, of Warangal and Vengi, of Devagiri and Halebid and numerous others await the spade. If the explored field is vast, there is a vaster area yet unexplored. It is only several schools of scholars working for many years and co-operating that can build up for us the lost history of the Dakhan.

To summarise, I may state that I have tried to explain in my address the following points :—

1. The period Ancient India II may well be termed Later Ancient India and be assigned the period 550 A. D. to the Muslim conquest.

2. Since the victories of peaceful administration and the value of spiritual, moral, intellectual and aesthetic advance are not less renowned than war, cultural history should be given its due place on an equality with political history.

3. The Dakhan should be given a better representation in the History of India than is the vogue at present. I am not blind to the importance of the history of northern India, but I claim that the history of the Dakhan is also equally important.

4. The Karnatakas who occupy the central part of the Dakhan and built in the past a large proportion of its famous empires should be given due credit for their own achievements and not be relegated to the position of an appendage either of Maharashtra or of the Tamil country.

Proceedings of Section II.

(*Ancient India, Part II. 711—1206*)

The first meeting of the section was held under the Presidentship of Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore on the 22nd December 1941 at 11 A. M. The following papers were read and discussed :—

The Age of Chauhan Prithiviraj by Dr. H. C. Ray ; Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and the President discussed it.

Islam in Malabar by Mr. K. V. Krishna Iyer ; Dr. Ray, Dr. Topa and the President took part in the discussion.

Fresh Light on Gharapuri by Mr. Bhawe ; it was discussed by the President who threw some more light on it.

The Title of Asvapati in the Inscriptions by Mr. Kalipada Mitra Dr. H.C. Ray elucidated some of its obscure points, after which the sectional meeting was adjourned.

On the 23rd December the section resumed its activity at 9. 20 A. M. when two papers were read and discussed.

Ancient India from Arabic Sources by Dr. Hamidullah. It was discussed by Prof. Potdar, Dr. Tripati, Dr. Chaghtai and the President.

Pre-Kadamba History of Goa by Prof. G. M. Moraes.

As the other member who sent in their papers did not attend the section, their papers were taken as read. The meeting of the section then came to a close.

I. TOPA,

Sectional Secretary

ANCIENT INDIA FROM ARABIC SOURCES

BY

M. Hamidulla, (Osmania University)

Foreign compliments are often pleasing, and foreign records are not seldom complementary to local knowledge. During searches for things of my particular interest, I came across many things concerning ancient India. I find, this source has so far singularly escaped notice of our historians. I do not feel myself competent to criticise or evaluate these data as I am not a student of history. What I propose here is simply to draw attention of specialists to this untrodden field ; and in order to attract their attention I shall try to relate some of the more interesting of such data.

India was known to pre-Islamic Arab in spite of the primitive conditions of their civilisation. The *muhannad* or sword made of Indian steel is proverbial in Arabic literature. Indo-Arab contacts were mostly of commercial nature. Hence we find, on the one hand, mention in Marzuqiy (al-Azmīna wal-amkīna, ch. "Fairs of Arabia") and others that Aden was a centre of perfumery industry which had markets in Sindh and Hind and all parts of the world ; and on the other hand, Indian spices etc. have given Arabic language many Indian words like *quranfal* (karan-phul) and others.

That the Indo-European commerce passed through Arabia in ancient times, does not seem to have been recorded in classical Arabic literature. The only solitary mention I came across is in a manuscript of Muhammad-ibn-Habib (d. 245 H.), the *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, whose unique copy is preserved in the British Museum. He says (cf. ch. "Fairs in Arabia") that the Arabs had organised and developed a system of periodical fairs embracing the whole length and breadth of the Arabian Peninsula. It was in the port of Daba, which was considered to be one of the two major ports of Arabia in pre-Islamic times, port situate in Oman, in the eastern extremity of the Southern Arabia, that traders assembled yearly at the end of the month of Rajab and transacted for a period. These traders came from Sindh, from Hindh, from China, from Greece, from east and west, in short from in all parts of the globe. The author also gives vivid description of the modes of sale and purchase and other matters connected with the fair.

Tabariy is the most prolific historian of the Arabic language. He died in the early years of the fourth century of Hijra, after a long and fruitful career of literary activity. His history is published in Leiden in a dozen and more volumes, and is a mine of information collected from sources which are now completely lost to us. The many anecdotes he gives regarding ancient India bear Jewish or Persian stamp. The following few stories are all gleaned from the first four or five volumes of his *Annales*.

There is a long story, extending over eighteen pages, of an attack of Indians on Palestine, in which even navies take part. So it is said that once upon a time there was a Jewish king in Jerusalem. His name was Usa. He took keen personal interest in the propagation of monotheism and eradication of idolatry. Some of the persecuted notables fled to India, and took refuge with a Raja called Zaranj. This Raja worshipped sun

and moon. The refugees assured him that theirs was a most fertile land and that he could easily conquer it since the discontented inhabitants of the country would gladly come to help their liberators. The Raja interned the refugees pending investigation of the truth of what they had informed. So he sent spies to Palestine by sea route, in disguise of traders, with rich merchandise. They came in Jerusalem across specially discontented women upon whom King Usa had imposed a strict moral code. In spite of the efforts of the spies, the king did not interest himself in the precious stones which they had no offer for sale if possible, and for gift if necessary. For the king was in search of lasting and imperishable riches. The spies found very little army in the country, but were assured by the people that the king had a most powerful friend in heaven who always came to his help. The polytheist Indians could not or would not understand the implication. Nor even Raja Zaranj, who carefully sifted the information brought by the spies. There was found some exaggeration in the assertion of the refugees, and so they were beheaded. Yet the Raja was attracted by the apparent ease with which he expected to conquer and annex Palestine. He collected therefore a huge army from home country as well as from contingents of his vassals of Turks and Persians and even from Gog and Magog. The help of the feudal lords alone swelled to eleven lakhs strong, including cavalry. The home army had numerous elephants, mules, slave girls and all the pomps of a King of the whole World. When they camped near Jerusalem, the huge forces of Raja Zaranj terrified the Palestinians beyond description, yet their king consoled them and firmly believed in the help of the heavenly God, against His polytheistic enemies. The Raja sent ultimatum, and he mocked over the idea of any possible Divine succour against the great quantities of men and material he had amassed. At first the Raja felt ashamed to attack on the handful of Palestinian army, yet infuriated at what he considered the arrogance of King Usa, he ordered his army to charge. Presently the angels (Zabaniyah) came to the help of the monotheistic king, and not only protected him and his people from the arrows of the Indian army, but on their turn they simply massacred the latter by their missiles. The Raja lost heart and fled to the coast with only a lakh of soldiers who prepared their boats and tried to escape by sea. But again typhoons swept over the Mediterranean, and the whole army perished in ship wreck not sparing even the Raja Zaranj. The joy of King Usa was increased by the untold riches made booty, which his people took three months to handle and transport. (*Tabariy Annals*, first series, pp.620-27.)

The mention of Indian navy persists down to historical times. Ubulla, near modern Basra, was called in those days the Gateway of India. The Iranian governor of this frontier province is said to have always had to fight against either the Arab Beduins on land or Indian navy on sea. (*Idem*, p. 2023). The Persians knew Indian pirates very well. So once a deputation of Yamanites solicited help of the Iranian Emperor against some invaders whom the deputation named crows for their black colour. The Emperor asked which crows, Indians or Abyssinians?

Dahhak was a tyrant of Iran. Among the many stories of how he fell, there is one which says that he had gone to India, for purposes not mentioned by our historian; and in the meanwhile Afridun took possession of the capital and established himself. When Dahhak hurriedly returned from India, Afridun easily made him captive and imprisoned him in the mountains of Dunbawand, where it is said the tyrant is still being punished by god (*Idem*, p. 205).

There are also stories of the Iranian conquest of India. Accord to one such story, Kai-Lahrasp received tribute from kings of Hind, of Rum, of the West and others. And when these rulers addressed him a letter, they couched it in most humble terms. (Idem. p. 649-50). According to another story, Bahman had appointed a certain Kai-Ardher son of Dashkal as governor of the province of Sindh and Hind. Once when the governor disobeyed the king, armies, were sent and the rebellion was promptly quelled. (Idem. p. 652-53.) Yet another story says that Anushirwan first conquered Yaman and then dispatched a flotilla against Sarandip the Country of Precious Stones. The Persian army looted the island, killed the Raja and carried away large booty. (Idem. p. 965.) Another story says, when the Muslims conquered Ctesiphon (Mada'in), the capital of the Sassanids, in the year 16 H., they found in the booty several bags containing coats of arm and swords which had once belonged to Raja Dahir and Emperor Heraclius and were captured by the Persians when they had fought against these monarchs. (Idem. p. 2446-47).

The adventures of Bahramgur are much more picturesque in this connexion. This sinew king went to India in disguise singly. He attracted there attention of alike clown and king by his daring exploit in killing frocious beasts. Once a killed a wild mischievous elephant, which had caused a whole country deserted. This he achieved not only single-handed but he carried the whole head of the elephant on his back to his dwelling. This brought him in favour of the Raja of India. Per chance a terrible enemy attacked the country of the Raja, but the promises of Bahramgur emboldened him to resist. As the Indians were not good archers and mostly they fought on foot, Bahramgur was able to defeat the whole army single-handed. The Raja was gratified. He not only gave him the hand of his daughter but also bestowd on him the country of Daibul and Mukran and adjoining territories in Sindh. And Bahramgur returned to his native country pleased with these achievements. (Idem. p. 766-68).

There are also stories of scientific interest. King Chosroes had a son Sherueh, who was destined to become parricide. There was an Indian Raja in those days, called Farmisha. He sent an embassy to the court of Chosroes, and as a custom also sent presents to the different members of the royal family. The presents for the would be parricide Sherueh accompanied a letter in Indian Language. Chosroes got suspicious, and instead of delivering it to the addressee, caused an interpreter to come and explain the contents. He said, Farmisha gives the horoscopic description of the future of the young prince and assures him of his ascending the throne. The letter of the Raja was preserved under seal, and the prince imprisoned, yet man proposes and God alone disposes. (Idem. p. 1052 ff.)

Indian medicine is referred to in connexion with the Iranian king Shapur. He is said to have built the towns of Naishapur, Ctesiphon (Mada'in) and several others in Sindh and Sistan. King Shapur is said to have carried with him an Indian medical man, and left him in the city of Sus. The Indian doctor was broad-minded enough not only to dispense medicine to the needy but also to teach medical science to those who cared to do so. When he died, his traditions were preserved and cultivated by the inhabitants of the city of Sus, and it they who later provided the whole of Iran with professionals in medicine. (Idem. p. 845).

As to the racial origin of Indians according to Arabs, 6th historian Tabariy says that the people of Hind and Sindh are Hamites being descendants of Qut, son of Ham son of Nuh. The same author cites another tradition on the authority of Ibn-Abbas saying that the Arabs, the people of Hind and Sindh, the Persians, the Nabateans are all Semitic people being off-spring of Sam, son of Nuh. (Idem. pp. 217-18).

Regarding literature, the Kalila-Dimna and Bedpa is too famous to require any discussion here. Many Arab authors, however give a curious story, which is preserved even by such an early author as Ibn-Qutaiba (d. 276 H.) in his *Uyunul-akhbar* (vol. 4, p. 179). It says that once upon a time the kings of Hind, of Iran of Rum and of China happened to assemble together. Who, why, when, where or how, the story does not disclose, yet it says that it was suggested that each one of them should say one dictum (regarding speech and silence) which he thought the most wise. One of them said : If I uttered a thing it became my master : if I uttered not I mastered it. The other ruler said : Sometimes I have repented over what I have uttered yet I never repented over what I did not utter. The third ruler said : I can more easily change what I did not utter than what I did utter. The fourth and the last king said : Why should I utter a thing at all ; for it may do me harm ; and if by chance it did not do me harm, it would never benefit me either.

MUHAMMED BIN QASIM'S DISMISSAL AND DEATH

BY

Mr. S. M. Jaffar, (Peshawar)

Our authorities are at variance with regard to the mode of the death of Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim, the Arab Conqueror of Sind, and the motive behind it. According the author of the *Chachnamah*, Suraj Devi and Parmal Devi, two virgin daughters of Raja Dahir, who had been sent to the Khalifa after the capture of Rawar, complained that before being brought to the capital they had been robbed of the virgin fruit of their garden by the young conqueror, whereupon in a fit of rage the Commander of the Faithful sent peremotory orders that wherever he might be Imad-ud-Din Muhammad should at once get himself sewn in a cow skin and sent to the Capital without fail ; that the hero of Sind received these orders at Udhafar when he was contemplating the conquest of Kanauj and forthwith got himself sewn in a cow skin, to be sent to the Khalifa ; that the victim breathed his last on the way ; that when his body was exhibited to the daughters of Dahir at Baghdad they declared that Imad-ud-Din Muhammad was quite innocent and said that they had invented the false story to avenge the death of their father and the destruction of their family ; and that on hearing this 'the capricious tyrant' in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct bit the back of his hand and ordered both the girls to be immured alive or, according to another account, to be tied to the tails of horses and dragged about the city, to be thrown into the Tigris. Biladuri, the author of the *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, says that the hero of Sind was seized, fettered, thrown into prison and tortured to death by Salih at Wasit during the Khilaf of Sulaiman *bin* Abdul Malik, who had bitter enmity with Hajjaj, the uncle of Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim. Of these rival accounts, the latter savours more of romance than reality. It is self-contradictory and full of conflicting

remarks. The earlier part of the work, in which it appears, is overgrown with legendary matter and cannot be relied upon without careful consideration. It is asserted in the *Chachnamah* that the daughters of Dahir were seized and sent to the Capital immediately after the capture of Rawar 93 A. H., but it is mentioned in the same account that the orders reached the victim in 96 A. H. when he was making preparations for the conquest of Kanauj. This unusually long interval, during which the conqueror of Sind sent many letters to and received their replies from Hajjaj, is not accounted for. Again the author does not tell the story in connection with the conquest of Rawar but incorporates it at the end of his own account on the authority of a certain Muhammad *bin* Ali Abul Hasan Hamadani, apparently because he himself had serious doubts about its genuineness. There are instances in which ancient works have undergone change—additions and alterations—since the death of their authors and it is quite possible that the story was incorporated in the *chachnamah* by some one else after the death of its author. There are some other defects too, but it will be too tedious to disclose them here. As against this, the account given in *Futuh-ul-Buldan* appears to be more reliable and the motive more credible. The enmity between Sulaiman *bin* Abdul Malik and Hajjaj on one side and between Hajjaj and Salih on the other is disclosed not only by Biladuri but by many other ancient historians. Hajjaj had espoused the cause of Abdul Malik's son Abdur Rahman against his brother, Sulaiman, in the matter of succession and thus incurred the wrath of the would-be Khalifa; he had imprisoned and killed a number of persons and thus excited the enmity of their relatives; and he had killed Adam, brother of Salih and thus made him his enemy. When, therefore, Sulaiman ascended the throne and Salih was appointed Governor of Iraq, the enemies of Hajjaj had their day and the fate of his family and friends was sealed. But for the fact that Hajjaj had died six months before the accession of Sulaiman, he too would have been subjected to every conceivable torture and put to death. His family and friends, however, paid the penalty for his policy of ruthless persecution. Imad-ud-Din Muhammad *bin* Qasim also fell a victim to this enmity. He was taken prisoner, insulted and tortured to death at Wasit by Salih and his place was taken by Yazid, a favourite of the ruling Khalifa.

PLACE OF LANDING OF THE PARSIS IN INDIA

BY

Khan Bahadur Jal Dorabji Kanga, (Bombay)

(Summary)

The theme depicts a short history of the first movements of the ancestors of the modern Parsees, who came to India after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. It began with the defeat of the ancient Persians at the hands of the Arabs, at NEHAVAND, in 641, and ended with the event of the final removal of the SACRED FIRE "IRAN-SHAH" to UDVADA (about 1742).

Hundreds of thousands of Parsees continued to live in Persia after the Arab conquest. There is not the least doubt about it. At the same time historical evidence shows the aggressive and persecutive policy of the Arabs, which led some Christians even to migrate at that time to the shores of India. Under these circumstances, there is nothing of improbability in the Exodus to Sanjan.

Coming to the question of direct evidence, we have the evidence of (a) Four Silhara Grants, (b) the name of Sanjan, (c) an old written tradition which said that the first NAOSARI PARSEES were there from Sanjan, (d) the genealogy of Mobads, (e) the mention of the coins of the Mint of NISHAPUR in the Ashirwad (Parsee wedding ceremony) recital, (f) the intercalation of one month, (g) the Sanskrit Shlokas, (h) the Pahlavi inscription at Kanheri, (i) and the writings of travellers and writers of high calibre and repute.

There is justification for the evidence of subsequent travellers and writers who preceded Dastur Bahman Kaikobad, and who referred to the main facts of the religious persecution or the flight from Persia by the sea. Their statements prove that what was written after them by Bahman in his Kisseh was truthful. Among such preceding writers we find (a) Ahmad Al Biladuri (850), (b) Macoudi. (916), (c) Yaqout, (1178), (d) Hamajiar Ram (1516), (e) Garcia Da Orta (1524), and (f) Abul Fazl (1598).

Among contemporary writers, we have (a) Rev. E. Terry (1615) (b) Rev. Henry Lord (1621), (c) Sir Thomas Herbert (1626), (d) Mandelslo (1631). Manucci (1756). Then we have the evidence of three learned Dasturs, two of whom were much near to Bahman Kaikobad's time. These Dasturs are Darab Hormuzdyar (about 1679), Dastur Darab Pahlum (about 1700), and Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjana (1765).

There are various other events, connected with the question of the Exodus, in the Kisseh, and it is also supported by other historical writings and facts. Those events are : (a) the preliminary Retreat to Kohistan, (b) the subsequent retreats to Hormuz (c) and Diu, (d) the consecration of the Iran-Shah Fire-Temple at Sanjan, (e) the fall of Champanir into the hands of the Mahomadans, (f) the charitable works of Changashah, (g) the reference of the three priests who accompanied the Sacred Fire from Wansda to Naosari.

Tradition plays a very important part in History. Historical traditions run for thousands of years. After quoting here some candid opinion of a very learned writer, Mr. J. R. Mozley in connection with a tradition in the matter of the religion followed by us, refugees in India, I shall close this subject, but before I do so I take the opportunity of thanking the authorities of the Fifth Historical Congress and his learned local secretary Prof. H. K. Sherwani for giving me an opportunity of submitting this my humble contribution.

Mr. J. R. Mozley thus observes in his book, *The Divine Aspect of History*, (Vol. I. p. 78) on the Parsees of India : " The religion of ancient Persia has one claim on our regard which the more famous religions of ancient Greece and Rome have not ; it has *survived*, whereas they have *perished*. The name of Zeus or Jupiter is *no longer* honoured by any man as a worthy name of the Supreme Being ; but Ahuramazda, to whom the Persian King Darius, five hundred years before Christ, recorded his devotion on the rocks of *Behistun*, in Cuneiform letters legible today and interpreted by scholars, *is worshipped* at this hour by the community of the Parsees, who mostly have found a refuge in India. Ahura Mazda.-Auramdzi-Ormuzd whether it is in one or another of these three forms that the Supreme Being is named and worshipped, the worshipper belongs to the same line of tradition ; and that tradition has never quite died out as a living word among men."

THE TITLE OF ASVAPATI IN INSCRIPTIONS

BY

Kalipada Mitra, M. A., B. L., Principal, D. J. College, (Monghyr)

The word Asvapati occurs as a title of Muhammadan kings in some Jain poems e. g.

(a) "Asvapati" "Kutubadinu" mani ramjiu ditheli Jinaprabha Surie.

(b) Bhetiu Asapate Mahamado suguri Dhiliu nayare.

The Sultans referred to are Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah and Muhammad bin Tughlak.

The Sanskrit equivalent of *asapati* of *asvapati* which occurs in many inscriptions and panegyric poems. I am quoting an example of each.

(a) Padmavati-Vasti stone inscription of Humicca in the Nagara taluka (Mysore).

Babhati asvapaterdine tatanayo etc,

(b) The same inscription occurs in *Dasobhaktiyadi-Mahasastra*, perhaps in a more correct form.⁽¹⁾

Babhatyasvapaterdinesatanayo Gangadhyadesovrtahl.

In this paper I am making an attempt to trace the history of the title *Asvapati*.

Asvapati, a *biruda* or title of kings, seems to have had a long tradition. In the *Ramayana* we find mention of an Asvapati, king of Kaikeya contemporary of Dasaratha, Rama's father; another Asvapati, prince of the Kekayas, instructed Aruna.⁽²⁾

Asvapati, King of Madra, was the father of the famous Savitri (Mh. Vana Parva, C. 292, *Matsya*, 2065) Kekaya was the country between the Beas and the Satlej,⁽³⁾ and had for its Capital Rajgiri or Girivraja (Girjak, identified with Jalalpur by Cunningham). Madra was the country between the Ravi and the Chinab. Mention is made of the tribes of the Aspasioi and Assakenoi whose territories Alexander invaded. The country of the powerful nation of the Assakenoi was no other than Swat, their chief possessing the name of Assakenos. The corresponding Sanskrit form of Assakenoi is Asmaka "as attested among tribal designations of the Indian North-West."⁽⁴⁾

1. Vide my article *Historical References in Jain Poems*.

2. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 164, 327-28.

3. N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dicts*.

4. Sir Aune Stein, *Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier in Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVII (1929), pp. 3, 4, 30.

Aspa, assa is *asva*, horse. Assakeroi (country of horse) becomes Sanskrit Asmaka (country of hill). The *Kurma Purana* mentions Asmaka in connection with the countries of the Punjab, the *Brhat Samhita* (Ch. 14) also places it is the North-West of India. It seems that these people went Southward colonising, living trails behind. Sanskrit *Asmaka* becomes Pali *Assaka* Skt. *Asvaka* (horse again) whose country lay to the North-West of Avanti. The move southwards, and have a settlement on the banks of the Godavari at the time of Buddha, their capital being Potana (*Mohd-Govinda Sutta, Digha Nikaya*, XIX. 36). From Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* it appears that the Assaka (Asmaka) country lay between the Godavari and Mahissati on the Nerbadda. It was also called Alaka or Mulaka, its capital being Pratisthana corresponding to Patitthana, Potana, Potali of the Buddhists, Patitthana of the Jains, Paithana of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Baithan of the Greeks ; Potana, Podana, Paudanya being variant forms. Paudanya was founded by Asmaka.

Paithan was the Capital of the Andhras (*Padma P.* and *Katha-Saritsagar*). It was also the birth place and capital of Raja Salivahana.⁽¹⁾ Salivahana is Satavahana⁽²⁾, both meaning the rider of horse (or in other words Asvapati).

Bhattacharyya, commentator of Kautilya's Artha-sastra, identifies Asmaka with Maharashtra. It is Asvaka of the *Mahabharata* (Bhisma Parva, Ch-9).

The Maukharis trace their descent from Asvapati. Mr. L. P. Pandeya Sarma in his article entitled *An Inscriptions of Suryavarman of the Asvapati Family* refers to the inscriptions of Maukhari King Suryavarman son of Isanavarman (date V. S. 611.) and quotes the third sloka⁽³⁾ which is:—

Sutasatam leppe nrepa *asvapatir* vvaivasvata dyadgunoditam
Tatprasuta durita vrttirudho *mukharah* ksitisah ksatarayh.

Thus the Asvapati Kings belonged to the North.⁽⁴⁾ This title may have been adopted by the Muhammadan kings of the North, as they are known to have adopted some Hindu institutions (e.g. the putting of the honorific Sri before their names on coins e.g. Srih Mohamad, the tulapurisadana, etc). Qutbuddin Aibak began the policy of early Muslim rulers' concitiation of Hindu subjects by preserving the main features of the Hindu coinage assimilating such Hindu building traditions as did not offend the basic tents of Islam.

"In Iltutmish's coins of the Chahada Deva Variety the whole inscription occurs on the obverse.....the legend stands thus.....*Asabari Sri Samasirala Deva*. The word *Asabari* is the name of goddess Durga" writes

1. N. L. Dey — *op. cit.*

2. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Polyglotism in Indo-Aryan* in the Proc. of Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 183-85, quoting J. Przyluski (*JRAS*, 1929, pp. 273 ff, Sali, Sata, Sada cf *Sadom*, horse in Santoli).

3. *JHAS*, Vol. VIII p. 147, "From Asvapati sprang the Maukhari dynasty"

4. The latest mention of the title Asvapati occurs in Vdayagiri inscription of Kumaragupta's reign (in A. D. 425-26), see, App. In his copper-plate in the Ganga King Marasimha, is said to have proceeded to the north to conquer Asvapati Kings *M. A. R.* 1921, p. 23.

(a) *Indian Culture*, Vol. V. p. 423.

Dr. Surendrakishore Chakraverty in the paper "Some Hindu Elements in Muslim Coinage of India" in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 3rd session, page 682.

Dr. Chakraverty quotes C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India* Pl. VI, foot note 1. "Asavari is said to be a name of Durga". I think, however that *Asavari* means 'the rider of a horse'.

In a Jain book *Supasannahacaria* (214) we come across the word *asvara*, Horse-rider, *asa* corresponding to Skt. *asva*, and *Vara* is common to both. In Sir H. Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. III, page 260 occurs *sawari sadi* in brackets against "foreign horsemen". (Dr. Taraporewala says that the 'horse' was so important to the Aryan that the rider pre-eminently was the rider of the horse. Sir Ashotosh Mem. Vol. p.)

Prithvi Raja's billon coin (no. 11 in Pl. VI) has on the obverse horseman to right, and reverse recumbent bull to left with the legend. 'Asavari Sri Samanta Deva'. The Shahis of Ohind used the same device no. 12 obv. horseman to right, rev. recumbent bull to left with the legend 'Sri Spalapati Deva'.

Chahada Deva of Marwar also used the same device as those of 11. Hlututmish imitated these with only this difference that he substituted his name thus : Asavari Sri Samsirala Deva. He called himself on coin scripts *Sunitana Sri Samsadin* or *Sri Samsira*, - *la* therefore seems to have been a suffix, the exact meaning of which I can not as certain. If it be genitive then *spalapati* may mean 'Lord of the Horse'. If *la* form an integral part of *spala*, it may have some connection with *palaka*, horse (Skt. dict., though *pala* is ordinarily elephant). It seems therefore *Asavari* and *Spalapati* may mean 'horse-rider' *Spa* is definitely connected with Persian *aspa*. The Greeks showed a strong tendency to adopt the horse (*hippos*) as a portion of their name e. g. Hippocrates⁽¹⁾ (the celebrated Greek physician of the 5th, Century B. C.) Hippostratus (the great king, Basileos Megalon Soteris for whose coins see Brown *op. cit.*, pt. II no. 5) etc., so it would not be difficult for the Greeks to adopt the Indian device of horse-rider in coinage. The coins of horse-man type (King on horseback) had a long currency. Take for example that of Philoxenes, no. 7 of Pl. II and so later kings viz. Soter Megas, Aes, I, Gondopheres, Azilises and Spalyris (*Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa spalagamasa*, savouring of connection with horse) in Pl. III, Chandragupta II and Prakasaditya of Pl. V, of Pl. VI already mentioned and of Raziya in Pl. VIII.

The place name Hippokoura (horse-city) mentioned by Ptolemy is said to be situated in the southern part of Ariake to the south of Paithana (see above) and is a royal capital, *basileon Balco Kourou*, the royal residence of Ballokouros, or Vilivayakura (*Bagchi-Pre-Aryan* and *Pre-Dravidian*, pp. 174, 175) which was the title of Satavahana king Sata-karni Vasisthiputra and Gautamiputra. Hippokoura is said to have been in the district of Kolhapur in south Marhatta country which according to one of the above mentioned accounts was the Asmaka country. In Jain literature we come across the name of horse-city in Asapura, Asapuri, Asapuri.

1. Hippocrates means literally one who possesses the might (*Cratos*) of a horse (*hippos*) comes to our Asvatthama (son of Drona). In Jain literature we come across Asaggiva (the first Prativasudeva), Asadhara, Asadhaya, Asamitta etc., six. Asvaghosha.

The kings of the Daksinapatha entertained ambition to conquer the kings of the Uttarapatha (imitating the latter) and when they succeeded, it is no wonder they should have adopted their titles.⁽¹⁾ The Vijayanagar king Harihara Ray II were the title of *Asvapati* in A. D. 1395 and (evidently following an old custom, see below) added to other titles of *gajapati* and *narapati* in A. D. 1403. Krishna Deva Ray defeated the Musalmans in 1520 and acquired the right of wearing the titles of *asvapati* and *gajapati*. From an inscription of Saka era 1522 (A. D. 1600) it appears that the Sultan of Golkonda wore the title of *asvapati*.

There were the celebrated Gajapati Kings of Kalinga or Orissa which was pre-eminently called the land of elephants. *Asvapati* is (with variants *haya-turaga-pati*) the title of the northern, *gajapati* of the southern *narapati* of eastern and *chhatrapati* of western kings. The first three in combination are often found in the inscriptions of Kalachuri rulers of Dahala as well as in the Carnatic. Yasahkarnadeva and his successors used in the grants the high sounding title of *svabhujoparajita asvapati - gajapati - narapati - rajatrayadhi-pati*. *Chhatrapati* may be 'lord of the umbrella' but it comes properly from Avestan "*Khshathrapait*", Kshatrapa (Satrap), a title long current in the Maharashtra country.⁽²⁾

THE CONQUEST OF CHITTOR BY BAPPA RAVAL IN 734 A. D.

BY

Wazirruddowlah Rao Bahadur Sardar

N. V. Kibe, (Indore)

(Summary)

In a "Note on the Rise of the Guhilots in Chittor and its neighbourhood" contributed to and published in the proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta, (pp. 812—817), Mr. Gulap Chandra Ray Chaudhari, M.A., B.L., Victoria Institution, Calcutta, says that Bappa Raval may have conquered Chittor between 713—A. D. 753 A. D. But he adds that according to Col. Tod, the well-know writer of "The Rajasthan", a Raja styled as Kukadeshwar held its possession till the year 1754 A. D. It is also said that he belonged to a dynasty called Mori. Mr. Ray Chaudhari doubts if in the Guhilot dynasty of Udaipur there was any Ruler named as Bappa Raval.

Lately an authoritative history of Udaipur, for which its author received a grant of lac of rupees as a reward, has become available. It was printed years ago and was kept under lock and key in the archives of the Udaipur state for some years past. A copy of it is now possessed by the Imperial Records Department at New Delhi and it was exhibited to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission at its sitting at Baroda in December 1940. The author of this monumental work is Kavi-raj Shamaldas. He has based it on authentic records, stone Inscriptions, Copper plates and numismatics. Its authenticity cannot be doubted.

1. As trophies? This is an agreement with the well-known practice of primitive races appropriating every thing belonging to the enemy, they ate his heart and liver, supposed to be the seats of valour.

2. We find mention of the *Setupati* rajas of Ramnad, Dist. Madura, perhaps because the country was near Adam's Bridge, *Setabandhu* Rameshwar.

As regards Col. Tod's statement about Kukreshwar, it is not the name of a man but of a place, with many archaeological remains and is now situated in the Garoth District of the Indore State. It may have been under the sway of the Rulers of Modi, which also lies in the same district, which has many archeological remains and may have been the seat of the Mori dynasty which is said to have descended from Mayuradhwaja, who is mentioned in a work called Ashwamedha of Mahabharat or another work, the author of which one Jaimini. Through the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission, I have been able to get at the Vir Vinod, the history of Udaipur referred to above. According to it the conquest of Chittor is ascribed to Mahendrajai, better known as Bappa Raval. He wrested it from Raja Man Sing of the Mori dynasty in the year 734 A. D. (vide part I pages 150, 251 and 253). So the controversy raised by Mr. Nay Chaudhari should be set at rest.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMARA DYNASTY

BY

Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, (Nagpur)

It is well known that there was a crisis in the history of the Paramara dynasty at the time of the death of Bhoja, the illustrious ruler of Malwa.⁽¹⁾ Karna, the mighty Kalachuri king of Dahala, allied himself with the Chaulukya king Bhima of Gujarat. The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west and capturing the capital Dhara, dethroned Jayasimha, the successor of Bhoja. In this emergency Jayasimha solicited the aid of the Chaulukya king Somesvara I Ahavamlla of the Deccan and the latter, forgetting his hereditary hostility with the Paramara family, sent his son Vikramaditya VI to Jayasimha's aid.⁽²⁾ Vikramaditya turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasimha. The Mandhata plates⁽³⁾ of Jayasimha show that he was firmly established on the throne in A.D. 1055.

About fifteen years later Karna again invaded Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the mean while. Ahavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Somesvara II. The latter was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother Vikramaditya VI and therefore must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor Karna and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription⁽⁴⁾ very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Malava country at the time. The inscription has been edited by Prof. Kielhorn who reads the verse at follows :—

तस्मिन्मासवर्ष (ब) न्युतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले
ममस्वामिनि तस्य व (ब) न्युरुदया दित्यो भवद्भवपतिः ।
येतोदृष्ट्य महावर्णवोपममिलत्कर्णार्ककर्णप्र (मु) -
मुर्वीपालकदयिता भुवमिसा श्री मद्राहायितम् ॥

1. Meruntunga's *Prabhanduchintamani* places the invasion towards the end of Bhoja's reign, but the Udaipur *prasasti* and the Nagpur Museum stone inscription say that the troubles started after the death of Bhoja.

2. *Vikramankadevacharita*, canto III, verse 67.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

Kielhorn translates this verse as follows:—‘ When he (*i.e.*, Bhoja) had become Indra’s companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayaditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who joined by the Karnatas was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.’

The expression *rajye cha kuly-akule* is significant. Besides the meaning given by Kielhorn, it signifies another *vis.*, that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the risings of the scions of the (Paramara) family. Even though Jayasimha ascended the throne with the help of the Chalukya it seems that there were some members of the Paramara family (*kulyas*) who did not quietly acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasimha was related to Bhoja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhoja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar.⁽¹⁾ In that case there may have been other members of the Paramara family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasimha had the support of the powerful Chalukya Emperor Somesvara I Ahavamalla, they could not do anything, but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karna who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malawa. When he found that the Malava kingdom was torn by civil war, he made an alliance with Somesvara II, the son of Ahavamalla and invaded Malawa. This invasion is described in the third *pada* of the verse cited above. Kielhorn’s reading of it given above is open to two objections ; firstly, it does not make the final syllable *bhu* (of *prabhu*) in the third *pada* prosodially long as required by the metre⁽²⁾ and secondly, with that reading the compound can not be satisfactorily dissolved. Kielhorn evidently took it to mean महावर्णवोपमः मिलत्कर्णटिः कर्णः प्रभुः यस्याः तां (भुवम्), but the dissolution is not quite satisfactory. Besides, Kielhorn was not sure of the reading *prabhu*. His edition of the inscription was not accompanied by a facsimile, but Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁽³⁾ very ingeniously suggested the reading *prabhṛity-urvvipala*—This suits the metre and yields a better sense. Besides, on referring to the original stone in the Nagpur Museum I find that it is the correct reading of the particular portion. The expression must therefore be dissolved as महावर्णवोपमं मिलन्तः कर्णटिकर्णप्रभृतयः उर्व्विपालाः तैः कदयितां (भुवम्). It would mean that Udayditya rescued the earth which was oppressed by Karnata, the king Karna and other rulers who had swept over it from different sides like mighty oceans. This reading of the third *pada* shows that Malava was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings.

A stone inscription recently discovered corroborates this reading of the verse and sheds new light on some other events of Malava history. The record is incised on the architrave of a dilapidated old temple of Siva at Dongargaon in the Yeotmal District of Berar. It belongs to the reign of Jagaddeva, a son of Udayaditya and is dated in Saka 1034. A.D. 1112.

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

2. The syllable will of course be long if we read *prabhum*, but as the rules of *sandhi* have to be observed within a hemistich the final *m* of *prabhum* must be joined to the initial *u* of *urvvipala* in the next *pada*. Consequently, the syllable *bhu* does not become prosodially long.

3. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 169-70, n.

After describing Bhoja, the inscription says about Udayaditya. ततोऽपि त्रयस्कन्दैर्मन्नां मालवमेदिनीम् । उद्धरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवहृत ॥ This verse clearly shows that at that time Malava was invaded by a confederacy of three kings. It thus corroborates the reading of the third *pada* of verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum inscription noticed above.

Who are those three invaders of Malwa? The Nagpur Museum stone inscription specifically names Karna as one of them. Kielhorn identified him with the homonymous Kalachuri king who was a contemporary of Udayaditya. Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chalukya king Karna of Gujarat, the successor of Bhima.⁽¹⁾ This view does not appear to be correct. Some late Sanskrit works no doubt state that the Chalukya Karna defeated a king of Malava,⁽²⁾ but they do not state that the latter was Jayasimha. Kalachuri inscriptions also are silent about this event, but that is because they nowhere give a detailed account of Karna's conquests. They recently discovered Rewah stone inscription of the time of Karna⁽³⁾ also does not mention it though it describes Karna's campaigns against other kings, but that is evidently because the event occurred long after A. D. 1048-49 which is the date of that inscription. Karna's extermination of the royal family of Malava is however mentioned in an *Apabhramsa* verse⁽⁴⁾ cited in the *Pingalarthapradipa* to which Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar drew attention long ago. Besides, the latter part of the Udaipur *prasasti* which has recently come to light states that Udayaditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dahala.⁽⁵⁾ This shows that the king Karna who was responsible for the destruction of Jayasimha was the Kalachuri, and not the Chalukya, king.

The Karnata king was evidently Somesvara II of the Later Chalukya dynasty. The Sudi stone inscription dated Saka 996 (A. D. 1075) mentions this Chalukya king as a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Malavyas. This suggests that Somesvara deposed and perhaps killed Jayasimha and some other members of Paramara family.

Karna and Somesvara II were, however, only the prominent members of the confederacy as stated in the Nagpur stone inscription. There were other kings allied with them. The Dongargaon inscription states that the invaders were three in number, but it does not name them. The third prominent member was probably the Western Ganga king Udayaditya. From several records in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayaditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hoysala prince Ereyanga joined Somesvara in his attack on Malava. Ereyanga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Malava army, plundered the Malava king's hill fort and burnt and devastated Dhara.⁽⁶⁾

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 291, n. 4; D. C. Ganguli, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 130.

2. *Viz.* Prithvirajavijaya, canto V; Sukritasankirtana canto II, verse 23.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 124 ff.

4. हनु उज्जरगुज्जराअदलं दलदलिअबलि अमरहटुबलं ।

बलमोलिअमालवराअकुला कुळउज्जलकरचुलिकण फुला ॥

5. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1925-26. p. 13.

6. See Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 128-29.

Jayasimha succumbed to this attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramara kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Malava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription which likens it to the catastrophe of world destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In this hour of need Udayaditya rose to the occasion. He routed the enemy's forces and rescued the Malava country just as the Primeval Boar had up-lifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*.

The verse cited above from the Dongargaon inscription is important in another respect also. It calls Udayaditya the brother (*bhrata*) of Bhoja. This is the first record in which the relationship of Udayaditya to Bhoja is so clearly stated. Some Paramara inscriptions⁽¹⁾ describe Udayaditya as meditating on the feet of Bhoja, but they do not state how he was related to Bhoja. The Nagpur Museum inscription has indeed been known for a long time to refer to Udayaditya as a *bandhu* of Bhoja, but as *bandhu* signifies in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayaditya was supposed to be remotely related to Bhoja. The Jainad stone inscription of Jagaddeva's reign mentions Bhoja as the *pitriyva* (uncle) and Udayaditya as the father of Jagaddeva, but as a stone inscription at Udayapur⁽²⁾ gives an altogether different genealogy for Udayaditya from that of Bhoja, viz., that he was the son of Gyata, grandson of Gondala and great-grandson of Suravira of the Paramara dynasty it is supposed that Udayaditya belonged to a minor branch of the family and was a distant cousin of Bhoja.⁽³⁾ The Dongargaon inscription, which uses the *bhrata* to indicate the relationship, leaves no doubt that Udayaditya was Bhoja's real brother. The statement in the Udayapur inscription which is a very late record, has to be rejected in view of the testimony of three very early documents, viz., the Nagpur Museum, Jainad and Dongargaon inscription.

The Dongargaon inscription contains another important statement to which we may now turn. After eulogizing Udayaditya the inscription says—

तस्य सत्त्वपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्मतसुतैषिणः । ह्यराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो महीपतिः ॥
दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तमपि श्रियम् । परिवर्तिभयात्त्यक्त्वा योऽप्रजाय न्यवेदयत् ॥

These verses show that though Udayaditya had several sons, he longed to have one more after his heart. He therefore devoutly prayed to Siva and by the god's favour, obtained the son Jagaddeva. After Udayaditya's death Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddeva, but he being afraid of incurring the sin of *parivitti*, (i.e., marrying before an elder brother), renounced her in favour of his elder brother. Two other sons Udayaditya are known from inscriptions, viz., Lakshmadeva and Naravarman, who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddeva is mentioned in certain Hoysala records⁽⁴⁾ as the king of Malava. As his name is not mentioned in other Paramara inscriptions, he is supposed to be identical with Lakshmadeva whom the Nagpur Museum inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayaditya. The Dongargaon inscription however makes it clear that Jagaddeva was

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

2. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 56.

4. See e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

different from both Lakshmadeva and Naravarman and that though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malava, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadeva.

Jagaddeva was probably the youngest son of Udayaditya. The description in the aforecited verses of the Dongargaon inscription suggests that he was a favourite son his father and was nominated by him as his successor. According to the *Rasa Mala*, Udayaditya had two wives, one of the Waghela clan and the other of the Solanki. The former bore to him a son named Ranadhavala and the latter Jagaddeva. Ranadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddeva was younger by two years. As Udayaditya was completely under the influence of Ranadhavala's mother who illtreated Jagaddeva, the latter left Malava and took service under Siddharaja Jyasimha of Gujarat. He served him for eighteen years, but when he came to know that Siddharaja was planning an invasion of Malava, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father who nominated him as his successor. After his father's death Jagaddeva ascended the throne of Malava and ruled for 52 years.⁽¹⁾

The foregoing account of the Gujarat bards cannot of course be accepted in its entirety, but it is to a certain extent corroborated by the Dongargaon inscription. The tenour of the description in the versed quoted above suggests that Jagaddeva was a half brother of Lakshmadeva who perhaps bore the *biruda* Ranadhavala. He seems to have been nominated by Udayaditya as his successor, but the Dongargaon inscription leaves no doubt that he never ascended the throne of Malava. Another inscription of Jagaddeva's reign has been found at Jainad in the Adilabad District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Jagaddeva was therefore ruling over Modern Berar and the northern parts of the Hyderabad State.

The Dongargaon inscription has thus shed important light on the history of the Parmara dynasty subsequent to the death of Bhoja.

THE 'GURJARA-PRATIHARA MONUMENTS':

*A study in Regional and Dynastic Distribution of
North Indian Monuments*

BY

Mr. H. D. Sankalia, (Poona)

(Summary)

1. Regional and Dynastic study of monuments of North and South India.
2. Need for such a study of the early mediaeval monuments of North India.
3. Gurjara-Pratihara Monuments: Importance of their study.
4. References to Monuments in Gurjara-Pratihara Inscriptions.
5. Necessity for field-study.

1. *Ras Mala*, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

OBSCENE CARVINGS IN THE TEMPLES IN MAHAKOSALA.

BY

L. P. Pandya Sarma, (Chhatisgarh via Raigarh, C. P.)

In reply to one of my letters, the famous orientalist Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., LL.D., was pleased to write under date 5th January 1938, as follows :—

Obscenity in Indian art is, as you say, a common and painful feature. It is based upon the symbolic "fertility-rites" which are to be found among many peoples and which occasionally were used in some ancient rituals of the Vedic Aryans, such as the Asvamedha. Indecent rites seem to have been most prevalent among Non-Aryans, and generally they infected the ceremonies and religious are of upper circles of society. The *Tantric cults* were very effective in spreading obscenity and immorality in Hinduism and Northern Buddhism. In many forms of the latter erotic imagination runs rampant and religion is dominated by sexualism. Curiously enough, the Lingayats of the Dekkan are modest and chaste people.

"Obscenity in Indian art" is viewed quite differently by great thinkers in our own country. I refer to Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal—the world-renowned philosopher of Bengal and Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University. In his opinion the presence of amorous and so-called obscene pictures in temples had nothing to do with bad taste or moral degradation of the then society. On the other hand they had their origin on perfectly moral and religious basis. A perusal of the article heading "भारतीय स्थपति शिल्प" published in the 7th number of the 5th volume of the famous Bangala monthly journal (April 1914), will acquaint the reader with the views held by Dr. Seal on this kind of mural decorations. According to him this kind of moral decorations was first introduced by monks who were the advisers of the chief masons and architects of temple structures. The object of their initiative was to create a *वीभत्सरूप* (ugly and hatred exciting presentation) of sex impurities. It was conceived on the principle of *auto-suggestion*.

To many learned scholars in India the presence of obscene carvings in the body of a sacred temple, meant for public worship, is a mystery.

A few years ago our young social reformers and cultured political agitators wanted to do away with such indecent representations at famous centres public worship in Orissa. To them it was a sign of bad taste and moral degradation of the Society*. On the contrary Dr. Block in Bengal District Gazetter, Puri Dist.—writes on page 2 & 3.

Nothing indeed could be more unjust than to decry the people who made them (the obscene figures in the Konarka temple the Black Pagoda of

* At Barsur in the Baster State there is a Siva temple with 12 stone pillars carved on the outside with sculptures of nude figures in a damaged state. It is said that Mahipal Deo and his queen Padma Kumari were offended at the indecency of the figures and caused them to be defaced.

Mahipal Deo—Raja of Baster State flourished about 1777 A.D.—pp. 38-39.

Chhatisgarh Fuedatory States—1909.
(C. P. GAZETTEERS) E. A. deBret, I.C.S.,

Orissa) as indulging in immorality gross at the figures may seem to modern ideas.

What were the original sources of the introduction of such figures is not definitely known.

The pre-historic rock paintings at Singhapur (Raigarh State, E.S.A.) and at other places in India, the fresco paintings in the caves in the Surguja State, E. S. A., and at Ajanta and Ellora supply no clue towards their adoption on grounds of antiquity and traditional usage, in whatever crude form this art might have been to attribute this novelty to foreign influence on Indian architecture or painting requires some authentic proof of which there seems to be an absence.

As on the Buddha-Gaya railing, *amorous couples* standing under a tree are carved on rail-pillars from Patna and Rajgir in Bihar. Similar amorous groups appear also on the Gateways of Sanchi stupa 1 (1st Century B. C.) vide a Guide to the sculptures in the Indian Museum—Part I (1937) by N. C. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., p.p. 73-75.

In Mahakosala—modern Chhattisgarh Division and the adjoining Fuedatory States in C.P's. and in Orissa—there are some ancient temples on the walls of which obscene carvings are found. It is still to be ascertained as to what school of architectural art of this type, these carvings represent. These temples are undoubtedly not so famous as those at *Puri (Jagannath)* and *Konarka* in the Puri Dist., Orissa, and evidently are less known to the people and pilgrims. Whether these carvings were put on the walls of shrines in mere imitation of those found in the Jagannath temples or their adoption was the result of some religious movement of the time, one can't say. I shall try to describe one or two such shrines in Mahakosala.

Let me here point out that the early structures of archaeological and architectural value in Mahakosala are free from such amorous carvings. I refer to the brick temple called, Lakshman Dewal at Sirpur (Old Sripura) on the Mahanadi, in the Raipur District, to the Siva temple at Mallar (Dist. Bilaspur), to the Kosalesvara temple at Baidyanath on the Tela or Tailawaha river in the Sonepur-State E. S. A., to the old shrines at Pujaripali in the Sarangarh-State, E. S. A., and to those at Ranipur Jharial in the Patna State. All these have fine sculptures and ornaments and belong to the period when Maha Siva Tivara-raja Deva and Maha Siva Palarjuna of Somavamsa held sway over Mahakosala or South Kosala Kingdom, with Sripura (present day Sirpur) as their Capital. The Somavamsa rule falls between 500 A. D. to 660 A. D.

Describing in brief the ruined brick temples at Pujaripali (in Sarangarh State) H. Couson's *Progress Report* has :—

They are of the same type as the old temple of Lakshman at Sirpur (in Raipur Dist.). Around the walls is used the *Chaitiya-arched* ornament largely and boldly carved, as found so often in these very early temples. Of these temples only the temple of Lakshman at Sirpur contained one big inscription set up by queen Vasata the mother of King Maha Siva. Balarjuna, which is now deposited in the Raipur Museum at Raipur, C. P. On the

strength of this inscription the date of the erection of this shrine dedicated to Lord Hari or Vishnu, can be approximately ascertained which may fall between 550 A. D. to 600 A. D. or thereabout.

The temple of Siva at Deo Baloda (Dist. Drug C. P.) 2 miles from Bhilai Railway Station on the B. N. Ry. and 14 miles east of Drug town, is in the mediaeval Brahmanic style and has several *obscene carvings*. Of the other interesting sculptures the most notable are the representations of a boar hunt. Hunters are armed with spears and it is said that boars were once very common there. The figures inside the temple on the four central pillars and the entrance of the sanctum are richly carved and highly polished. Unfortunately the age of the erection of this temple is not known. But it may safely be attributed to 7th century A. D. About this time, obscene carvings appear to have crept into the art of the temple building in Mahakosala and solitary instances of such carvings are found on the walls of some temples in the Sonpur State, the very heart of Mahakosala.

It may be presumed that the Sripura Somavansi Gupta Kings and the Gupta Rulers of Trikalunga cum Kosala did not patronise this kind of art in architecture if it was, at all, in use in some parts of India. Unless authentic evidence is found, its use may be taken to have begun much later.

A careful survey of the temples in Mahakosala erected between 7th to 10th century A. D. might throw fresh light on this subject.

The only famous shrine of Vishnu at Bhoram Deo in Kawardha State (E. S. A.) with obscene carvings and rich and profuse ornamentations surpasses the one at *Pali*, near Ratanpur (Old Ratnapura capital of the Tummana cum South Kosala kingdom) in the present Bilaspur Dist., C. P.

This *Pali** village is 27 miles from Bilaspur Town and about 10 miles to North-east from Ratanpur referred to above. Tummana (present day Tuman) is about 45 miles to the N. E. from Ratanpur. This temple of Siva with obscene carvings contains the name of Jajalladeva - Haihaya Prince of Ratnapura in five inscriptions. Jajalladeva (the first) flourished about 1114 A. D. (Chedi era 866), and therefore the carvings cannot be earlier than 1100 A. D. Although at *Khajuraha* in the present Chhattarpur State, about 28 miles from Panna Town, the Head quarters of the State of the same name in Bundelkhand, obscene carvings and sculptures are found in the *Khandari Mahadeva temple*, which is, to quote a great antiquarian "one of a well-known group of such edifices which comprises in its number, some of the most exquisite examples of Indo-Aryan architecture in the length and breadth of India; the only group, which in any way surpasses it being that of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa", which are said to be earlier than

* This Pali is identified with पूर्वात्सुषिकूल पाळी, पाळी under कोटकेन्द by Professor V. V. Mirashi, M. A., who discards the phrase पूर्वात्सुषिकूल पाळी of the *Bilahari* stone inscription of the Rulers of Chedi (p. 23 C. P. Inscription by R. B. Dr. Hiralal) as of no historical value and considers it to have been put for alliterations sake only. He further finds fault with my identifications of this पाळी with one *Palia* village in the Balasore Dist., a few miles from the seashore and states that there is an absence of ancient remains there. He is referred to the inscribed and richly carved door jambs brought from *Palia* and kept in the Ravenshaw College Museum at Cuttack. Although the inscriptions are much damaged, the workmanship and carvings are exquisite. *Palia* has a beautiful temple of old.

those found on the body of the temple at Pali. At Khajuraha many temples of the group have dated inscriptions. The dates are 1001 A. D., 1116 A. D., 1104 A. D. and so on. Khajuraha shrines, therefore, belong to about the same age.

To be short about the 11th and 12th centuries this school of art appears to have found favour with temple builders in Mahakosala Kingdom from one corner to the other, from Pali (Tummana) in Bilaspur District and Bhram Deo in Kawardha State (Chhattisgarh) to Barsur in the Baster State, from Sonepur on the Mahanadi on the border of Orissa to Khajuraha in Bundelkhand, though this last mentioned place had never come under the direct political control of Mahakosala. The black Pagoda at Konarka in Puri District on the sea-shore, is well known for such carvings. In the far-off Baroda State there are temples built about 11th and 12th centuries which also contain such carvings from Dwarka (in Baroda State) to Jagannath Puri (in Orissa) and at Bhram Deo and Pali in Mahakosala Kingdom, such carvings were in use during the reigns of both *Saiva* (परम माहेश्वर) and *Vaishnava* (परम वैष्णव) families of kings who were the patrons and builders of such temples,

A FRESH LIGHT ON GHARAPURI

BY

V. K. Bhawe B. A., (Poona)

In the last session of this Congress at Lahore I had read a paper on "Puri, the Capital of Konkan", trying to prove that Rajpuri near Murud Janjira was the ancient Puri and not Gharapuri otherwise known as Elephanta near Bombay. Thereupon very recently I seized an opportunity to visit the Island of Gharapuri personally and I am glad to state that my theory has secured a further corroboration.

The Island of Gharapuri is situated about seven miles from Bombay and fifteen miles from Thana. Uran the nearest port is scarcely at a distance of three miles, while a narrow strip of land stretching forth from the mainland is not even more than one mile from the Island.

Gharapuri consists of two hills separated by a narrow valley and measures about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference. The surface area varies from 6 to 4 square miles according as the tide is at ebb and flow. There is no level ground on the Island enough to build up a town even of a moderate size. Very few people inhabit the Island and their chief occupation is to cultivate rice and rear sheep or poultry for sale in the Bombay market. All of them however have come to settle there from the neighbourhood in the last century. The place is not fortified so as to give protection to the settlers, being open to attack from all sides. The climate is generally unhealthy and especially in rainy season and onwards the Island is a hot-bed of Malaria and other diseases. No traces have yet been discovered to show that there ever was a town on the Island in the past.

On the other hand Puri the ancient capital of Konkan is known to history at least since 611 A.D. when it was besieged and reduced by Pulakeshi II the Chalukya Emperor of Badami. But no record is forthcoming

to indicate that he had annexed Buri and its surrounding territory to his empire on this occasion. He might most probably have restored it to Mauryas after exacting a heavy tribute from them.

Silahars seem to be the successors of the Mauryas. Kapardi I the founder of this dynasty was established in Konkan in the first quarter of the 9th century as a feudatory by the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. The same Puri of the Mauryas continued to be their capital; which status it held almost till the extinction of the Silahar power. In his copper plates Chittaraj a Silahar King describes Konkan as “पुरीप्रमुखचतुर्दशमतिसमन्वित कोकण भुवम्” pointing out distinctly thereby that Puri was the chief town among fourteen hundred villages in Konkan. Such a town of nearly four hundred years standing could not be situated on an isolated, small and unhealthy Island of Gharapuri. Aparajit another Silahar king made Thana his second capital. The plea for this innovation might possibly be that Thana was a more central place than Puri so far as Silahar Kingdom was concerned. If Puri implied Gharapuri which is only 15 miles from Thana in the sea, there was no necessity whatsoever to justify this change. This fact leads one naturally to the conclusion that the so-called Puri being quite distinct from Gharapuri must have been far away from Thana on the mainland. In that case Puri would certainly signify the present Rajpuri near Murud-Janjira about 60 miles to the south of Thana.

Gharapuri must have risen to prominence only when the famous temple of Siva was carved out on its hill. In addition to Gharapuri there are other rock-temples called Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar which together with Gharapuri stand within a few miles from one another. Assuming the town of Thana as the centre, Gharapuri lies at a distance of 15 miles to the west while Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar nearly five miles to the north. They are all Shaivite temples. Dr. Fergusson places them in the 10th century. Dr. Wilson is disposed to limit the age to the 8th or 9th century in agreement with Mr. J. Burges. The world-renowned cave-temple of Kailas at Ellora is a Shaivite temple like these and belongs to the 8th century A.D. The sculpture of Gharapuri, Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar is thoroughly after Kailas. Since these three temples were situated in the territory of Silahars and were constructed when Silahars were the rulers of Konkan, the Silahars may safely be credited with their creation and taking into account the fact that the Silahars were the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas it was but natural that they should follow in the foot-steps of their masters.

The famous Shaivite temple of Ambarnath some twenty miles from Thana was built by a Silahar king छित्तराज or his brother मुमुक्षु about 1030 A.D. And in a stone inscription of Someshwar the last of the Silahars dated 1260 a grant is recorded to उत्तरेधर of श्रीस्थातक. These facts also help to establish that many of the Silahar kings were devotees of Shiva and as such they might most probably be the authors of the aforesaid three cave temples.

Therefore the conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that after Thana was made the second capital, the Silahars constructed the temple of Gharapuri along with those of Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar and that when in summer the climate of Konkan is very sultry and sticky they shifted to the Island of Gharapuri to enjoy the cool sea breeze and lead a quiet pious life in the association of God Siva.

To sum up, Rajpuri was first of all the capital of the Mauryas and then of Silahars ; secondly Thana was made the second capital by the Silahars and thirdly Gharapuri became a pleasure resort, summer exodus and place of pilgrimage with the latter. Even today pilgrims in thousands visit the Island annually on the Mahashivaratri day in pursuit of the practice originated with the Silahars about a thousand years ago.

9. SILAHARA GANDARADITYA AND HIS TIMES

BY

Prof. K. G. Kundangor, Kolhapur

Summary

Silahara Marasimha ruled from 1053 A.D. to 1070. He had five sons.

All the Silahara inscriptions differ on the point of Marasimha's sons. They are said to be from two to five. None of them mentions any daughters born to him. Bilhana in his *Vikramankadeva-caritam* states that a *svayamvara* of the Silahara princess Candralekha born of the Vidyadhara race and Jimutavahana family was held and she selected and garlanded the Calukya emperor Vikramaditya VI of Kalyana. The Silahara inscriptions are mute over this point. This birth of Candralekha in the ruling Silahara family is, therefore, very much doubted.

The indirect evidence proves :

(1) According to Bilhana the *Svayamvara* took place immediately after the accession of Vikramaditya in 1075-76 when Guvala the first son of Marasimha was ruling.

(2) The Kolhapur Silahara family was known for the beauty of person. Candraraja is said to be 'charming to the eye.' 'Marasimha's person was beautiful like that of Madarra'. 'Ballala is described as the Lord of Rati to beautiful women'.

(3) There are interesting informations connecting the Calukya and Silahara families by family ties. Silahara Nayima was married to a Karnataka princess probably connected with the Calukya family. Marasimha is said to be the dear maternal uncle of the emperor.

(4) Bhojadeva I is stated to be the birth place of all auspicious occasions.

(5) The polity of Vikramaditya was to connect the ruling families by matrimonial alliances to ensure peace. He married in this connection the Cola princess to put an end to the war in the southern countries. He married his daughter later to a Kadamba prince of Gove.

From the above evidence it seems that, he may have married Candralekha the nearest relative of Marasimha if not his daughter, to put stop to the inroads of the northern ruling powers. Most probably Bhojadeva I was the chief person who carried on overtures in this behalf in the earlier part of the reign of Guvaladeva. For, he is said to be "the birth-place of all auspicious occasion" referred to above. In that case the

attribute of Marasimha "Cakres-a-priya-matulah" becomes full of meaning. Bhojadeva was, therefore, very proud of the emperor. This fact is borne out by the statement: 'He worshipped the feet of the glorious emperor Vikramaditya with the head of Kadamba Santara". Bhojadeva was also helpful to the Emperor in bringing under control Rattas of Venugrama and subjugating the whole of Konkana. But the time was unfavourable to him. For, Acuji, the Sidha ruler of Yelaburge invaded the Kolhapur country which was at that time almost unprotected. The Emperor had to interfere and send Sonnanayya Siri-nayaka to help and preserve the Silahara supremacy in Kolhapur country. He was successful in this mission and was ruling in 1106 A.D. at Kolhapur as stated in a lithic record at Aundh. He has a long string of titles. He was, it is stated therein, a vassal of the Emperor Vikramaditya.

It is very creditable to note that there were no fratricidal wars in the Silahara family as there were in Calukya and other powers. On the other hand the five sons of Marasimha were harmoniously working under the joint family system. The Heralge inscription subscribes to this statement saying that Gandaraditya was invested with plenary powers when his brother Bhoja I was happily ruling at Valayavada.

Gandaraditya ruled over Mirinjadesa with Sapta-kholla and the whole of Konkana. His capital was first Tiravada in Sirolapetha, Kolhapur State, and then Valayavada about twenty miles west of Kolhapur, now called Kadhanagara. If Gandaraditya were to occupy Tiravada, a city situated on a plain without any natural protections such as a hill-fort, a forest, a mountain etc., his must have been peaceful time. Like his father he had a long string of titles. It was creditable to Gandaraditya to have reinstated one of his kinsman on the throne of Sthanaka in North-Konkana. Because of this fact over-sea transactions and commerce were free to him. For this very reason he was able to get horses, cloth of fine texture and gems from Persia and Arabia. Goa and Kharepattana were the prosperous harbours on the shore of the Arabian sea, where the foreign merchants could safely unload and hand over their goods to the merchant-princes of Gandaraditya. He had brought the Rattas under control putting to the sword Danda-Brahma the grand-father-in-law of Laksmideva I. Under his paramountcy there were big circles of Samantas.

Like his father Gandaraditya was very religious. He fed Brahmanas, he married them, and made grants to maintain their particular sort of food, and made guptakhya-dana. He caused to be built new temples and tanks, and repaired the old ones. The Brahmanas to whom these grants were made were Sahavasi Brahmanas coming from Kasimira and observing the tenets of Savasi tantra (now lost) of the Pancaratra school. For they were observing both the ekadasi fasts as noticed in Hasan 61, Sorab 515. There were Sahavasi Ksatriyas and Vaisyas a) noticed in Sorab 295 and Belur 117. Icchaduna. grants to Agnihotris, grants to maintain constant burning lamps Naivedya, worship etc., in temples were his speciality. He did not neglect such public charities as watering places (Prapa).

His donations were not restricted to Brahmana community only. He was very tolerant to other religionists as well. His donations to Jain temples and Acaryas are equally important. Two schisms are noticed at this time among the Jains of this part of the country.

His Holiness Srutakirti-traividya-deva the Acarya of Kolhapur Rupa Narayana-basti was held in high reverence. For a number of merchants, small and great, merchant-princes, and royal merchants and contractors, goldsmiths and potters with reverence and devotion granted to him certain octroi duties on all the articles of food they were bringing into Kolhapur for sale. Their merchandise consisted in betel-nuts, ghee, oil, vegetables, green ginger, turmeric, ginger, garlic, onion and other roots and bulbs, pepper, cumin-seeds, mustard, salt, eighteen kinds of grain, flowers, pots etc. Horses, cloth, gems etc., were coming from overseas.

Gandaraditya is also said to have built new forts and have repaired the old ones. Thus ends the peaceful and prosperous rule of Gandaraditya.

THE SINDAS OF KARNATAKA

BY

G. N. Saletore, M. A.

(Summary)

Section :

- (1) ORIGIN OF THE SINDAS : Theories regarding their origin—descent traced through Siva and Dharanendra—The Sindas were of the Naga family. They were not the same as the Sendrakas.
- (2) ANTIQUITY OF THE SINDA COUNTRY : Sinda country is mentioned as early as the 5th century A.D.
- (3) THE EARLY SINDAS : (6th century to 9th century A.D.) : Drstivisa ; Sindhuraja ; Nidudola Sinda—his date identification of the Kadamba family with which he made a dynastic alliance ; Kalisinda ; Nagahastin ; Nanniya Sinda.
- (4) THE SINDAS OF SINDAVDI 1000 (10th century to 12th century) : Battiga ; Cakkala ; Martanda ; Nicarasa ; Baggideva ; Cooki ; Bettiga ; Soma ; Joyiga ; Cerama ; Bacibhupa ; Kalicola.
- (5) THE SINDAS OF BAILAKUNDE 300 (9th century to 12th century) : Antiquity of Kurugodu ; Areballadagra ; Udayaditya ; Bammadeva I ; Cokarasa ; Bhima I ; Bammarasa II ; Bhima II ; Racamalla I ; Irungola ; Racamalla I ; Irungola ; Racamalla II ; Soma ; Kalideva ; Hoysala Conquest of Kurugodu.
- (6) THE SINDAS OF BELAGAVATTI (12th century to 14th century) : Cattarasa I ; Macarasa ; Aiyabarasa ; Isvara I ; Sinda Sevuna alliance ; Relations of Isvara I with the contemporary powers—Hoysala occupation of Hallavuru. Mallideva II and his relations with the Hoysalas and Sevunas-Kesava ; Biradevarasa—the battle of Nematti ; later Sindas ; annexation of the Sinda capital of Kallise by Mallarappa of Vijayanagara.
- (7) THE SINDAS OF MULUGUDA 12 (19th century to 11th century) : Nanniya Sinda ; Jatarasa ; Koralagunda ; Sindarasa ; Kancarasa.
- (8) THE SINDAS OF PRATYANDAKA 400 (11th to 12th century) : Bhima ; Sindaraja ; Munja. Probable location of the Pratyandaka country and the rejection of its identification with Phalga.

(9) **THE SINDAS OF ERAMBARAGE** (10th to 12th century): The Bagadage branch and its relation to the Erambarage branch. Acugi I; Cavunda; Bammarasa; Singa II; Acugi II and Permadi I— their achievements; Cavunda II and his successors, Hoysala conquest of Erambarage.

(10) **SOME DETACHED SINDA NAMES:** Bhima; Munja; Adityavarman; Sindarasa Barmadeva; Bittarasa; Sindarasa.

THE BEGINNING OF CHOLA CONTACT WITH THE GANGAS

BY

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It is now well known that the Cholas had become very powerful by the beginning of the 11th century A. D. They had reduced to subjection almost all the minor dynasties of South India, vanquished the Pallavas and even crushed the Gangas of Mysore. Rajendra Chola is known to have captured Talkad from the Gangas in 1004 A. D. From this time onwards and for over a century the Cholas gradually extended their sway in the south and east of Mysore until at last they were driven out of the country by the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana in 1116 A. D.

But the Chola contact with the Gangas appears to have been existing at least a century earlier than the date of the occupation of Talkad by the victorious army of Rajendra Chola. And the Cholas seem also to have exercised their sway as the overlords of a branch of the Gangas dynasty for well nigh half a century before they were overthrown in the battle of Takkolam in 948-9 A. D. It has been stated that this contact first began in 921 or more correctly about 915 A. D. when the Chola king Parantaka I crushed the Banas and conferred the Bana sovereignty on the Ganga king Prithivipati II (V. R. i, N. A. 633; 9 of 1896; S. I. I. ii, 76). But from a study of the inscriptions it is ascertained that even before this period a branch of the Gangas had become subordinate to the Cholas and been mentioning them as their overlords in their records. It would be interesting to investigate into some of the details of this contact between the Cholas and the Gangas and know the circumstances under which the Cholas came to be the overlords, though temporarily, of a branch of the Gangas dynasty early in the 10th century A. D.

Since we know that it was on Prithivipati II that the Chola king Parantaka I conferred the Bana sovereignty, it would be well to concern ourselves mainly with an account of his direct ancestors. The Udayendiram Plates (S. I. I. ii pp. 375 ff.) mention the names of his ancestors thus:

Sivamara

Prithivipati I (surnamed Aparajita)

Marasimha

Prithivipati II (surnamed Hastimalla)

The king Sivamara mentioned in the plates is evidently Sivamara II, son of Sripurusha. He belonged to the main line that ruled at Talkad.

A list of his ancestors is contained in the inscription No. 60, Nelamangala Taluk, Epigraphia Carnatica IX. The Talkad and Paruvi branches of the Gangas had been long back united under Madhava Tadangala and may have continued down to the end of Sripurusha's reign. In the reign of Sivamara II, however, troubles seem to have set in. In the Nelamangala inscription Kolar 90 he is said to have been brought to a world of mingled troubles and endless calamities. This plight of the king was no doubt due to the rebellion of his younger brother Duggamara (EP. Car. XI, Cl. 8) on the one hand and the persecution of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III on the other. He came to the throne in about 780 A. D.⁽¹⁾ and is said to have been crowned by the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III and the Pallava king Nandivardhana. It may be recalled here that the kings of the Paruvi branch were acknowledging the suzerainty of the Pallavas. The date of the rebellion of Duggamara seems to have been in about 810 A. D.

A contemporary of Prithivipati I, the son and successor of Sivamara II was Amoghavarsha, the Rashtrakuta king, who came to throne in 810 A. D. The latter is mentioned as having fought against the Gangas the Pallavas and Cholas. Though it cannot be said that as yet the Cholas had begun to assist any of the Ganga rulers, still it seems that they were gaining power by now. By 880 A. D. the Chola leader Vijayalaya seized Tanjore and laid the foundations of the fortunes of his family. His son Aditya I completely crushed the Pallavas so that it seems to have become a political necessity for the successor of Sivamara II to enter thenceforth into political alliance with the Cholas who were becoming supreme. It appears moreover that the Gangas, as much as the other ruling powers of South India, were engaged in a convulsive fighting with one another. There seems also to have been some internal dissension in the Ganga kingdom itself as a consequence of which Talkad fell into the hands of a rival Ganga chief against whom Mahendra I, the Nolamba ruler, marched under orders of his Ganga suzerain 'Dadige' Rachamalla (E. R. 1913, pp. 90-91). It is likely that Prithivipati I, son of Sivamara II, was involved in this quarrel and that he perhaps sought therefore to obtain Chola aid to establish himself. His inscription V. R. Chittoor 226, 33 of 1912 'mentions the Chola Raja as now a prominent political person. This Chola king may have been Vijayalaya or his son Aditya I who restored the Chola monarchy.' (Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Sewell and S. K. Ayyangar, p. 38).

In about 877-78 A. D. Prithivipati I was killed in action in a battle fought at Sriperumbiyam. Of his son Marasimha much is not known. But the next successor and son of Marasimha was Prithivipati II called Hastimalla in the Udayendiram Plates mentioned above. He appears to have been able to secure Chola support. An inscription of the third year of the Chola king Parantaka I (909 A. D. mentions thus: 'His father Aditya I having conquered the Pallavas and the Western Gangas having defeated the Nolamba-Pallava chief, Parantaka, shortly after his accession, made war on the Pandyas' (Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Sewell and S. K. Ayyangar p. 41). This would indicate that the Cholas and the Gangas, or one of their branches, had entered into some sort of alliance which enabled them in the long run to overthrow their enemies. It is even possible that the Ganga king Prithivipati II had become a vassal of the Chola king. Indeed in a record of the same period, that is the third year of Parantaka I,

1. 805 A. D. according to Fleet.

the queen of Prithivipati II is mentioned as having made a gift of land at Attur near Trichinopoly (V. R. iii Trich. 343 ; 376 of 1903). In this record the Ganga king is called Vira Chola Ilangovellar.' In another inscription at the same place he is called 'Parantaka Kunjaramallar' (Ibid. No. 247 ; 180 of 1903). These inscriptions indicate that the Ganga king was no doubt a vassal of the Chola king Parantaka I and was protected by him. There is yet another inscription and this seems to be of an even earlier date - at Takkolam, Arkonam Taluk (No. 5 of 1897 - M. E. R.) which is dated in the 24th year of the Chola king Ko-Rajakesarivarman who is evidently to be identified with Aditya I who came to the throne in 880 A. D. The date of the record would be 904 A. D. The record mentions the gift of a silver vessel by Paridipati, the son of Maramariyar. Maramariyar is perhaps Marasimha, the father of Prithivipati II. The mention of the regnal year of the Chola king in a Ganga inscription points to the fact that the Gangas were subordinate to the Cholas at that date. It is perhaps owing to such relationship that Parantaka I conferred the Bana sovereignty on Prithivipati II when he vanquished the Banas in about 915 A. D. But it would seem that Prithivipati II was not governing Talkad at that time ; for in the Udayendiram Plates he is mentioned as the lord of Paruvipuri which perhaps means that he was ruling the Paruvi-vishaya in addition to the Bana dominions under the Cholas.

RELIGION IN KARNATAKA

BY

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(Summary)

Among the various religious systems that have flourished in the Karnataka country from very old times four only are known to have been conspicuous. They are : Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism. Of these, again, only Jainism and Saivism seem to have been more prominent than the others with their systematised organisation, etc. Nevertheless it would appear that religious faith was purely a matter of personal inclination rather than one of irrevocable binding arising from birth. The kings of the several dynasties appear to have practised toleration throughout and endowed grants impartially to all the creeds. On occasions of quarrel between the creeds, which, however, were very rare, they seem to have interfered and brought about reconciliation.

ISLAM IN MALABAR

OR

ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

BY

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Malabar was the first place in India to receive Islam. Nevertheless not even once in its history did it make any attempt at political conquest. It might be that the Arabs who brought it were content with opportunities for peaceful trade and profit. Or it might be that they found in the Nayers a people too honest to afford a pretext and too brave to offer a temptation. Nonetheless Islam has played a very important part in the history of the Keralaputras of Asoka's inscriptions.

The Coming of Islam

Religious zeal has invested the coming of Islam with a number of picturesque legends, which continue to baffle the historian of Kerala. One story has it that the first person to embrace Islam here was no less than Ceraman Perumal, the Tamil Emperor of Kerala, who had his headquarters at Tiruvancikkulam, the Mouziris of Pliny, *The Periplus* and Ptolemy. And he had the rare honour of witnessing the miracle of the divided moon and receiving the new faith at the hands of the Prophet himself. According to another version, it was the Zamorin of Calicut, the greatest of the Kerala kings after the Perumal, who set the example, and this important event took place some two hundred years after the Hejira. Anyway the earliest concrete evidence of Islam so far discovered in the country bears A. H. 166, A. D. 775-776.

Muslim Population

Far from meeting with any persecution, the early Muhammadans found an ideal land for trade and for settlement, if it became necessary. The Zamorin, on whom the grateful Muhammadans conferred the title of *Rafeequl-Islam* or the friend of the Muhammadans, gave them privileges, which they could have hardly expected from one of their own co-religionists. He protected their person as well as their property; he granted them complete freedom of trade in his dominions; he allowed them their own officers; and while he encouraged conversion among the low castes, he did not prevent any of the high castes from going over to the Faithful. At one end we have the Pui-Islam, the great mass of the converted fishermen of the coast, at the other end we have the Nuhās, descended from the princess of Bettem. It is even said that he gave the colonising Arabs a free choice of the women of the country, and rather than break his word, he compelled his greatest noblemen to give away their nieces and daughters in marriage to his friends from "Yunan." Hence it will be a surprise if the number of Muhammadans in the country did not rapidly increase. Though no statistics are available before the advent of the British we know that in 1503 Calicut alone could boast of 5000 families of Muhammadans.

The Rise of the Muslim Power in the Mediterranean

The coming of the Arab Muslims gradually changed the course of the sea-borne trade of Malabar. When the Roman Empire declined, the trade with the west also declined, and the descendants of Senguttuvan turned to China. The Chinese took the place of the Romans as customers, and Chinese sailors supplanted the Egyptian Greeks as carriers. They established small settlements all along the west coast, the most important of which seems to have been Ponnani, the Tandilam of the Malayalis and the Tyndis of the *Periplus*. But with the coming of the Arabs the pendulum began to swing back once more to the west. The Chinese were gradually ousted from the Malabar markets, though the Chinese Emperor took up the cause of his subjects and declared even war on the Zamorin for befriending the Arabs. In 1222, when Marco Polo visited Malabar, the Arabs had only a tenth of its trade. By 1498, when Vasco da Gama came, they had established a complete monopoly. The connection between the advance of Islam in the Mediterranean and South-Eastern Europe and the penetration and capture of the Malabar markets by the Arabs is not fortuitous. Islam in the west derived its strength from its trade with the east.

The Ascendancy of the Zamorin

If the Zamorin protected and encouraged the Arabs, the Arabs in their turn, assisted the Zamorin in his wars. They furnished not only the sinews of war, they also provided him with musketeers and ships. With their help he made himself master of Kerala. The success of his arms opened fresh opportunities for the Moplah—as the local Muhammadans are called.

The Downfall of the Portuguese Power on the Malabar Coast

The Portuguese demanded that the Moplahs should be sent out of his dominions as a condition of their friendship. But the Zamorin would not give up his ancient friends and trustworthy allies. So began a war which lasted for a century and a half. It was this running sore which sapped the strength of the Portuguese in the east. With no assistance from Turkey, Egypt or Persia, without the co operation even of the Indian Sultans, the Zamorin and the Moplahs held their own against the Portuguese and their unspeakable atrocities, and finally compelled them to leave Malabar. While Panikkar, and the Brahmins Elayattu and Para Nampi waged war by land with the Cochin Rajah whom the Portuguese had successfully seduced from his allegiance to the Zamorin, Khoja Ali, Kutti Ali, and numberless others, whose exploits deserve to be commemorated in poem and song, fought by sea.

Kunhali

Kunhali was the last and most famous of this heroic band who took part in this epic struggle with the Portuguese. Originally belonging to Ponnani, his family shifted from there when Almeida bombarded their town and burnt their residence. Taking an oath of undying enmity they were in the forefront of every attack on their hated enemies. From their base at Kottakkal, they spread out like a net to seize the Portuguese ships. Owning no less than 50 frigates and numerous galliots, they practically brought the trade of their enemies to a standstill. In the course of a single year they destroyed or plundered 160 caravals. The Zamorin allowed Kunhali to build a fortress. He became the terror of the Portuguese at the close of the sixteenth century. It is said that he had at a single blow cut a galley oar in two and likewise cut down a man with a sword by his side, hewing man and sword with a single cut.

Prosperity of Malabar

The prosperity of Malabar in the Middle Ages was solely due to the Muhammadans. They had the monopoly of entire sea-borne trade of the country. It was through them that the pepper, ginger, and spices of Kerala found a market. But the Muslim was not a mere trader. He was also a cultivator. The *betel* leaf was his speciality. All the feasts and festivals of the Hindus used to begin with the ceremonial bringing of the *betel* leaf by the Moplah. The Moplah does not require more than a barren piece of land in a few years his industry will have converted it into a blooming garden.

Literature

Generally illiterate and too busy, the Moplah could do but little for literature. But no people can live without some kind of poetry and music. The Moplah has a fair share of love songs to while away his idle moments, while his war-songs whip him up into a religious fanatic, baring his breast for the bullet or rushing on the bayonet. Being a mixture of Arabic and Malayalam, these songs have not been able to attract the attention they deserve.

Matrilineal succession among the Moplahs

While Islam has had an important influence on the history of land, the land also has some reciprocal influence on the Muslims. The devotion of the people to the faith of the Prophet has not been able to make them give up their customary law of succession through the female. A large part of the Muhammadans of Malabar are still governed by the *Marumakkattayam* law, as it is called. It is not a little remarkable that succession to religious offices should be regulated by this system, and the formal head of the family of the only Muhammadan chief in Malabar should be a female as in the families of the Hindu chiefs, the *Bibi of Cannanore* holding the same place and enjoying the same privileges in the Adi or Ali Rajah's family as the *Ampati Kovilakam Valiya Tampuratti* does in the Zamorin's family at Calicut.

THE AGE OF THE CAHAMANA PRTHVIRAJA III

BY

Dr. H. C. Ray, (Calcutta)

The accession of the Cahamana Prthviraja III (c. 1179-92 A. D.) to the throne of Sakambhari brings us to the beginnings of a new period in Indian History. During the period c. 600 to 1100 A. D., roughly a period of five hundred years, the main political currents of India had swirled round the turrets of Kanyakubja. The capital of the ambitious Maukharis (c. 554-600 A. D.) had gradually grown into a huge "city of ten thousand temples," protected by "seven distinct forts, washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean." Muslim writers describe Kanauj as 'the capital of India, the Ka'aba of the Shamans and the Kibla of the Kafirs,' 'All the treasurers of India, we are told 'go to this city as the small streams pour into a large river.' It had numerous armies, wealth and countless weapons and elephants. Imperial power and its possession became almost synonymous.* Even its weakest rulers had been described by reliable foreign historiographers as "the chief of all princess in India." Antardedi bounded by the holy streams Jahnvi and the Kalindi and its queen, the Imperial city of Kanyakubja, became the centre of political gravity in India. During five centuries of chequered and strenuous existence Kanauj passed through many vicissitudes. The music of Bhavabhuti, Vakpatiraja and Rajasekhara, the tramp of swift moving cavalry and clash of arms of the legions of Lalitaditya and Vinayaditya, Dharmapala and Devapala, Govinda

* Thus the Candella Dhanga 'having defeated on the battle field *Kanya kubja-narendra* obtained exalted sovereignty (or empire, *Samrajya*): See DHNI, II, pp. 680.

and Indra, Nagabhata and Bhoja, Mahmud and Vidyadhara, the learned discourses of the Chinese 'Master of the Law' and the prose romances of Bana kept the eyes of India riveted upon Antardvedi and its imperial city. Thus Kanauj and its rulers gradually acquired, in a lesser degree the position in India which was assumed by Rome and its Caesars in ancient times or by Delhi and its princes in the Mediaeval period.

During the five centuries noted above Kanauj remained the metropolis of four Empires. But with the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century new forces appeared in India and on the Indian horizon. While the imperial organization of Kanauj began to decline and the limits of its empire shrank, the sturdy Turks appeared on the North-western frontier carrying the seeds of the irreconcilable Semetic civilization and the Islamic flag. The rulers of Kanauj, at this crisis of Indian History, failed miserably to guard the gate ways of India against foreign invasion. While Dhanga and Vidyadhara, Munja and Bhoja, Gangeya and Karna, Bhima and Somesvara fought and struggled for the crown of Imperialism, the forces of Islam crossed the outer defences of India and took possession of the Punjab. The Gahadavalas inherited the imperial traditions and the legal claims of their predecessors in Kanauj. They were rightly proud of their possession of the Imperial City and the most vital areas of the religious and cultural life of India. But they had neither the strength to enforce their legal claims of hegemony nor the power to defend the Delhi gate-way.

Thus when the Muslims, stepping over the carcass of the valiant Sahi Dynasty of the Punjab, threatened to burst on the Madhyadesa and when the Indian princes, taking advantage of the weakness of Kanauj, fought amongst themselves for supremacy and failed to produce either a Candragupta or an Indian Themistocles, a new power arose in Rajaputana which made heroic efforts to save India from Islamization. These were the Cahamanas of Sakambhari (Sambhor). While the rapid decline of the Yaminis, the successor of Mahmud of Ghazni, gave a breathing space to India, the Cahamanas captured Delhi and the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej. They repeatedly defeated the Muslims and Vighraharaja (c. 1153-64 A. D.) and one of their princes claimed that he had made *Aryavartha* "once more the abode of the *Aryas*." By this conquest, the Cahamanas became the guardians of the gate to the Ganga-Yamuna valley. They also by this achievement and their ambition became the natural foes to the Gahadavala Emperors of Kanauj and Benares. The success of the Cahamanas unfortunately synchronized with the revived Muslim power that was gradually issuing out from the hills of Ghur. Before the Cahamanas could efficiently consolidate their position, M'zzud-Din Muhammad ibn Sam had conquered Peshawar in 1179 A. D. and Lahore in 1186 A. D. The Cahamanas by their geographical position and claim to be the real protectors of the *Aryas* and their culture had to bear the first shock of the Muslim power.

From Prthviraja I (c. 1105 A. D.) to Prthviraja III (c. 1172-92 A. D.), the Cahamana power had grown continuously. With the removal of the last of the Yaminis, Khusrau Malik Taj ud-Daulah (c. 1160-86 A. D.) the Ghuri and the Cahamana stood face to face. The Muslims knew that the untold wealth of the rich cities and temples of the sacred Ganges-Jamna valley and beyond could only be secured by the destruction of this Hindu power which held the key to the Delhi gate. "The Cahamanas knew and expected no quarter."

The records of this period indicate that Prthviraja III was the most important figure on the Indian political stage during the last quarter of the 12th century. "His dominions included most of modern Rajputana and extended roughly from the Sutlej to the Betwa and possibly to the Ken, skirting the river Jumna on the North. The activities of the Caulukyās were paralysed by intrigue and dissensions, while the Senas and the Gangas were far distant from the North-Western frontier of India. By his victories over the Candellas and the Gahadavalas and his command over the cis-Sutlej districts, he had constituted himself the main barrier against the advance of the Turks from the Indus Valley."⁽¹⁾ If the Yaminis could have held the new body of the Turks for a little more time, there was every possibility that Prthviraja would have replaced the Gahadavalas and founded the fifth Kanyakubja Empire.

In this work of building up a strong political and military power Prthviraja was assisted by a number of able officers. The *Prthvirajavijaya* contains the names of two such officers. These were Kadamba Vasa⁽²⁾ and Bhuvanaikamalla. "While Kadamba Vasa is compared with Hanuman, Bhuvanaikamalla is described as a veritable Garuda, who served Prthviraja and his brother Hariraja, the two incarnations of Rama and Lakshmana. 'Just as Rama, with the help of Garuda and Hanuman crossed the sea and did other things, so Prthviraja, with the help of Hanuman-like Kadamba Vasa and Garuda-like Bhuvanaikamalla, did many things for the welfare of the people.'⁽³⁾ Another officer Govind⁽⁴⁾ is mentioned by Muslim and some Hindu records. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* seems to indicate that he was in charge of the frontier city of Delhi. In fact he appears to have been the most important of the Wardens of the Marches of the Cahamana empire. It was his special task to keep a vigilant watch on the Sutlej and guard the Delhi-gate from the marauding Turkish hordes. In the first battle of Tara in (1191 A. D.) he led the van of the Cahamana army⁽⁵⁾ and was mainly responsible for the victory of Prthviraja over Mu'izzud-Din Ghuri. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* gives the following description of this battle.

"When the ranks were duly marshalled the Sultan a lance and attacked the elephant on which Govind Rae, Rae of Delhi, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultan-i-Ghazi, who was the Haidar of the time, and a second Rustum, charged and struck Govind Rae on the mouth with his lance that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultan of Islam and struck him at the upper part of the arm and inflicted a severe wound. The Sultan turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islam so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultan was nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which a lion hearted warrior, a Khalj stripling, recognized the Sultan and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the battle.

1. DHNI, Vol. II, 1217.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1083 fn. 3. The name is sometimes given as Kadamba Vama.

3. DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1083.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1088 fn. 2. Some authorities give the name wrongly as 'Kandi Rai' (TA), or Chawund Ray' (T^r).

On the Muslman forces not seeing the Sultan, lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place of safety where the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels."⁽¹⁾

This valiant officer was slain when Prthviraja III was defeated and killed in the second battle of Tara in (1192 A. D.)⁽²⁾ Recently attention has been drawn to another officer of the great Cahamana ruler. Information about this officer is contained in a work of the great *Smarta* Laksmidhara called *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvamsa* and may be tabulated as follows :—

Sthanesvara

.....Nagara Brahmana of Anandanagara⁽³⁾ in the Kasyapa *gotra* ; famous for his learning (4 *Vedas*, *Tarka* and *Mimamsa*.)

In his anvaya Skanda

.....*Sandhivigrahi* kamatya to Somesvara lord of Sakambhari.

Sodha

.....Succeeded to his father's post

Skanda *Senapati* to
Prthviraja :

defeated the Turuskas.⁽⁴⁾ After Prthviraja was killed by the Turuskas, he placed Hariraja' on the throne ; after some time entered the *turyasrama*.

Vamana...*Sandhivigrahi* ka to

Prthviraja ; after his brother entered the 4th stage of life went to (the city of Anahillapataka with two million and two thousand *Drammas*).⁽⁵⁾

Sridevi-Malladeva

.....Author of *Subhasitavali* and learned in *Sahitya* and the *Arthasastras* of Kautilya and others. Initiated into *Advaitajnan* by the revered Bodhabharati. At last being fed up with the *Siddhantas* of the *Smrti* and *Vedanta*, he composed the *Mahakavya Apratima-rama*.

As is usual in such cases, the accounts contain nothing but praise of the achievements of the family of ministers. Like the Badal Pillar inscription of Guruva Misra⁽⁶⁾ and the *Prabodha-Candrodaya*⁽⁷⁾ of Krisna Misra, success of the princes is said to have been entirely due to the ability and skill of the ministerial family. If one were to compile history only from

1. *DHNI*, II, 1090.

2. *IHQ*, vol. XVI, 1040, p. 567-73.

3. Modern Vadnagar in Baroda State ; sometimes called Anandapura. See, *DHNI*, II, p. 849, 964, 984, 984 fn. 4., etc.

4. Mss. gives *Kuruskas*.

5. Anahillapataka is same as Anahilavataka, Anahila-pataka, Anahila-pattana, Anahila-pura, etc. Capital of the Caulukyas ; modern Anavada about 3 miles from Patan in Gujarat.

6. *EI*, II, pp. 160-67 ; *Gaudalekhamala*, pp. 70 ff (under the name *Garudastambha-lipi*. Also *DHNI*, I, p. 300.

7. *DHNI*, II, pp. 695 ff.

such accounts then the kings would be reduced merely to automatons or pawns in the art and science of war and administration.⁽¹⁾ But though such writings try to produce such exaggerated impressions about the importance of ministers, they usually refrain from writing anything positively insulting to their patrons. The reason is not far to seek. The authors and their families usually lived within the power of the dynasties they served and it was therefore dangerous for them to indulge in such language. But when, as in the present case, the patrons and their family had fallen on evil days and the writer and the family and person of the minister were safe in the capital of a foreign and unfriendly ruler, no harm was there if, in praising themselves, they even used abusive language. Thus the *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvamsa* not only makes Prthviraja III, a worthless ruler, who was absolutely dependent on Skanda and Vamana for his military and administrative success but also paints the great Cahamana in very dark colours. We are told, that when once the Brahmana *Senapati* Skanda was fighting elsewhere, Prthviraja, who though alive was as good as dead (*Jivannrita*) and steeped in the vice of *Nidra-vyasana*, was slaughtered in battle by the *Turuskas*. The cause of this bitter attack on the Cahamana prince is clear from certain verses of the Sanskrit work cited above. It seems that both Skanda and Vamana suffered an eclipse due to the machinations of another Nagara Brahmana who was jealous of the power and position of the two brothers at the court of the Cahamana king. Neither the inscriptions nor the historical records of the Hindus and the Muslims know Skanda and Vamana as pillars of the kingdom of Prthviraja III. The men who really counted were men like Kadamba Vasa, Bhuvanaikamalla and Govinda Ray. The retirement of Vamana with immense wealth to Anahilla-pataka shows that there might be a good deal of truth in the reports about the dishonesty and avarice of the brothers. They did not apparently believe in retiring into honourable poverty after a strenuous period of service under a prince.

1. Compare the position occupied by Raksasa or Canakya and their lords the Nanda or the Maurya princess ; see the drama *Mudraraksasa*.

SECTION 3

Medieval India, Part I

(1206—1526)

President

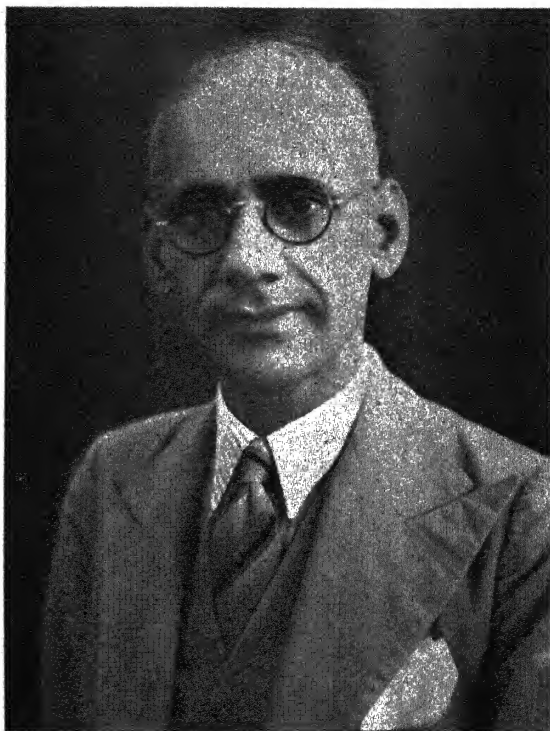
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Dr. Tripathi's Address.

Gentlemen,

It is my first duty to show my gratitude and express sincere thanks for the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over the Section of Early Turkish History. It is a special privilege which with the exception of Dr. S. N. Sen no body had enjoyed before me. I had begun with the study of the Mughal period and I am yet at it. In search of a proper background for the study of the Mughal period I was led to undertake a rapid survey of Early Turkish History. The only tangible outcome of that enterprise was a short study which the University of London was pleased to accept as a Thesis for the DOCTORATE OF SCIENCE. It gave me, however, an opportunity to take a bird's eye view of the history of the Early Turks the first Afghan Empire and of provincial dynasties. This qualification itself negligible by itself has been magnified by your indulgence which has called upon me to preside over your deliberation.

The importance of the Early Turkish period of the Indian History has not been fully realized by the Scholars of Indian History. This conclusion is forced upon us by the literature produced hitherto on the subject. A period so full of life and adventure, of mighty efforts and high stakes, of tremendous losses and gains, of new problems and their interesting solutions, should have inspired our scholars and historians with keen interest and enthusiasm. The advent of Islam and the Turks, their titanic struggle bequeathed from bleeding Sire to Son, the measure of success of the Turks to fulfil the mission for which all great rulers and warriors of India had been laying down their lives ever since the days of Harsha, form a most interesting and instructive Chapter of history not only of the people of India, but of Asia as a whole. The contact of two great cultures, Islam and Hinduism, with their respective outlook on life, their social organization, habits, economic and above all their religious ideals and methods of approach, gave birth to social and intellectual problems of such magnitude and importance as are rarely found in history. The pressure of zealous and proselytising religious aristocracy on the State and Non-Muslim subjects led to great political, religious and social problems. Attempts to grapple those problems remain a most fascinating and instructive study to students of history, Sociology and Culture. Islam of Arabia had hardly finished its work in Persia and Turkistan when it was brought face to face with problems much more complicated and difficult than it had ever met in its triumphal march from China to Spain. The Turks had sided with the Persians to drive Arabicism and destroy the noble structure of Khilafat. They had hardly been able to imbibe the spirit of Islam when they turned towards the East and West. Morbidly conscious though not without some reason, of their natural governing ability, they had come to believe that it was their mission to conquer and to rule. India offered a test and a challenge. The Turks entered upon their stupendous task with enthusiasm and tried with an appreciable measure of success all the lessons they had learnt from Islam and Persia. They also exercised intuitional skill with which the practical Turks are credited in the history of peoples. Their sword flashed from Cutch to Assam and from Kashmir to Madura, and Rameshwaram, their banner floated over almost the whole of India and the Muslim Call for prayers resounded in remote corners of the Indian continent. Since the days of the Mauryas no Empire so great in size had come into existence. The Turkish achievement surpasses even the Mauryan Empire

at least in longevity and political solidarity. It was an achievement of which they could rightly feel proud. It was a noble monument of their ability as Empire builders.

The battle field was not their only theatre of action nor sword their only weapon. An army of peace was equally active carrying from one end to the other of the Empire the spiritual message of Islam. Led by saintly and able leaders they carried on their work of love with enviable self-sacrifice and ceaseless energy. The message of love and peace attracted men of all classes and communities. Their chief drawback was their language and expression, but it was partly made up by their simple precepts and noble example. Their voice, however, did not reach the intellectual classes probably because they could not express themselves in Sanskrit which was the language of Hindu religion and thought. It was largely through their efforts that the various vernaculars and particularly Hindi or Hindavi became a recognized medium of spiritual and moral expression. They worked unceasingly to throw a durable bridge between the followers of Islam and Hinduism. They created an atmosphere which was likely to be very favourable for responsive respect and appreciation.

It is not accurate to say that the invasion of Turkish Muslim paralyzed the intellect of India. There is no doubt that the loss of political power was a severe blow but its shock did not go deep enough to upset the economic, social and intellectual life. While in certain directions there were obvious set backs, in others there was a distinct advance. Sanskrit literature held its own and very remarkable works were produced on religion, philosophy and theology, on logic and law. This period might not have produced another Kalidas, Acvaghosh or Bhavabhuti but it has its own stars like Someshwar, Amar Chand Suri, Krishnanand and Vedantdeshik, Vamanbhatta and Chandra Chuda. It may not have produced a Nagarjuna or Shankar but it had produced a number of giants from Ramanuj to Vallabhacharya, Jinaprabhasuri Madhavacharya and Madhusudan Saraswati. Among the writer of law no one might have compiled a work like the Manusmriti and the Parashrsmriti for a variety of reasons but the period has produced commentators and interpreters of law of the eminence of Hardatta, Hemadri, Kalluka, Candeshwar, Madhavacharya, Madanpal, Visheshwar Bhatta, Sulpani, and Vachaspati Misra. Their scholarship and insight in law inspired so much confidence and reverence that they forgot the earlier lawgivers. Their commentaries and nibandhas threw into the background the earlier compilers of law. Some of these law makers were men of practical experience. Prataprudra Deva was a ruler and a great patron of learning, Hemadri was a Record keeper of the Yadava King, Chandeshwar held the office of Minister of war and peace, of a commander and of chief Justice. Vachaspati Misra was an advisor of Maharajadhiraj Hari Narayan. Madhavacharya was one of the makers of the kingdom of Vijaynagar, while Nrasinha Prasad was a minister of Nizam Shah of Devagiri. Among the writer on medicine names of Milhana (चिकित्साभूत); Sharangdhar Bhava Misra (भाव प्रकाश); Tisata (चिकित्साकालिका) also probably वाग्मह (रसरत्नसमुच्चय) Nityanath (रस रत्नाकर) Narhari (राघ निषेध) and Madanpal (मदन विनोद निषेध) On astrology we have works like Vidya-madhviva Vridhdh Vashitshth Sanhita. Among the histological writers may be mentioned Someshwar Datta, (कौनिकीमुदी) Ari Sinha (सुकृत संकीर्तन) Sarvanand (जङ्ग चरित्र); Sandhyakar-nandi Jonaraj and Srivar.

It was during this period that the languages of the people were cultivated, enriched and polished to an extent that not only did they become a vehicle of higher thought, they even excited the envy of classical languages. The vernaculars became the language of poets, philosophers and saints whose thoughts and messages echoed and reechoed till the heart of the country began to beat in rhythmic response. On the solid foundation and pattern provided by the saints and thinkers rests the superstructure of literary movements of the 16th and 17th Centuries.

It may be asked if there is any history of these stirring times and cataclysmic changes. The answer is in the negative. The so called histories of Medieval India whether written by our own countrymen or by foreign Scholars up to this day do not provide us with even a good outline of history much less of Culture. The histories of this period, have not yet gone beyond the biographical stage. Short biographical sketches of notable rulers, dynasties, or provincial Kingdoms strung together and crowned with haphazard, slipshod and not quite dependable notes on arts and culture, are palmed off as histories of medieval India.

Leave alone the question of a general history of the early Turkish or pre-Mughal Moslem history there is no history even of any dynasty. There is no history of any one of the Various dynasties of Delhi. Of the provincial dynasties only the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty of Gujrat has received the attention of Modern Scholars. The histories of the Kingdoms of Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, the Bahamani, of Sindh and Kashmir have not been seriously thought of as yet. Without possessing the obvious advantages which Moslem Chroniclers have given to the students of Muslim history, the histories of Rajputana, Orissa and above all of Vijayanagar have attracted greater attention and a good amount of spade work has been and is being done for them. Why the students of Muslim history and culture cannot do as much if not more than their comrades in other fields surpasses my comprehension. It is quite obvious that there can not be a general history of Pre-Mughal Muslim period as such until and unless we have produced dependable histories, of the numerous states and Kingdoms which constituted the great imperial confederation of the Khiljis and Tughlaqs.

In the sphere of biographies which are useful in providing us with valuable links for the reconstruction of history, we can hardly boast of any substantial achievement. It is strange that the unlucky Muhammad Bin Tughlaq has been lucky enough to inspire two Scholars to produce two monographs. But no other ruler from Qutbuddin Aibak to Ibrahim Lodi has been thought of as a worthy subject for a biography. When this is the fate of the Sultans what chance the nobles, commanders or leaders of thought could have to find biographers. Thanks are due to Prof. H. K. Sherwani for choosing Mahmud Gawan as a subject for his study.

It will not be out of place if we inquire into the character of work done in the sphere of cultural and institutional history. Dr. Ashraf, Prof. M. A. Makhdoomee, Dr. Aziz Ahmad, Mr. Anil Bannerji and Dr. Topa and Mr. B. Ahmad. I.C.S. have drawn attention to this aspect of study. But this kind of study though valuable is yet in its infancy. It has to be carried on more intensively and comprehensively and should be based on more substantial data than has so far been utilized. We have to discover numerous links, fill up numerous gaps before arriving at correct conclusions. It is

one thing to compile relevant data from a few handy books and arrange them in a managable and readable form, but it is entirely a different matter to draw sound conclusions and conjure up history which can stand a rigorous test of historical criticism or of time. Let us hope that the line of research which has been indicated by the above mentioned scholars will be taken up more vigorously and scientifically by those who are interested and qualified to do so.

Of the history of religions thought, and movements our knowledge is sadly deficient. The works of Carpenter Elliot, of the late Sir Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Sir Radha Krishnan and others are confined mostly to the doctrinal side of the teachings of some leaders of thought. But the historical side of their works as also those of Farquhar, the late Dr. Arnold and Titus, is definitely weak. Due to the indifference of the students of history they have been seriously handicapped in their study. We are however thankful to them for having drawn our attention to the importance of the history of religions thought and movements.

For obvious and practical reasons the attention of our countrymen has been drawn to the mutual reactions of Hindn and Muslim thought and religion. They are undoubtedly of vital importance and form a most fascinating subject of study. They have aroused considerable journalistic activity. All kinds of articles good, bad and indifferent have been published. The works of Dr. Arnold, Dr. Tara Chand, Mr. Titus, Dr. Yusuf Husain are interesting and valuable as far as they go. But unfortunately they do not go far enough and are mostly based on second hand sources and indifferent translations, which required meticulous examination. To handle a subject for which a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Vernaculars is required it is necessary that good and reliable translations made from a scientifically prepared text should be available.

Of fine arts like Music and Literature we have no history. Our knowledge of Music does not go beyond a few names of Musicians, and a few doubtful anecdotes. Our knowledge of Persian Literature consists of two monographs on Amir Khusro of Delhi and some meagre knowledge of names among whom Isami and Hasan are interesting.

The histories of later Sanskrit and Vernacular literature have not yet emerged from the preliminary stages of chronology and bibliography. It is a matter of satisfaction that the efforts of the archeological department have brought within the reach of scholars considerable amount of material for the study of architecture. Architecture has been lucky enough to get the services of scholars like Cunningham, Fergusson, Furer, Cousin, Burgess, Marshall and others. Mr. Havell has drawn the attention of Scholars to the necessity of studying the psychology and symbolism along with the anatomy and physiology of architecture.

It is also a matter of satisfaction that through the efforts of Messrs. N. C. Mehta, Coomaraswamy and Ganguli the veil over the art of printing has slightly been lifted, but so far we have not even a tolerable outline of the history of the art and craft of painting of the pre-Mughal period.

Gentlen, this brief and running review of the work done in the pre-Mughal history of Muslim period will readily give an idea of the quantity

quality of work done so far. One is entitled to ask why production in this period of history has been so meagre in quantity, if not necessarily in quality. Every one will answer this question in his own way. I may, however, briefly summarise my own views on the matter.

The first and the foremost reason is that we have not done enough to collect all the material documentary or otherwise and make it available to those who may care. Even the well known libraries have not been ransacked to find the documentary material which lies hidden in them. Private collections and libraries have not been systematically examined to recover the material from oblivion or destruction. During the last few years the discoveries of Tughlaq nama, Sirati Firdhsh, Futuhus Salatin, Inshai Mahru, and Riyazul Insha have added atleast something to our stock of knowledge and to some extent they have been profitably utilized by scholars. But I venture to think that very much more yet lies buried in the libraries awaiting rescue by ardent researchers. This period alas has not had the good luck of possessing a Sir J. N. Sarkar, a Rajwade, a Parsanis. A glimpse of what could be expected if we delve deep enough has been given to us by the bibliographies appended to their respective works Dr. Nazim and Dr. Saletore and by Dr. Habibulla, in the list of manuscripts given in the Indian Historical Quarterly. The other day I asked a young colleague of mine to find out casually from a few catalogues available in my University. He gave me a list of interesting works relating to biographies, Sufism, belles lettres and even political history which have not yet been examined either by the students of history or culture.

The available historical manuscripts have not yet been all published or critically annotated. Excepting the publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal hardly a dozen works have been published. The publication of Haji Dabir's Zafaralwalih, Tarikhi Mubarakshahi, Mara-ti-Ahmadi, Burhani Ma-a-sir, Tarikhi Masumi, Tughalaq Nama, Futuhussalatin have been found of great value. But this is not enough. A good text of Farishta even is not available. Something should be done immediately to encourage the publication of reliable texts of historical works and material. I may take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the History Congress to this primary need with all the emphasis at my command. In my humble opinion this work is more urgent than the publication of a bulky history of India after the model of Cambridge History of India.

Equally important it is to collect and publish as many inscriptions as our energy and enthusiasm can afford. Some seven years ago it was revealed by Khan Bahadur Zafar Hussain that the department of Archeology possessed a list of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments for administrative use, which covered three volumes but was not available for sale. Have they all yet been published or their importance fully evaluated? We do not know. The inscriptions of a few of the important Capitals are being collected, but there are many times more inscriptions in smaller towns and villages. The sooner they are recovered the better, for the process of decay beats heavily on plaster and even stone. The inscriptions so far published should be systematically classified. If it were not possible to collect them together in a few handy volumes, an index with short notes and cross references should be published at an early date and arrangements should be made for the publication of supplementary volumes, if not annually, at least every three or five years. Scholars like Mr. Yazdani and Dr. Nazim

should be requested to undertake the editorial responsibility for Arabic and Persian inscriptions. Mr. K. N. Dikshit and Dr. Krishna may be requested to choose their colleagues to compile, classify and edit the Sanskrit and other Vernacular inscriptions. In this connection I may draw the attention to the list of old Muslims inscriptions at Patna published by Syed Mahammad, B. A., and to the list of Sanskrit inscriptions having references to Muhammadans published by Amalanand Ghosh and Awasthi. Useful as these lists are they go to prove that such publications are by no means easy and require the touch of a master hand. It is true that the publication of *Epigraphia-Indo-Moslemica* is serving a useful purpose but they do not supply in full measure our growing requirements. The value of inscriptions does not seem to have been yet realized fully by the students of Muslim History. They seem to be blissfully contented with the treasure left by the chroniclers. It appears that they do not quite feel the need of exploiting this very valuable source of information. The paucity or absence of good chronicles have driven the students of Hindu History to seek the help of inscriptions. Very valuable work has been done by the students of Southern Indian history and a flood of light is being thrown on the histories of Kakatyas, the Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas. On the histories of Rajputana, Vijyanagar, Orissa, Madura and other kingdoms. The students of Muslim history ought to awaken from their slumber. They should utilize all that is available and should try to go forward to make up the lee way that has been left unwittingly. The histories of Bengal and Bihar can not be written without the help Epigraphical and numismatic and literary evidence. It has been pointed out by Dr. M. I. Borrah of Dacca that 'No history of Bengal was written till the beginning of the Moghal period'. The same more or less may be said of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujrat, the Bahmani kingdom and other states. From time to time side lights have been thrown by inscription when the chronicles had failed to supply. For example the Sanskrit inscription of Kanaihashi (Assam), the Abu and Chirwa inscription, Sund'a Hill, inscription, Ajaygadh rock inscription, Verswal (Kathiawad) inscription the Puri Copper plate inscription of Narsingh IV, the Swaymbhu Nath inscription of Kathmandu, the Lalitpur inscription and numerous others. The history of the Kakatiyas, the Yadava, and the Hoysalas of Uijjanagar and of Rajputana is being told by casual inscriptions where the chroniclers had failed. It is with their help that very useful and interesting information has been brought to light by a number of Southern Indian Scholars. The Muslim inscriptions have helped us to settle some chronological questions. Sir Syed was one of the pioneers in that line. Dr. S. K. Banerji has found it useful in setting the date of the capture of Delhi; The inscription of Pawaya has accidentally revealed the name of the Wazir of Sikandar Lodi, an inscription from the mosque of Khurshed Khan has shown that Sylhet formed a part of the kingdom of Barkat Shah and so on.

These examples chosen ad hoc will give an idea of the great value of inscriptions even for reconstructing the history of India between the 12 and 15th Centuries. Some scholars of Muslim history no doubt have just begun to use them but the process is in its infancy as yet. It must be expedited and fully exploited by biographers and historians.

Numismatics have been found to be of immense value for the study of history and economics. The numismatists have provided us with every valuable material for which the students of Muslim history should feel grateful. But we have yet to find a writer whose numismatic lore and skill

is combined with great historical insight and outlook. Edward Thomas is probably the only writer who ventured in this sphere and met with a measure of success. Mr. Hodiwala has done for the Mughal period what Thomas did for the pre-Mughal Muslim history. They have shown the way. But I am afraid that (inspite of Mr. Bhatt Shali and a few others) no work of that level, which inciuentally was not very comprehensive, has been produced. The functions of the numismatist archeologist and orientalist are different from those of the historian. The students of history and economics should not shirk their responsibility and throw the whole burden on the shoulders of numismatists and epigraphist etc., and live on the conclusions suggested by them. It is very hopeful sign that some use is being made by the scholars of history.

No proper appreciation of even the political history of a period or time is possible unless it is written on the background of Socio-economic life of the time. It is in the light of hopes and fears, sentiments and superstitions, aims and ideals of the people that we can judge the significance of political history. This background is sadly wanting. It is idle to expect the Court Chroniclers or their immitators to provide us with adequate data. This can be done only by the literature and art of the period. Literature in its comprehensive sense or for the matter of that even in the narrow sense is a prolific source of history. Professor Nilakantha Shastri observes that in India unfortunately the literary source is of very little use to the historian. This is true in the sense that the historians of the previous period have not cared much for it. Dr. Venkatakramanaya says that most of the prabandhas allude to the main events of political and military history. In fact they go further and yield much interesting and useful information about the social and religious life of the people. The writers of Southern India have made an appreciable use of this source but the historians of Muslim India in general and of Northern India in particular have not given this source the attention it deserves. Literature proper, works on Sufism, on Vaishnava and other religions and movements, history of the various orders and Panths, the entire legal literature of the Hindus and Muslims, the works on sciences particularly of medicine, astronomy and farriery, the works on the art of government and war, on games and entertainments, on music and etiquette, and others have not yet been availed of to enable us to understand the life and times of the people of our period. This vast quantity of material is callously ignored by the scholars of history. The value of Kirti Jata of Virabhanuabhyudaya of Lalit Vighra, Surjan Charit, the Khyats of Rajputana, the Jain sources, prabhandhas, Prashatis etc., as also of the collection of letters like Hiyazulinsha and Inshai Mahru has been established. There are numerous collection of letters which are available but have not been noticed. The whole of Vernacular literature lies almost unexplored. Although Das Gupta and some other scholars tried to use vernacular literature for the reconstruction of the history of Bengal yet we have not given the serious attention to it.

There are many universities in India in which the pre-Mughal period of Muslim history is taught, there are many individuals who are privately engaged on it. It will save a lot of time and energy if some measures could be contrived to bring them in intellectual contact and to coordinate their researches. I suppose something of this sort was considered in an earlier session of History Congress. I regret I am not quite aware of the steps taken by the Congress to give them a practical shape. I may however,

place before you a few suggestions. The Congress should find no difficulty in securing space for publishing historical information in a suitable journal. If that can not be possible they may issue their own bulletins quarterly, six monthly, or even annually. Failing everything else they may publish in one instalment all the information at their disposal in the proceedings of the congress. For securing necessary information correspondents should be elected or nominated by the Executive body of the Congress for at least every centre of learning and research. Within their jurisdiction the correspondents may be requested to send a brief report of the work done, within their respective jurisdiction, new manuscripts secured, the names of scholars and the material available to them, and a list of historical publications during the year. They may serve as a link between the Congress and the scholars.

Gentlemen, before I close this address I should like to make a few observations regarding the sifting and synthesis of the material available to us, since it is very intimately connected with the quality of our contribution to knowledge. The standard of our criticism and the methods of research must be rigorously scientific. It sounds like a truism yet it is very often forgotten. Likes and dislikes, fancies and imagination, guesses and surmises and hasty conclusions are more in evidence than is either permissible or inevitable. Once the solid mooring of facts is lost the historical character of research is vitiated and at times completely destroyed. The impatience and enthusiasm of philosophically inclined scholars and young researchers leads them astray and makes them draw inordinately upon their own imagination. There is always the temptation to run faster than can be justified and to break loose from the limitation of our material. Tall statement, high sounding headlines and expressions and daring generalizations, instead of making a work useful, prove injurious and highly prejudicial to a scientific appreciation of truth. Extraneous considerations political, religious, communal, personal sentiments and prejudices are unconsciously or consciously allowed to vitiate the historical point of view. The fear that without some research to one's credit a young scholar has hardly any chance of getting even a lecturers job, or promotion, has led many young scholars to produce something which may somehow pass off as a research work, to compile (hastily) some facts from well known sources of and announce it with a blare of trumpet and favourable certificates from all kinds and classes of men whether qualified or unqualified. It will do us good if we remember the observation of Col. Haughton (reported by the late H. Beveridge) made on Raverty. Major "Raverty" said he "was too noisy a man to be trustworthy Professional courtesy and delicacy of the task may prevent us from making direct reference, to the works of the individuals. Some may not hesitate to call a spade a spade, but I do not consider it a matter of good taste to abuse the opportunity of speaking from the platform of history Congress. It is proper for us to know our shortcomings and try to overcome them as soon as possible, for truth can not be screamed by arrogance, effrontry, self opinionativeness or advertisements. The applause of ignorant men however well placed in life can not sustain for a long time the reputation for scholarship. With earnestness and enthusiasm and ceaseless quest for truth we should combine humility and full sense of responsibility which are the concomitants of true scholarship. We have got to take our work as an act of duty and love, Gentlemen, on proper appreciation of the period extending from the 12 to 15th Century will depend our proper prospective of the history of the Mughal period also. The glory of the Mughal period

is not stmply due to the efforts of Sher Shah or Akbar of Surdas or Tulsidas, of Todarmal, Khani Khanan and Sadulla Khan, of Tansen or Ustad Isa, of Mansur or Fakhrulla, of Faizi or Abdul Fazl. It is emphatically based on the work of their predecessors. The Mughal period has gathered largely the harvest which had been so patiently and labouriously sown by the predecessors of the Mughals. But for their work the Mughal Empire would not have probably risen higher than say the age of the Khilaji or the Tughlaqs. But for the work of Ramanand, Gnaneshwar, Namdeva, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Vallabha : a Jayasi, a Tulsidas or a Surdas would not have been possible. It will not be far from truth if it is said that in this period are to be found the mainsprings of the political, social and cultural life of both Hindus and Muslims of India. It is to the study of this important period and to the strenuous task, it involves, that I have the honour to invite your most serious attention and learned cooperation.

Gentlemen I have taken much of your time and liberally drawn upon your indulgence. I must thank you sincerely for your kindness and the patient hearing you have given me.

Proceedings of Section 3, (1206—1526).

The Section met under the Chairmanship of Dr. R. P. Tripathi M.A., Ph.D., University Professor, Allahabad, on December 22 at 11 a.m. and again at 2 p.m. The following papers were read by their respective authors.

“ Historical references in Jain Poems ” by Professor Kalipada Mitra, Monghyr.

“ A Missing Link of Indian History ” by Dr. Agha Mehdi Husain, M.A., Rh.D., Litt., Agra.

“ Isha-i-Mahrū or Tarassul-i-Aynul Mulk ” by Mr. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, M.A., Aligarh.

“ Ziauddin Barani ” by Mr. Syed Moinul Haq., Aligarh.

“ Ahom Kingship ” by Mr. S. C. Rajkhowa, M.A., Gauhati.

“ The Muslim Vaishnava Mystics of Medieval Bengal ” by Professor S. N. Dhar, M.A., Indore.

“ Kampila Raya and the Founders of Vijayanagar. ” Dr. V. K. Bhandarkar, B.A., L.L.B., Ph.D., Nasik.

Most of these papers were followed by an interesting discussion. The other papers were all taken as read, as the contributors were not present.

(Sd.) AGHA MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Secretary.

DIVYASURI CHARITAM—A SOURCE WORK FOR THE HISTORY
OF VAISHNAVISIM IN SOUTH INDIA—INSCRIPTIONAL
EVIDENCE ON ITS AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

BY

Mr. B. U. Ramanujam M. A., Parlakimadi.

Summary

Divyasuri Charitam is an important source work for the History of Vaishnavism in South India up to Ramanuja. This paper notices briefly some valuable inscriptional evidence showing clearly that the work must be assigned to a period between Circa 1310 at the earliest and 1403 at latest.

SULTAN NASIR-UDDIN MAHMUD AND HIS TWO MINISTERS:
GENERAL SURVEY AND ESTIMATE.

BY

Dr. P. Saran, (Benares)

Imad Uddin Rihan, the Hindu converted to Islam, and Ghiyas-uddin Balban the Turk, were the two great personalities who played a prominent role in the politics of the Sultanate of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Nasir-Uddin Mahmud. A glance over the modern historical literature will, however, show that while an unduly high place has been assigned to Balban, Rihan has received scant justice at the hands of students of mediæval history. Their conclusions and theories are based on a superficial and uncritical interpretation of the account given by Minhaj. They have not tried to probe underneath the superficial statements of Minhaj. But the real truth of the matter reveals itself readily to a careful and critical examinations of the account of that historian. It would seem that in interpreting Minhaj's account of Rihan and Balban the fact is commonly overlooked that Minhaj was as sharply and frankly hostile to Rihan as he was an admirer of Balban, and that he was himself a keen partisan and not an impartial observer. Nevertheless, however much, Minhaj has tried to paint a dark picture of Rihan and a bright one of Balban, he has not succeeded in hiding the real truth which he betrays by his own statements. He perhaps little suspected that the critical eye of the future historian would pierce through the surface of his words and discover the reality behind them.

Rihan has been roundly condemned by Minhaj. But it is highly curious to note that some modern historians have far out-done him in their condemnation of Rihan. They have called him 'a vile upstart,' a 'renegade Hindu,' 'a usurper and a conspirator against Balban,' 'a rancorous and vindictive eunuch' who 'maintained a gang of ruffians at the capital,' etc. Further he has been accused of inefficiency owing to which the administration is said to have 'grown lax under him.' Even Elphinstone, who though the earliest is yet most sensible and accurate of critics on the whole, has been misled into expressing this view.

Let us now examine whether the above mentioned estimates and views of Rihan are warranted even by the statements of Minhaj himself and those of later historians, such as, Nizam-Uddin Ahmad Bakhshi, Ferishta, Badaoni and others. It may be at once said that none of these writers has shown such enthusiasm in condemning Rihan as some modern writers have done. The utmost that they have said is that Rihan was jealous of Balban and hence he became vindictive, and that consequently his administration grew intolerable. But they do not bestow on him such names as for instance, 'a vile upstart', 'a usurper' etc. Nor do they question his ability as a minister, of which he gave ample evidence during his all too short regime as Vakil-i-dar.

The real reason, however, why Rihan has been frequently traduced by Minhaj is to be found in the fact that there were two well-defined and mutually antagonistic parties at the court and the historian was not only a prominent member of the party opposed to Rihan but had suffered dismissal from office and humiliation at the hands of Rihan when he was in power. These two parties were (1) that of the foreigners or Turkish aristocracy led by Balban-i-Khurd, and (2) that of the Indians including both Hindus and Muslims, led by Imad-Uddin Rihan.

The occasion for the rise and growth of the Indian or Hindustani party must be sought in the supercilious and snobbish attitude of the Turkish aristocracy and their intolerable and highly unfair treatment of all the Hindustanis. The policies and actions of the Turkish nobility who were in power, were determined and moulded by a deep vanity born of a feeling of superiority natural to all conquerors over the conquered. To this was added the belief in the purity of their blood. Thus for various reasons the Turkish aristocracy treated the Indians with undisguised contempt and regarded them as fit only to remain the underlings of their rulers. On the other hand as conquerors, they regarded themselves as entitled to all the privileges, positions and distinctions in the gift of the state, to which no Indian, whether Hindu or Muslim, could ever aspire. The latter were, as a rule, relegated to minor and inferior situations. The Turks could not tolerate the idea of any Indian holding a high office by which some of them might have to serve as his subordinates. It is a note-worthy fact that the being a muslim made no difference in his status unless he was a Turk of pure blood. All the higher posts were jealously maintained as the close preserves of the Turkish nobility and the Indians were mostly debarred from holding them. Here and there alone a solitary, brilliant figure like Imad-uddin Rihan rose to eminence by sheer dint of personal merit. The struggle for priority and power was not between the Hindu and muslim, but the foreigner and native, the conqueror and conquered. It was national and not communal, among the Turks the feeling of superiority of being the privileged class was based, as I have indicated above, not only on their sense of being the conquerors but also on the belief of their superiority and purity of blood. This was the reason which, within a short interval after Balban's expulsion, impelled the majority of the Turkish nobles to sink their mutual jealousies, and to combine against Rihan. This too was mainly responsible for the restoration of Balban who otherwise might have ended his career as a provincial governor and would never have become prime-minister again; much less sultan. Minhaj himself clearly sets forth that the real reason of the revolt of the Turkish party against Rihan's ascendancy, and of their march towards the capital with the sole purpose of either

persuading or compelling the Sultan to expel him was that he was a contemptible Indian and not a member of the Turkish nobility. Minhaj's own words in this connection are worth quoting. He says:⁽¹⁾ "The reason was this that the Malik and servants of the Sultan's court were all Turks of pure lineage and Tajiks of noble birth, and Imad-uddin Rihan, who was castrated and mutilated, and of the trilees of Hind, was ruling over the heads of lords of high descent, and the whole of them were loathing that state and were unable any longer to suffer that degradation. The case of this frail individual was on this wise, that for a period of six months or even longer, it was out of his power to leave his dwelling⁽²⁾ and go to the Friday's prayers for fear of the violence of a gang of villains who were patronised⁽³⁾ by Imad-uddin Rihan : so the condition of others, every one of whom consisted of Turks and conquering, ruling and foe-breaking Malikis, may well be conceived. How could they continue under this disgrace?" This is the plainest and sincerest, by Minhaj though unconscious, confession of the real reason why the Turkish party were hostile to Rihan and chafed under his rule. There was no inefficiency or laxity in the administration. There is not a shred of evidence to support this strange view which has been taken by most modern writers. The oppression and unbearableness of Rihan's government described by Minhaj, and copied by later authorities refers only to the feelings of the Turkish minority who certainly suffered humiliation and in many cases dismissal from office. This reaction, however, was the natural outcome of the ascendancy of the Indian party who had been treated by the Turkish party, when it was in power, with open contempt and excluded from all honourable and profitable posts. But there is no evidence in any of the sources to bear out the view that the people in general, or the ryots suffered any oppression owing to the laxity in incapacity of the government. On the contrary we have ample evidence in the sources to show how actively and ably the Indian minister Rihan met each and every difficult situation and how, unlike Balban who had always deliberately followed a policy of throwing the Sultan in the background, reducing him thereby to the contemptible position of a mere puppet, Rihan associated him in all affairs of the State, both civil and military and gave him the fullest scope to exercise his authority. Indeed it was Balban's supercilious behaviour with the Sultan which was responsible for his fall and disgrace as I shall presently show. Rihan, on the contrary, sent the young king to suppress the Hindu revolt in Katehar. He never tried to crush the youthful ambitions and energies of the King as Balban had cleverly done. The exclusive control which Balban had, from the day of

1. Ravery pp. 828-830.

2. Elliot, II as correctly pointed out by Rav. p. 829, f.n. 2., has erroneously made all who had retired to their closets, stay at home for six months, while the text only says that Minhaj alone had to suffer that hardship.

3. Wolseley Haig (C. H. I. III) says that Rihan maintained a band of ruffians. This is not warranted by the text. Ravery's rendering of the passage in question is also misleading. The most probable and reasonable sense of the text is that Qazi minhaj was afraid of being put to humiliation in the midst of those Indian courtiers who must have commenced to assemble at the Friday's prayers since their accession to power. Under the circumstances it is no surprise that the Qazi uses strong language against them. The text does not contain any equivalent of the word "villain" or "ruffian". The text is.

The word only means those who were capable of going beyond proper limits, and belonged to the party of Rihan. This need not be taken too literally : due allowance should be made for the Qazi's natural tendency to heighten the effect in this case. It is utterly baseless to assume that ruffians were maintained by Rihan to molest all the Turks in the streets. Indeed it is inconceivable that the Sultan, a Turk himself, could have allowed Rihan to behave in this fashion. Shortly after we find Minhaj moving to the Sultan's camp and staying there, which would have been impossible if Rihan had been oppressing the Turks as is wrongly supposed. Minhaj nowhere suggests that he could not stir out of his house at all. He only says that he was afraid of going to the Friday mosque.

his appointment as Vazir., begun to exercise in all matters of administration, and his excessive predominance had become galling not only to the Sultan but also to some of the Turkish armies and even to the Malika-i-Jahan, the mother of the Sultan. That Rihan could make capital out of this growing unpopularity of Balban in advancing the cause of the Indian party and driving out the hostile Turkish party, only shows his diplomatic skill and not his envy as is commonly supposed. Modern scholars have fallen into this error by taking the language of Minhaj literally without making due allowance for that author's deep personal grudge against Rihan on the one hand and his exaggerated reverence for his patron Balban on the other. Minhaj's hatred for and consequent prejudice against Rihan was further deepened owing to his own expulsion from the office of chief Qazi which he had held under Balban's patronage.

The young king, however, appreciated the worth of Rihan fully and would never have dismissed him, had he not been constrained to do so by the rather awkward and critical situation created by the Turkish Malikis who had suffered under Rihan's regime. Even when the Sultan eventually realised that there was no alternative for him but to pacify the Turkish party whose sole aim was to have Rihan expelled from office, the Sultan sent him back to his Jagir of Budaon, although after his return to power Balban naturally brought about the destruction of his enemy as quickly as he could. Thus the expulsion of Balban from Prime-ministership at the instance of Rihan signified no personal quarrel or jealousy but the existence of two rival parties at the court, struggling for power and positions. Nor does Rihan deserve to be called a usurper more than any other minister who rose to power by dint of personal merit.

Next we shall consider the roll played by Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud in these transactions and thereby try to make a correct estimate of his character and achievements. Minhaj has invested the Sultan, who was his patron, with the attributes of saints and prophets and the penportrait that he has painted of him leaves the impression on the mind of the student as though the Sultan was a man of very advanced age, and being of a religious and retiring temperament without any ambition or aims, was glad to leave the entire powers and functions of sovereignty in the hands of his Vazir, Balban choosing for himself the life of a recluse. Actually, however, Nasiruddin was only a little over seventeen years of age at the time of his accession to the throne, and had become governor of Bahraich and its dependencies when he was only about 16 years old. It is also clearly stated that the young prince showed great energy, ability and tact as head of that province and by his kindness charity, piety and justice as well as his great respect for learned men, he commanded great popularity among his subjects. But he was far from being a merely pious and unambitious ruler. He displayed commendable enthusiasm and energy in waging holy wars on the infidels, as enjoined by the Islamic creed and led several expeditions into the neighbouring countries including the hilly districts. Under his beneficent administration the province attained prosperity and the peasantry received particular attention and sympathy from him. These facts must be enough to manifest the baselessness of the view which is commonly held of this Sultan as a person on whom the kingly office sat lightly and who would feign have been relieved of it. But we have a much stronger and clearer evidence to show that the young Sultan, despite all his religiosity, was as ambitious to gain worldly power and pelf as any the most virulent and

materialistic monarch among the Turks ever was. Thus when the Turkish amirs, having decided to depose Masud and not agreeing to the accession of Malik Izzuddin Kashlu Khan, invited Nasir Uddin from Bahraich, he was not deterred from accepting the invitation even though it involved the unpardonable guilt of ingratitude towards his benefactor, the unlucky Masud, who had released him from prison and made him governor of Bahraich. The Crown was too tempting a prize to be sacrificed at the altar of brotherly affection or gratitude towards his saviour. On the contrary Mahmud clutched the offer and allowed himself to be hurried up even in the guise of a sick man and then veiled as a woman in order to avoid any possible opposition and mishap, evidently because neither he himself nor his mother, the Malika-i-Jahan was yet sure of securing the throne without having to face any resistance and so easily as he actually did. Nor was the consternation caused by the fate of his four predecessors enough to cow down or shatter his ambition. Masud was thrown into prison and perished shortly after, likely by the orders, either express or implied, of the new Sultan; at any rate, certainly by his connivance. But as a ruler the youthful Mahmud proved himself to be much wiser, though sadder, than his predecessors. Their tragic fate had opened his eyes to the realities of the situation. He thoroughly well understood that the chief cause of their ruin had been the struggle for supremacy between the aristocracy and the sovereign and the latter's injudicious and impatient policy which excited the hostility of the amirs and Maliks. He therefore took every precaution to preserve the loyalty and support of the nobility and patiently suffered the humiliation of being reduced to the position of a mere figurehead by their leader Balban. That this position was most intolerable to him and his mother is more than evidenced by the Rihaan episode as shown above. Balban's expulsion at the instance of Rihaan also shows the far-sightedness and patience with which Nasir-uddin acted. Instead of taking such hasty and indiscreet steps as Masud and Bahram had done, he patiently bided his time waiting for a suitable opportunity. This opportunity came to him as soon as he got the support of the rival party led by Rihaan who were quite a match to Balban particularly at the time when the latter's supercilious manner and extremely centralised despotism had alienated from him even the sympathies of some of the Turkish nobility. The extent of Nasir-uddin's dissatisfaction with Balban was so great that even though the former had married Balban's daughter shortly before this incident, even that close relationship could not deter him from sending his father-in-law far away from the court. During Rihaan's regime the Sultan was happy because he found full scope for the display of his youthful energies and aspirations. He would undoubtedly have adhered to this new party if the rather hasty policy of Rihaan had not excited the main body of the Turkish nobility to unite once more in order to regain their lost power and prestige. The above discussion warrants the conclusion that while Sultan Nasir-uddin Mahmud might have been popular owing to his piety, geniality and kindness to his subjects, he was far from being so much influenced by his religiosity as to lose all interest in such worldly affairs as the business of governance. If he took comfort in copying the Quran and keeping himself thus occupied it was not by choice but by the tyranny of the situation in which he found himself.

Now Balban's character and achievements also call for a brief notice. It has been commonly supposed by modern writers that Balban was a very successful ruler and administrator. But the fact is curiously overlooked that while Balban showed great military courage, capacity and skill, he hardly showed any administrative acumen or statesmanlike insight. The aim and ideal of the Turkish State was that the subjects were meant to be used as so much material for the comfort and enjoyment of the sovereign and his court, and Balban could not be expected to rise above it. But even in his methods he remained incapable of making any improvement to the last. The policy of suppressing turbulence and recalcitrance with a ruthless hand, which Balban adopted, ought to have been followed by a policy of taking real interest in the people's weal so as to breed in them confidence and love towards the

ruler. But the utter lack of such a benevolent spirit in the administration is revealed by the fact that the whole long reign of Balban, both as minister and as king, is an endless story of revolts and insurgence throughout his dominions. Further there could be no better proof of the feebleness of the organisation than the utter insecurity from which the capital itself suffered, for some time, at any rate. It is quite baseless to say, as some writers have done, that Balban as minister stamped out rebellion during his ministry. The problem which demanded his immediate attention on his accession to the throne was that of revolts of the various petty chiefs in and outside the Doab. Balban never realised that one could do everything with beyonets except sit on them.

Then again he is said to have been most impartial in doing justice, and in support of this view the instances are quoted of his flogging to death the governor of Budaon, Malik Baghaq, for having done to death his servant by the lash, and of Haibat Khan, governor of Oudh, having been similarly punished with a severity which was evidently vindictive. The real reason of these terrible punishments was that the victims were Turks whom Balban was systematically and deliberately destroying on the slightest pretexts, with the ulterior motive of leaving no rival to compete for the crown against his progeny. But nemesis was not slow to make its revenge. By destroying the Turkish party of the slaves Balban brought about the ruin and end of the rule of his own house for no able person was left after him either to supplant or support his feeble grandsons.

Another point of strength in his administration was that of his espionage system. This was fairly efficient and well-organised. But it was all meant to serve the sovereign and the people. But the administrative measure for which Balban deserves real credit was his organisation of frontier defence. The existence of a line of fortresses on the frontier line served as bulwarks of protection even under his successors, the Khiljis and Tughlaqs.

**Mr. Shaikh Abdul Rashid's paper on
Insha-i-Mahru or Tarassul-i-Aynu'l-Mulk of
Aynul-Mulk Mahru of Multan has been published
in the Islamic Culture July, 1942.**

HISTORICAL REFERENCES IN JAIN POEMS

BY

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In this paper I propose to indicate incidental references to historical personages in the collection of Jain Poems named "Aitihasik Jain Kavyasangraha" compiled by Messrs Agarchandra Nahta and Bhanvarlal Nahta (published in Calcutta V. S. 1994). They have been composed in Apabhramsa, Rajasthani and Hindi and are of invaluable help to those who study them.

The Editors say that most of these poems pertain to the Kharataragachcha which has flourished at Bikanir and are available to them. They have not been able to get poems pertaining to the Tapagachcha sect except *Vijayasimha-Suri-Vijaya-prakasa-rasa* and another poem.

The poems are panegyrics and primarily intended to glorify the Jain Order. Historical events and poonages are incidentally mentioned. Jain saints are said to have been honoured by royal persons. Some are credited to have impressed them only by their piety and erudition, but also by performance of magic and miracles. Historical truth may lie embedded in such poems though they generally lack in authenticity and if it could be extricated in pure form free from drossy embellishments, some real contribution may be made to the advancement of our knowledge. Strict scientific test should however be applied to incidents mentioned and corroborative evidence should be supplied from contemporary records before they can be accepted as a reliable matter.

I will for the present confine myself to the examination of some poems relating to the following and will undertake investigation of other poems later on.

Jinaprabha Suri, Jinadadeva Suri and Jinachandra Suri

In the songs eulogising Jinaprabhasuri we are told that he won the admiration of Emperor Muhammad at Delhi :

राज महंमद साहि जिणि, निय गुणि रंजियउं ।
 मंदमंडलि दिखिय पुरि, जिणा धरमु प्रकटु किउं ॥
 तसु गध घुर धरणु भयलि, जिरादेव सुरि सूरि राज ।
 — श्री जिन प्रभ सूरितम् ॥

On Saturday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Pals in V. S. 1385 (A. D. 1328) he visited the Court of Muhammad Shahi, *Asuputi* at Delhi. The Sultan treated him with respect, seated him by his side, offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined as such gifts are according to rule of conduct unacceptable, but to honour him he took some clothes. The Sultan praised him and issued a *Furman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basuti* *Upas'-raya*, rest house for monks). A procession started in his honour to the *posuthasula* to the accompaniment of varied music and dance of young women ; the saint was seated on the state elephant (*Pathathi*) surrounded by *Maliks*. (verses 2-9 in Sri Jinaprabhasuririam gitam).

तेर पंचासियइ पोस सुदि अठमि. सणिहि बाहो ।
 मेदिउ असपते "महमदो", सुगुरि ढोलिय नयरे ॥ २ ॥
 श्री मुंखि सलहिउ पांतसाहि, विविह परिसुसि सोही ॥ ५ ॥
 देइ फुरमारतुं अनु कारवह, नवं वसति राय सुजारतु ॥ ६ ॥

Jinaprabhasuri's pattadhara, Jinadeva Suri, was also honoured by Muhammad Shah who being pleased with his nectar-like discourse caused to be installed at Delhi the images of Vira (belonging to or coming Kannanapura) at an auspicious moment on an auspicious day.

बंदहु भविक ही सुगुस जिणादेसूरि दिखिय वरप्रकरि देसराउ ।
 जेहि कक्षाणापुर मंडणु सामिउं बोर जिणु ।
 महमद राइ समाधिउं थपिउ सुभलगनी सुभदिवसि ॥ ६ ॥
 — श्रीजिणादेव सूरिगीतम् ।

In another song Jinaprabha Suri is said to have won the admiration of *Asapati* "who invited the saint to come to his court at Delhi on the 4th, and the 8th, lunar days.

आठाही आठमिहि चउथी, तेडावइ सुरितारपु ।

पुह कितमुख जिणाप्रमसुरि चल्पियउ, जिमि ससि इंदु विमाणिए ॥

"असपति" "कुतुबदोउ" मनि रजिउ, दोठेलि जिणाप्रमसूरी ।

Jina Chandra Suri, the Pattadhara of Jinaprabodha Suri, also pleased Sultan Kutabuddin.

"कुतबदीन" सुरतान राउ, रंजिउस मणोहर ।

जगि पयडउ जिणचंद सूरि, सूरिहि सिर सेहर ॥ ६ ॥

— श्रीजितकु शल्पसूरि पद्यभिषेकरास ।

Now let us see who these Sultans are. Jinaprabha Suri visited Muhammad Shahi in A.D. 1328. Muhammad bin Tughlaq ascended throne in A.D. 1325 and died in 1351. Muhammad Shahi therefore must be Muhammad Tughluq.

The emperor was a versatile genius and is said to have known many sciences Ziauddin Barni and Ibn Batuta have given him indeed a blood-thirsty character, but they are agreed about his profound scholarship, his mastery over logic, dialectics and Aristotelian philosophy. There was no doubt that he was a free-thinker and a rationalist, a man of culture and a friend of scholars. Ziauddin laments. "The dogmas of philosopher, which are productive of indifference and hardness of heart had a powerful influence over him The punishment of Musalmans and the execution of true believers with him became a practice and a passion". On the other hand Brown says: "His staunch⁽¹⁾ orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the Kallima, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as the warrior in the cause of God".⁽²⁾

It seems that he was simply following an old practice and was not very orthodox, for he was an admirer of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, who indulged in *samu*, or ecstatic dance accompanied by music which militated against pure orthodoxy. He put an inscription in Nagri on his token coins and is said to have favoured the use of Sanskrit on ceremonial days. He loved to hear arguments of doctors of religion and had anticipated Akbar who listened to such disputations in the Ibadatkhana at Fathpur Sikri. It is no wonder therefore that he should have honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jinaprabha Suri and his pattadhara, Jinadeva Suri. He is said to have honored Simhakirti, a great Jain logician from South India, who won renown at his court at Delhi by defeating professors of Buddhism and other dialecticians. This incident seems to have happened between A.D. 1326 and A.D. 1337.

In *Dasabhaktyadi-Mahasastra* a Sanskrit Kavya of Munindra Vardhamana, 3) the following verses occur :—

Vidyananandasvaminah sunuvaryah samjatah sa Simhakirtir vratindrah
Khyatah striman purnacaritragatro danasvarshirdhenumandaradesyah
Babhatyas vapat erdinesatanayo Gangadhyadesa vritah
Srimaddillipured mahammada suritranarya marakrteh

1. Sir H. Elliott *History of India*, Vol. III. p. 236.

2. Brown, C. J. *The coins of India*, pp. 73, 74.

3. Ms. No. 253/Kha of the Jawna Siddhanta Bhavan a nobced in the *Taina Siddhanta Jhaskara*, 5. 3

Nirjityasu sabhavanau jitagurubauddhadi + + + vṛajali
Sribhattaraka Simhakirtti rmunirat ratyaukauidya guruh

In the Padmavati-vasti stone inscription of Humecca in the Nagara taluka (Mysore) occurs a corresponding passage, viz "Babhati asvapaterddine tatanyo bangalya-des-avṛta sṛimad dillipure...muda suritrānasya marakṛteh nirjityas a sabhavanam jinagurur bauddhadivadi-vṛjam sribhattaraka-simhakirt muni ra... dyaika-vidam-guruh !

Evidently "Muda" forms a part of the full word *Muhammad* (or *Mahammad*, almost always confounded with *Mahmud*) which became effaced or unvedadable, but Rice takes it to mean *mild* (*mudi* ← *mudu* ← *mṛdu*) and adds "Mahmud". Dr. Saletore reads "*tatu na bhūsanadhya devavṛti*" and expresses surprise that Rice should have read it as *bāṅgalya-des-avṛta*(4)

The verses quoted from *Dasabhaktyadi-ma-as-astra* set all these doubts at rest by expressly mentioning the name *Mahammada* (and not.....Muda) *Suritrana* and *Gang-adyadesa* which is evidently Bengal and give greater support to Rice.

The date of Vardhamana, author of *Dasu*, has been conjectured by Dr. Saletore to be A.D. 1378 (by assigning 30 years each to the following teachers in the *guruparampara* counting back from Visalakitti whose earliest date he supposes to have been A.D. 1468 thus (5) Merunandi (4) Vardhamana— (3) Prabhacandra (2) Amarakirti— (1) Visalakirti) which seems to get support from the mention of his name in a Sravana-Belgota record of A. D. 1372.(5) But in the *Dasu* occurs a sloka that Vardhamana composed it in *Sake Vedakharabhi candrakalite sanvatsare Sriphave simha sravanike prabha karasive kṛṣṇa stami vasare rohinyam* i. e. in Saka era 1464, if the Vedas be four and not three) A.D. 15±1. The exact date can, however be as attained from them particular given about tithi. Whatever be his date, the another has in the *Dasu* incorporated many extracts from the lithic inscription of Nagara taluka and he being much nearer to the date of the inscription than we are, it may be presumed that he found them in a better state of preservation than in the last decade of the 19th. century and in the 20th century. I think, therefore, his reading of the inscription may be accepted.

Jinaprabhasuri was an exceedingly erudite poet and scholar, and a distinguished Jain *acarya*. Muni Jina Vijayaji says in the introduction of his edition of the *Vividhatirthakulpa* of Jinaprabhasuri that *acarya* was greatly honoured at the court of Sultan Mahmud Shah even as much as Jagadguru Hiravijayasuri was at Akbar's court, and that perhaps he was the first saint to have glorified the Jainadharma at the Courts of Musalman Badshas.(6)

From internal evidence his date can be ascertained. The earliest date of the composition of poems in this work is contained in the last stanza of *Vaibharagirikulpa* where occurs the first line thus: *varse siddha Surasvadrusisikkikumite Vikrame* which gives us V.S. 1364 (A.D. 1307) and the date of the completion of the work is indicated in the line.

nanda-nekapa-sakti silugumite Srivikramorvipate which gives us V.S. 1389 (A.D. 1332). From other passages in the work it appears that they were composed earlier than V.S. 1364 and later than V.S. 1389.

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 1. 15; *Jaina Siddhanta Bhashara*, 4. 4. containing a translation of Dr. B.A. Saletore's article in the Karnataka Historical Review, IV. pp. 77-86; See Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, pp. 370-71

5. Saletore—*M.T.*, p. 300.

6. In Sinighi-Jaina-Granthamata series, *Vismitharati*, Santiniketan.

Extensive information of the activities of Jinaprabhasuri relating to our present subject matter is found in the work. The incident of the installation of the image of Mahavira brought from the city of Kanyanaya is related in *Kanyanayamiya Mahavira-pratimu-kulpuh* (in prakrit) thus.

The image was fashioned at the city of Kannanaya in the Chola country in V.S. 1233 (A.D. 1176). When in V.S. 1248 (A.D. 1191) Prthviraja (*Puhuv-rayanarimde*) the leader of the Chahanana clan was killed by Sahabadina⁽¹⁾ Sresthi Ramadeva sent a letter to the *srawakas*—"The kingdom of the Turks has begun. Kee the image of Mahavira hidden away." It was kept concealed in the sand at Kayamvasatthala, where it remained till V.S. 1311. In that year a great famine having occurred, a carpenter named Yojaka left Kannanaya for a more favourable country and came to Kayamvasatthala, where having been warned in a dream he discovered the image which was placed in a Chaitya house and worshipped. Many disturbances occasioned by the Turks followed. The image perspired one day at the time of bathing and though wiped still perspired. This was an evil omen. On the following morning the Jat Rajputs made an incursion. In the year V. S. 1385 the Sikdar of Asinagar came and imprisoned the *sadhus* and *Srawakas* and broke the stone image of Pars vanatha. But the image of Mahavira was transported safe and whole in a cart to Delhi and kept in the store-house of the Sultan at Tugulakabad pending his orders. In course of time Sri Mahammada Surattan came from Devagiri to Joginipura. Once Jinaprabhasuri, the ornament of the Kharataragaccha sect, arrived in the course of his journey to Delhi. Having heard from Dharadhara, the astronomer, the praise of the famous erudition of the saint, he sent him to the saint and brought him on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Paus. The Suri visited the Maharajadhirja who seated him close by his side, asked him about his welfare and conversed with him till midnight. He passed the night there and was again summoned in the morning. The Sultan was delighted with the poetic skill of the Suri and offered him a thousand cows, wealth, the chief garden, a hundred blankets, and clothes, and scents such as aguru, sandal, camphor etc. Then the guru respectfully declined to take them saying that these were not acceptable to *Sadhus* (*Sahanam eyam na kuppai sambohiuna maharayan patisiddham sarvam vatthu*). But on being pressed by the king and to honour him he accepted some blankets and clothes. Then the king caused him to dispute with scholars who came from many countries *nanadesumtura* (*gaya-pamdiyehim saha vuyagotthim karavittu*), and was so pleased that he mounted him and the acarya Jinadeva on two stately elephants and sent them to the accompaniment of varied music to the *posudha sala*. Then the *badshah* (*patasahina*) gave him a farman protecting all the Svetambara order from harm. On another occasion the Sarvabhauma immediately granted him a farman affording protection to the *tirthas* (places of pilgrimage) of Satrunjay, Girnar, Phalabaddhi etc. On another occasion on a certain Monday when it was raining, the Suri came to the royal palace with his feet all muddy. The Maharaja took a costly piece of cloth from Malikka Kafur and wiped them. The Suri blessed him and regaled him with verses, at the excellence of which the king marvelled. Taking this opportunity he asked the favour of the Sultans making over to him the image of Mahavira, which was then brought from the store at Tugulakabad, and presented to the Suri in open court in the presence of the (Malliks). This was then installed by the entire Saugha in the *surui* of Malik Tajadina. Then establishing Jinadeva Suri in his place at Delhi the Suri went to the Maratha country, and by and by to Devagiri. Afterwards at Delhi Jinadeva Suri saw the Sultan who showed great respect and made a gift of *surui* which he named (Surattanaasarai). There the Suri (*Kulikulu cakkawatti*) built a *posudhasulu* and a chaitya wherein was established Sri Mahavira.

In (no. 51) *Kanyanayamahavira-Kalpuparisesah* further information regarding the Suri is obtained. The Suri got a farman from Muhammad Tughlak which

secured the chaityas of Pethada, Suhaja, and Acala from molestation by the Turks. He is said to have crushed the pride of his opponents in disputation. Once during the course of a dissertation of the *sutras* in the assembly of pandits, the Emperor entertained some doubts and remembering the merits of the Suri, said, "Had he been present here he would have easily resolved my doubts. Doubtless Brhaspati being vanquished by his intellectual superiority has quitted the earth and gone to the skies. "At that time Tajulamallik arrived from Daulatabad, and having touched his head to the earth (Kurnish) said." The Mahatma is there, but as the water there has not agreed with him, he has become emaciated. "The Emperor ordered the Mir," O Mallik, proceed immediately to the *Dubirakhmu* (Secretariat), cause a farman to be written, and be sent to Daulatabad. "It duly reached the *Divanu* of Daulatabad. Kutal Khan, the *nayuk* of the city, respectfully communicated the message of the farman to the Suri, viz. that the Emperor desired his presence at Delhi. The Suri started and gradually came to Sriallabapur-dugga (fort of Allabapur), then to Siroha, and ultimately met the Emperor at Delhi. The latter enquired about his welfare in mild words, then kissed his hand with great affection (*cumbio a sasineham gurunam kuro*) and held him to his heart with great respect. The Suri blessed him and proceeded to the Suratnasarai posadhasala. The Emperor ordered the Chief Hindu rajas, also the great Maliks beginning with Sri Dinara to accompany him.

At another time in the month of Falguna the Emperor went out with his army to receive his mother, Magadumai Jahan, who was coming from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathuna. The Suri was with him. The Emperor afterwards gave him near his palace a splendid house *abhinavasurui* to dwell in, and himself named it *bhutharayu-surat*. Then in V. S. 1389 (*terisajjanamasi-varise* A. D. 1332), on the 7th, day of black fortnight in the month of Asadha, the Suri entered the *posadhasala* with great eclat, music etc. On another occasion in the month of Margarsirsa the Emperor started on his march of conquest of the eastern quarters (*pravradisajaya-jattaputthiyenu*) and was accompanied by the Suri. The latter recovered the Mathura *tirtha*. Thinking that the camp life must have been greatly troubling the Suri, the Emperor sent him back to Delhi from Agra in company with Khoje Jaham Malika. Taking the farman (pass-port) from the Emperor for going to Hatthinapura the Suri returned to his own place The Digambaras and Setambaras under the authority of the Imperial farman went about everywhere without let or hindrance.

The punctilious detail with which the events have been described inclines one to believe that they were not altogether imaginary. The manner of bowing to the Sultan, and the latter's kissing the hand indicate clearly the familiar court manners.

Now let us examine the authenticity of the personages mentioned in the *Vividha tirtha-kalpa*. It has been said that the Sultan went out in full military array to greet his mother, Magadumai Jahan, when she was coming back from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathuna (Badaon ?)

According to the author of the *Turikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* the first migration (transference of Capital) to Devagiri occurred in 727 A.H. (A. D. 1326-27), when the Sultan carried with him his mother Makhdum-i-Jahan, the amirs, maliks, and other notable persons, with horses, elephants, and treasure of the state.⁽¹⁾ It appears that in V.S. 1385 (A.D. 1328) the Emperor returned to Delhi (which seems to be corroborated by contemporary history) from Devagiri while his mother stayed behind. Allowing time for the Suri's journey to Deogiri, his stay there, and his return to Delhi the incident of his mother's return is likely to have happened in A.D. 1331 after which in V. S. 1389 (A. D. 1332) the Suri entered the *posadhasala* which was gifted to him

1. Dr. Iswari Prasad—*History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, Vol. I., p. 84.

by the Sultan. When the Sultan was proceeding to Multan to chastise the rebel Shahu Afghan, he had not advanced far when the news came that his revered mother Makhdum Jahan had died at Delhi. She was a lady of great talents.....the Sultan was overpowered with grief. He tendered sincere respect to his mother, the dower queen who enjoyed her regal state throughout her life.(1)

It is said that the Sultan went out to conquer the east. Rebellions were rife. In 1335 when Jalauddin Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar revolted, the Sultan marched in person to chastise him. In 1337 there were rebellions in Bengal. It is one of these that the text probably refers to. Kutalakhan was Qutlugh Khan, a title conferred on Qiyam-al-din, the Sultan's tutor. He also received from the Sultan another title, *Vakil-i-dur*. He was a man of integrity and was placed in charge of Devagiri. His recall from Deogiri (745 A. H.) greatly depressed the people there.(2)

Khoje Jahan Malik is the title of Khwaja Jahan conferred as a reward for his service on Ahmad Ayaz, the Engineer, who built the notorious pavilion (at Afghanpur) which caused the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak. He also held the office of *Wazirul-Mulk*.(3)

Tajul-Malikka. There was some Tajul-Mulk, but I am not definite. Or could it refer by any chance to Malik Shiabuddin who superintended the activities of merchants and traders (*Malik-ul-Tujjar*)?

It seems that there is some mistake in the text about Malikkakafura. There was one Malik Kafur who was the seal-bearer of the Sultan when as a prince he had gone to conquer Telingana.

Ubaid the poet spread false rumour that Sultan Ghiyasuddin was seriously ill and went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigin.....Malik Kafur the keeper of the seal and told the nobles that Ulugh Khan looked upon them with suspicion". Ghiyasuddin held a public Durbar in the plain of Siri, when Ubaid the poet and Kafur the seal-keeper and other rebels were flayed alive⁴. So he could not be the person from whose hands Muhammad Tughlak took the towel to wipe the Suri's feet.

No date is available in the poems with regard to Qutbuddin. We however know the date of Jina Chandra Suri, the Pattadhara of Jina prabodha Suri. He was born in V.S. 1324 (A.D. 1267) and died in V.S. 1376 (A.D. 1319). Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, the khilji Emperor, ascended the throne in A.D. 1316 and was assassinated in A. D. 1320. "Qutbuddin" of the poems therefore seems to refer to him. "Under Mubarak Shah Khilji," says Elphinstone, "the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu." The meeting might have taken place in A. D. 1318, before the degenerate Khusrav cast his evil influence on him and brought about first his spiritual and then his physical death.

We know from other sources that Sultan Mubarak Shah appointed Samara Singh, a great Jain of Patan, to an important post (*vyavahara*) at Delhi. Ghiyasuddin Tughlak regarded Samara Singh as his son and sent him to Telingana, where he built many Jain temples. Muhammad Tughlak looked upon him as his brother

1. *Ibid.* pp. 172, 310; Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 63, 146, 171; Elliott-*op. cit.*, pp. 251, 253. App. p. 571, Kasaid of Badr Chach.

3. *Ibid.* p. 83. He was also pealik Zada Ahmad, Son of Ayas; Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

4. Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp., 203, 608 App. D from Travels of Ibn Ba'ta'wh says that the prince had gone to Telingana with principal Amirs. viz. Maliks Timur, Tigin, Kafur the seal-bearer. He formed designs to revolt, and made the poet, Ubaid spread false rumour about the illness of G. Tughlak, who put them to death (Ubaid & Kafur).

made him Governor of Telingana. Jinaprabha Suri and Mahendra Suri were favourites of the Sultan.

Of Mahendri Suri Nayacandra says:—1

Ekhaso ayam mahatma na para iti nrpa Sri Mahammada saheh
Stotram prapat sa papam ksapayatu bhagavan Sri Mahendraprabhurnah.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ'S REIGN

BY

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The chronology of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign has proved one of the most knotty problems of Muslim Indian History. It has confused historians since the days of Ahmad bin Yahya, the author of Turkish Mubarak Shahi. The reason is obvious. Barni has been their chief source, and Barni has himself frankly admitted that he has not been particular about the dates of events or the chronological order (p. 478). Most of the historians had *Futuhus-Sulatin* of 'Isami, before them, but it struck none that they should turn to 'Isami for the chronological order of events.

Futuhus-Sulatin has recently been published, and the more I study it the more I feel inclined to think that the events narrated by 'Isami are in perfect chronological order. 'Isami is a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. First I propose to give the heading of events in the order as recorded by 'Isami and then I hope to discuss each event with reference to the other contemporary sources and thereby support 'Isami's chronological order. In my opinion, 'Isami is so very particular about the correct chronology and order that whenever he deviates he at once reminds his readers that he is doing so. As for example while Shahu, Gulchandar, and Halajun, according to 'Isami, rebelled during the Sultan's absence at Daulatabad where the Sultan had gone to deal with the rebellion of Sayyid Jalaluddin in Ma'bar, 'Isami could not narrate this event simultaneously with the events in the Deccan. Consequently he first dealt with the Deccan affair and just while describing the return of the Sultan to Delhi inserts the following headline and then begins:

ذکر برگشتن شاهر و گلچندرو بلا جون برسيل ايجاز
شنيدم کرد هي ز راه غرور چوشم راز لاهور ديد ند دور

Order of main events are given by Isami.

- I. The Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, P. 408.
- II. Conquest of Kalanur and Farashur (Mongol territories) on the border of India, P. 410.
- III. Rebellion of Bahauddin Gurshasp P. 411.
- IV. The conquest of Kandhiana (Sinhgarh) PP. 417-418.
- V. The Rebellions of Baharam A'ba (Kashli Khan) and Bahadur Shah Burahin Multan and Bengal respectively PP. 420-428.
- VI. Transfer of Delhi-population to Daulatabad P. 430.

- VII. Issue of face-value currency P. 441.
- VIII. Withdrawal of same P. 442.
- IX. The Mongol invasion against India under Tarmashirin P. 444.
- X. The Qarachal expedition PP. 447-449.
- XI. The rebellions of Sayyid Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in Ma'bar, Hushang in Daulatabad, Shahu, Hāljun and Gulchandar at Lahore (PP. 449 to 450).
- XII. The Rebellion of Fakhruddin at Lakhnauti P. 452.
- XIII. Royal camp at *Sargadwari* and the rebellion of 'Ainuddin Mahru PP. 452 to 455.
- XIV. The rebellion of Nusrat Khan Shihabuddin at Bidar PP. 463 to 478.
- XV. The rebellion of 'Ali Shah Natthu PP. 463 to 478.
- XVI. Retransfer of population to Delhi P. 479.
- XVII. The Rebellion of Qadi Jalal at Baroda and risings in Daulatabad and the accession of Ismail Afghan as Nasiruddin Shah, and the arrival of Qadi Jalal and Mubarak at Nasiruddin Shah's camp at Daulatabad after being routed by the imperialists PP. 481 to 497.
- XVIII. The Rebellion of Taghi at Gujrat P. 511.
- XIX. The Accession of Sultan 'Alauddin Bahman Shah in the Deccan.

1. As regards the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, 'Isami gives definitely as 724 H. F. S. P. 408.

ز تا ریخ بد هفصد و بست و چار - کم بر تخت بنشست آن شهر یار

Apparently it contradicts Barni who gives 725 H. and the coins also support 725 H. (vide J. A. S. B. Num's Supplement No. XXXV p. 132). In my opinion Barni and the coins give the date of coronation whereas 'Isami gives the date of exact accession to the throne. It may be that Ghiathuddin died in Dhilhijja 724 H. and the new king took forty days for mourning. Barni (p. 456) states that forty days were spent in mourning. Another authority which indirectly supports 'Isami is Ibn Batuta. He writes (p. 85) that Ghiathuddin reigned for four years or a little over. We know Ghiathuddin came to power on the 2nd Sha'ban 720 H. (vide Tughlaq Nama pp. 132 to 134), so his death must be assumed in Dhilhijja 724 A. H. which will amount to four years four months. Further Barni states that Muhammad reigned for 17 years. Muhammad died in Muharram 752 H. If we calculate back we get exactly this year.

I know this opinion of mine is at variance with another contemporary authority. I mean the incomplete autobiographical note (Photographic reprint published with Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain's rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq) of Muhammad bin Tughlaq where the Sultan gives four years and ten months as the period of his father's reign. If we accept that, then it will mean that Ghiathuddin died in Jamadi II 725 H. This would contradict Barni so far as his stated period of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign is concerned. That is, Muhammad reign cannot cover 17 years on the 21st Muharram 752 H.

II. About the conquest of Kalanur and Farashur other contemporary books are silent. It may have been a sort of raid. This took place in the beginning of the reign say in 725 or 726 H. is quite clear from the words of 'Isami (F. S. P. 410,

شنیدم در آغاز ملک ان خدیو — بفرمود تا سرفرازان نیو

... ..
بلاهور بعد از دوماه رسید — قضا اخترش رهگردون کشید
شنیدم که خود هم بلاهور ماند — سران سپر را بفر شور راند
بدان تا حدود دیار مغل — نهنگان هندی بتازند کل

III. About the rebellion of Bahauddin Gurshasp 'Isami clearly writes that it took place after two years of peaceful reign by the Sultan. Thus we can easily fix it up in 727 H. (F. S. P. 411).

چو ساله دو بگزشت ازین سرگزشت — مزاج شر از عدل واحسان بگشت
چنان بدگمان گشت بر خلق شهر — که شد نوشدارو مبدل بر زهر
... ..
چودر طبع خسرو بدید انقلاب — برافکند از روئے وحشت نقاب

IV. The conquest of Kandhiana has not been mentioned by any other contemporary authority. 'Isami definitely says that the campaign against Kandhiana began after a few months of Gurshasp's execution and the siege of Kandhiana Fort took eight months (F. S. P. 416,

چو بگزشت ازین ماجرا هشت ماه — برآمدز هند وزیر کنگره آه

If we assign at least six months⁽¹⁾ time which the king took to suppress the rebellion of Gurshasp, we come to the natural conclusion that Kandhiana Fort was conquered in the middle or latter part of 728 H.

V. 'Isami records that the news of Bahram Aiba's rebellion reached the Sultan first after the close of the campaign against Kandhiana (F. S. P. 418

چو در دولس آباد لشکر کشید — یکے هفتم از رنج راه آرמיד
... ..
که بهرام آیدم ز خسرو بگشت — وزوبانگ دهقان زفر قد گزشت

Thus we can fix this rebellion up definitely in 728 H. Simultaneously with this rebellion Bahadur Shah Bura rebelled and was executed by the royalists which is

1. F. S. P. 415 Gurshasp held out at Gumta for two months

مع یکدوانجاهی ریخت خون همی خواست شور از درون و برون

Then at Mahendrag he held out for one month.

دران در بیک ماه داند جنگ بر تیرو بر تیره و بخت و بسنگ

and then he crossed over to Dwarasamudra whe he was arrested and sent to the king. Before coming to Gumta and crossing the Goddawari he had already given battles to the Imperialists F. 414.

quite evident from Futu-us-Salatin. 'Isami while describing the success of the Sultan against Bahram Aiba and his death in a battle writes (P. 428

چوشم گشت فارغ از ان کاروبار — فرو شست غوغاء شهر و دیار

... ..

یکے روز پیکے ز بهرام خان — ز لکھنوتی آمد شمر شاد مان
بگفتا شہا بورہ بر گشتہ بود — بخون خاک لکھنوتی اغشتم بود

... ..

گرفتند اورا کشیدند پوست — کم دشمن غمین گردد و شاد دوست

All (2) the available coins of Bengal issued jointly by Ghiathuddin Bahadur Shah and Muhammad bin Tughlaq go only upto 728 H. (Nums. Suppl. J. A. S. B. No. XXXV pp. 152-53).

VI. As regards the transfer Delhi population to Daulatabad 'Isami writes that the king passed this order after his return to Delhi from Multan (F. S. pp. 428 to 429.) The head line runs

رسیدن سلطان محمد شاه (بن تغلق شاه بعد فتح کشلیخان در دہلی و شادی کردن
then writes.

چہل روز طبل طرب می زدند — دف و چنگ ہر روز و شب می زدند
آغاز ظلم سلطان محمد شاه (بن تغلق شاه و روان کردن خلق در دیوگیر

Again 'Isami (p. 441) fixes this event prior to the introduction of face-value currency. He alleges that the face value currency was introduced as a measure to harrass the people who inspite of migration to Daulatabad, showed signs of property after their settlement at Daulatabad.

چو بشنید از منہیان فساد — کم معمور شد باز ہر سو بلاد
بدل گفت کین خاق اسودہ حال — تلف می نگر دزد پستی مال

We shall shortly convince that the face value currency was issued in 730 H. If later part of 728 H. or early 729 H. be accepted as the date of the rebellion of Bahram Aiba and Ghiathuddin Bahadur Shah then we could conveniently fix up 729 H. as the date of forced migration of Delhi population to Daulatabad.

VII. As regards the introduction of a token currency we can definitely fix 730 H. as so far no currency is recovered which may have been coined prior to 730 H. All such coins begin from 730 H. (vide J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII of 1921 No. 1 P. 147 to 152 under heading forced currency). As already described 'Isami clearly states that it was issued after the people had been forced to migrate to Daulatabad. He alleges that the Sultan felt very uneasy at finding the people prosperous even after taking them to Daulatabad when everything has settled up at Daulatabad (F. S. P. 442

ہنوزند این طائفہ برقرار — بہ پستی اموال در ہر دیار

بفرمود شاه مغرب سیر — بخازن کہ تعویض برسیم وزر

بدان تاز سرسکہا نوزند — ہم مہر بر آہن و مس کنند

2. Thomas refers to a coin of 730 H issued by Ghiathuddin Bahadur Shah of Bengal. His reading is incorrect. I have re-read the photographic reprint as given in his chronicles of Pathan Kings on plate VI. Dr. N. K. Bhattachali and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad both agree with me that the unit seems to be *Thalath* which may be read as 713 or 723. I find Mr. Stapleton also holds the same view (J. A. S. B. 1922 P. 417).

VIII. The "forced currency" was withdrawn after three years (F. S. P. 442,

چوزان مهر ناخوش برآمد سه سال — هم خاک شد هر کجا بود مال
یکه روز فرمودان زر پرست — که کس مهر مس را نگیرد بدست

How wonderfully accurate is 'Isami can be judged from this fact that all available face value coins are found only about 730, 731 and 732 H. Thus Numismatic evidence thoroughly corroborates him (vide J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII of 1921 No. 1 pp. 147 to 152).

IX. As regards the invasion of Earma Shirin, the only contemporary record is that of 'Isami. Surely it did not take place after the arrival of Ibn Batuta (Muharram 734 H) as he would certainly have spoken of it in his account as an eye witness 'Isami further gives hints which help us in fixing an approximate date, when he writes that the Qarachal expedition was taken only a few months of rest, after the repulse of Tarma Shirin, (F. S. P.

چو رایات اعلیٰ بحضرت رسید — مه چند خلقه بشهر آرمید

... ..

بدل گفت ان شاه افاق سوز — که معمور است این شهر کشور هنوز
زاقصاء دهلی سبک بگزرد — سپهر را بکوه قراچل برد

we shall shortly discuss and convince that the Qarachal expedition took place in 734 H, to which Ibn Batuta was a witness, of course from Delhi. If so then we can conveniently fix 733 H. as the date of the invasion of Tarma Shirin (3).

X. Qarachal expedition. Decidedly this event took place when Ibn Batuta was in India (P. 159 and 160), so it must be concluded that it took place in or after Muharram 734 H, when Ibn Batuta came to India (p. 1), and before Jamadi II 735 H. when the Sultan left for Mabbar. As 'Isami (F. S. PP. 449 to 452) has stated in clear words that just when the Sultan was wrecking vengeance upon the fugitive soldiers of Qarachal campaign, Sayyid Jalal became independent in Mabbar.

XI. The Rebellions of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in Mabbar, Hushang in the Deccan, Halajun, Gulchandar and Shahu in Lahore. There is no difficulty in fixing the date of the rebellion in Mabbar. The coins of Jalaluddin Shah clearly give 735 H. (J. R. A. S. 1922 P. 344 and 1909 p. 673) and Ibn Batuta writes that the Sultan started against Mabbar in Jamadi I. He also corroborates 'Isami when he writes that Hushang rebelled when the Sultan had withdrawn to Daulatabad after epidemic in Tilangana (P. 1116 Urd. Tr). He further corroborates 'Isami (pp. 162 to 163 Urd. Tr.) that the task of crushing the rebellion of Halajun at Lahore fell upon Khajajehan as the Sultan was then at Daulatabad after withdrawing from Tilangana. Similarly corroborates Barni (p. 481 - Barni refers only to a *fitna* i.e. rebellion, at Lahore). Although Ibn Batuta refers only to the rebellion of Halajun, whereas

3. Ibn Batuta further on hearsay writes that Tarma Shirin had come to Multan after being defeated by Hasan at Ghazna. It is difficult to say when he was defeated at Ghazna. *Matla us Sadain*, though not contemporary, yet an early authority has different dates. The Ms. used by Lee (the translator of Ibn Batuta) had 732 H. If that be taken as correct then my theory is fully corroborated. But there are MSS. in British Museum and India Office libraries (as reported by Dr. Mahdi Husain) which are said to contain 726 H.

Barni speaks vaguely of a *fitna*, yet 'Isami distinctly records that Halajun, Gulchander and Shahu, all the three combined and revolted (F. S. p. 451,

شہیدم کرو ۛ زراہ غرور — چوشم راز لاہور دید ندور
چوشا پوپلا جون وگلچندرہم — بگشتند از شاہ دریا حشم

XII. The rebellion of Fakhruddin Shah in Bengal. 'Isami clearly mentions that it happened after the return of the Sultan from Daulatabad. (F.S.P. 452) Ibn

چوشم باحشم سربدہلی کشید — حشمت ازو باثلت کمتر رسید

یکے مرد کش فخر دین شد لقب — ہم لکھنوتی اوگرد شورو شغب
پس از نقل بہرام خان گزین — ہم آورد چڑے همان فخر دین

Batuta writes (P. 130 Urd. Tr.) that the Sultan returned from Daulatabad after two and half years. We already know that he went towards Mabarr in Jamadi I 735 hence his return would be in 737 H. Numismatic evidence supports it as there is coin of Fadrudin Shah dated 737 H. (E. Thomas P. 263 The chronicles of Pathan Kings).⁽⁴⁾

XIII. The Royal camp at *Sargadwari* and the rebellion of Ainul Mulk took place after the Sultan's return from Daulatabad there is no doubt about it. Ibn Batuta and Barni are very useful in helping the settlement of the dates of these events. Ibn Batuta writes (p. 138) that the Sultan stayed at *Sargadwari* for about two and half years. Barni (P. 492) writes that the Sultan removed his own name and substituted the name of the caliph on coins after his return from *Sargadwari*. Thomas (pp 259 to 260) points out that coins issued in 741 H. do not contain Sultan's name. They bear the caliph's name. The natural conclusion is that the Sultan returned from *Sargadwari* before 741 H. and if we subtract two and half years (the period of stay at *Sargadwari*) we easily get 738 H. It may be later part of 738 H. or in early 739 H. When Sultan went to *Sargadwari*.

As regards the rebellion of Ainul Mulk, Isami is fully corroborated by Ibn Batuta (p. 183) who records that Ainul Mulk rebelled when the king was camping at *Sargadwari*. Ibn Batuta himself was king's companion there. He further writes that the Sultan returned after about two and half years of Ainul Mulk's defeat. Thus we find that Ainul Mulk rebelled just at the beginning of the Sultan's camp life at *Sargadwari* i.e. 739 H.

XIV. As regards the rebellion of Shihabuddin Nusrat Khan Barni (PP 481 and 488) writes that the Sultan had leased out Bidar and its *iqtas* to him for one Crore silver tanka. He misappropriated the dues of three years and rebelled when the king was camping at *Sargadwari*. The calculation will easily give us 739 H. as in 726 H. Sultan was at Daulatabad when he settled Bidar with Shihabuddin. Moreover Barni (p. 426) writes that rebellion of Shihabuddin occurred when Sultan was camping at *Sargadwari*.

XV. As regards the rebellion of Ali Shah Natthu, Isami is corroborated in his order of events as Ibn Batuta (P. 185) gives the following heading after describing royal visit to Bahraich during camp life at *Sargadwari* "The return of the Sultan to the capital and the rebellion of Ali Shah *Kar*." Barni also includes this event as one of those events which took place during king's camp at *Sargadwari*. We can easily assign it early part of 741 H.

4. Blochmann has doubted its reading (J. A. S. B. 1873 P. 252) and suggested 738 H. His suggestion is not convincing.

XVI. As regards the retransfer to capital or permission to migrate back to Delhi and recall of Qutlugh Khan, there are clear hints in Isami. He writes that Delhi after being depopulated regained its former splendour only after a period of fourteen years (f.s. p. 444)

بدھلی بجز نام دھلی نماند — عادت سرا نرا با یر نجراند
برین جملہ تا چارہ سال راست — سعادت ازین ملک یکجہونکاست

If we accept 729 H as the date of forced migration from Delhi to Daulatabad, it is not difficult to find 742 H for this event. Then Isami writes that this order was passed after the rebellion of Ali Shah Natthu (F.S. p. 479)

چون زین داستان روزگارے گزشت — خزانے در آمد بہارے گزشت
... ..
بفرمان آن شاہ آفاق گیر — سوے خان قتلغ نبشتہ دیبر
کہ ہر کوہوا خواہ خسرو بود — بیاید کزاید و بدھلی رود

and Alap Khan who was entrusted this work could complete it in about two years and similarly Qutlukh Khan was relieved by his brother Malik Alam two years after the order (F. S. P. 480)

چوزین ماجرا یک دو سالے گزشت — اب خان بپا بوس شہ خاص گشت
ملک عالم آمد بفرمان شاہ — کہ خان را برادر بدان نیکخواہ
بگشت اختر سعد از دیو گیر — شدان خان قتلغ عزیمت پزیر

XVII. The rebellion of Qadi Jalal in Baroda and the rising in the Deccan took place beyond any doubt one after another. Isami is supported in toto by Ibn Batuta (pp 188-191) and Barni has settled the date. He writes (p. 509) that Aziz Khammar and Malik Muqbil were defeated by the rebels of Baroda in Ramadan 745 H. Then Ibn Batuta writes that Sultan was besieging Nasiruddin with whom Qadi Jalal had also taken shelter at Devagir Fort and this event took place during his presence in India (P. 191). Ibn Batuta left India in 743 H. but returned to Malabar by or before the 16th Shaaban (p. 329) and Bengal (pp 363 to 365) three months later. Then he left India for good in near about Dhilqad 1345 H. Thus we find that before Dhilqad Nasiruddin had declared his independence. Additional evidence is that so long no coin Muhammad bin Tughluq has been recovered which may belong to Daulatabad mint for later than 745 H. (Nums. Suppl. J. A. S. B. No: XXXV P. 142) XVIII. As regards the rebellion of Taghi in Gujrat both Isami (F. S. P. 511) and Barni (P. 516) record that the Sultan had to leave the siege of Devagir in the hands of Jauhar and Sartiz because of the rebellion of Taghi in Gujrat. Isami further writes (F. S. p. 511)

دوماہ شہ دھلی انجا بماند — بہر دم بسے خون مومن شاند

that the Sultan stayed at Daulatabad only for two months. Thus we can safely assume that Taghi revolted in closing months of 745 H or early 746 H.

XIX. As regards the accession of Allauddin Bahman Shah there is no difficulty in settling the date as Isami clearly records 24th Rabi II 748 H. (F. S. p. 525)

ز تاریخ چون ہفصد و چل گزشت — زیادت دگر بر چہل رفت ہشت
گزشتہ ربیع دوم بسٹ و چار — جہان گشتہ خرم ز فصل بہار

Apart from the above mentioned events there are certain important events of this reign about which Isami is silent. By the way it will be useful to reconstruct their chronology as well with the help of contemporary sources including Isami. These events are (a) preparation for the Khurasan expedition (b) transfer of the capital to Daulatabad and (c) the famine.

(a) As regards preparation for the expedition against Khresan luckily Mir Khurd clearly writes in *Siyarul Auliya* (p. 271) that the Sultan was sending people of Delhi to Devagir and meditating the conquest of Khurasan.

This definitely establishes that the Sultan planned this expedition in the year when he was sending people to Daulatabad. Moreover we read in the pages of Ibn Batuta (P. 457) that Khurasanians helped Bahram Aiba. It may be that the Sultan planned the invasion of their country just after the rebellion of Bahram Aiba. Thus we may fix early 729 H.

(b) As regards the transfer of the capital to Daulatabad, I am inclined to agree with Badauni (p.) who held that transfer of capital was effected first and the population of Delhi was ordered to migrate on another occasion. It is quiet likely that he did so after the rebellion of Gurshasp. I fix up middle or later part of 727 A.H. as date. In support of my fixation of this date are the coins. All coins belonging to Devagir and bearing such epithets as "قائم السلام" "حضرت" "تختگاه" go back to only 727 H (Vide J. A. S. B. Num. Suppl. XVII of 1921 No: 1 pp. 132-152) Moreover it cannot be before 727 H as Badarhach definitely mentioned Delhi as capital in the year 727 H. (Sharh-e-Qasa'd Badr-hach—Lucknow edition pp. 181-82. The Chronogram is 727 H—قائد خلوه).

(c) As regards the Famine; Ibn Batuta clearly writes that famine set in first after the King had left the capital for Mabbar in order to proceed against Jalaluddin Ahsau Shah (p. 194). At another place he writes (p. 226) that he (Ibn Batuta) did excellent famine relief work as *Mutwalli* of the Masauleum of Qutubuddin and this fact when reported to the Sultan after his retreat to Daulatabad met with approbation. Then on (p. 170) he writes that the Sultan moved to the bank of the Ganges (*Sargadwari*) when the scarcity took a very severe turn. Then on (138) he writes that Sultan stayed at *Sargadwari* for about two and half years. Thus there remains no doubt that the scarcity began in 735 H., took a serious turn in 738 H. and persisted till 740 H.

I may add here that even if we take 725 H. and not 724 H. as the date of the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, my contention that *Futuhus Salatin* records events in the chronological order, is not affected in the least.

A MISSING LINK OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY

Dr. Mahdi Husain (Agra)

Of all the Arab geographers and historians, I have had from my school days a special liking for Ibn Battuta, partly because of his extremely interesting personality, and versatile talents as a scholar, theologian, adventurer, warrior, sailor, traveller, pilgrim, botanist, politician, poet, journalist, historian, geographer, jurist, ascetic, devotee and pleasure-seeker, and partly because of his remarkable contributions to the history of Mediaeval India. On my visit to Europe (1933) I seized the earliest opportunity to go to Paris and study the autograph of Ibn Juzayy, the famous editor

of the *Rihla* in the *Bibliothèque National* in Paris. There I studied and collated the various manuscripts of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla*.

This had not been done since the publication of Defremery and Sanguinetti's work, nor had their printed Arabic text been checked. In his *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Battuta durch Indian und China*, Dr. Hans Von Mzik, the German translator of the *Rihla* says, "This translation of Ibn Battuta's work is based on the Arabic text of Defremery and Sanguinette. The translator often had grave doubts regarding certain passages which would have required reference to at present inaccessible original manuscripts and of which the reading were only very rarely adequate".

I have checked the Arabic text of the French editors, and have carefully studied their translation of the Arabic into French. I have further produced an original translation of *Rihla* into English.

ZIAUDDIN BARNI

BY

Syed Moinul Haq, M.A., Lecturer, Muslim University, (Aligarh)

Summary

Khwaja Ziauddin Barei is not only the first Indian historian of Muslim India but one of the most eminent and trustworthy writers of his age. He is the author of several historical and biographical works, but his fame rests mainly on the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* which deals with the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century and is undoubtedly the best authority for this period. It is a pity that none of our medieval writers has given a detailed account of either the life or the works of Barni, although most of them have utilized his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* as their main source book. Among his contemporaries Amir Khurd, the author of *Seirul Aulia*, is almost the only writer who has cared to give a brief account of his works and attainments. Some later writers mention Barni as a distinguished historian but do not give any details of his life and activities. For his biography, therefore, one has to depend mainly on the meagre references that he casually makes about himself or his family.

Barni's date of birth is not mentioned anywhere, but it is almost certain that he must have been born in or about 684 A.H., as he was according to his own statement, seventy four years old in 758 A.H. He belonged to a respectable family* and seems to have prosecuted his studies under the guidance of some of the most eminent scholars of the time.

The thirteenth century was a period of great commotion in the east. The Mongol eruptions had begun and Muslim States of Central Asia and Persia were falling before them, one after the other. In 1258 even Baghdad, the nerve-centre of the Islamic world was captured by Hulagu Khan. Of the few Muslim States which escaped defeat and destruction was the Sultanate of Delhi. Culturally Delhi had gained because it offered protection to those bands of scholars, saints, statesmen and princes who were

* Barni's maternal grandfather held the office of *Vakil-i-dar* in the time of Balban. His father had the title of *Moyyadul Mulk*, and his uncle, *Alaul Mulk*, and is addressed as *Wazir* and *Wazir-zada* by Sultan Alauddin.

compelled to leave their homes and seek refuge in this country. Barni was therefore not guilty of exaggeration when he said that one could not find in Bokhara or Samarkand, Baghdad or Egypt, Khwarazm or Damascus scholars of such repute and ability as could be seen in India.

Besides the political and intellectual activity caused by the Mongol raids Barni's age witnessed radical changes in the religious and social life of the country. These were mostly due to the missionary labours of the Muslim Sufis, especially those of the Chishti order. The Turkish Sultans and statesmen of Delhi did not possess the missionary zeal of the early heroes of Islam, and in spite of the strong hold of religion on many of them, they never included religious propaganda within the scope of their administrative policy. "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*" was never recognized as a fundamental principle of statesmanship in Muslim India. Nevertheless the Sufis more than made up this deficiency and their silent but steady work soon created a Muslim population in the country, which naturally became the main prop of the Sultanate and kept on growing in strength and size with its expansion. One of the most prominent *sheikhs* of the period was Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, the spiritual guide of Barni and some of his dearest friends.

It was thus in an atmosphere of religious and intellectual activity that Barni was brought up, and he fully represented the spirit of the age in his character and ideology. With him religion was the very essence of life and his love for history which according to him, is the finest branch of knowledge after *tafsir*, *hadis*, *fiqh*, and *tarikat-i-mushtak*, was undoubtedly to a great extent due to the fact that it deals with the annals and achievements of prophets, Caliphs, Sultans, and leading personalities of religion and State. The study of history as a regular science had begun in India after the advent of the Mussalmans, but by the time that Barni wrote his book it had become quite popular, at least in the upper classes.

Barni's excellent book (the *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*) begins with a long introduction in which he deals with the advantages of the study of history. Compared to the modern scope of history Barni's conception of this branch of learning is undoubtedly narrow, but a careful analysis of his views will clearly indicate that he lived in an age which fully recognized its utility. He enumerates its advantages and beauties thus: (1) The Divine Scriptures deal with the affairs of the prophets who are best of human beings and are full with the annals of kings: this is history (2) History is indispensably connected with *hadis*. (3) History makes men wise and enables them to profit by the experiences of others. (4) The knowledge of past history gives the kings and statesmen firmness and stability in the face of dangers and misfortunes. (5) The knowledge of the annals of the prophets and their perseverance and submission to the will of God in bearing hardships foster and encourage the virtues of patience and perseverance among the followers of Islam. (6) It enables the kings and statesmen to become acquainted with the good deeds of the virtuous and the wicked actions of tyrants and thus makes it possible for them to follow the path of goodness and avoid the example of the evil doers. (7) Truth is indispensable for history and is its foundation. He lays great stress on truthfulness and points out how "falseness is condemnable, particularly in the case of a historian, because he can do incalculable mischief by misleading the statesmen and kings through his misrepresentation of facts."

It is evident from his book that Barni is very fond of generalizing and forming on the basis of past history a code of political and administrative principles for the guidance of kings and statesmen. The advantages of this tendency are unquestionable, but it has made him rather indifferent to the accuracy and richness of details as well as the systematic and chronological arrangements of facts and events. The climax is reached when he begins his chapters on Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq for whose personal attainments he had a great regard, although he failed to appreciate his policy. He admits his deficiency sub-consciously when he says that he would confine himself to the discussions of the general principles of his policy and administration because a detailed account of his conquests and expeditions would cover volumes.* Consequently his treatment of the subject is not that of a scholar who collects, compares and weighs the available data before accepting it for his argument and conclusions. On the contrary he gathers information from persons, like his father and uncle, who are not only eye-witnesses of the events concerned but were also well-known for their honesty and truthfulness, or from books whose authors were trustworthy and reliable men. This does not mean that Barni does not care at all for details and is satisfied with a cursory and superficial account of the period; indeed sometimes he enters into the minutest details when he feels it is unavoidable. The manner and language, for instance in which he reproduces Balban's instructions to his sons clearly demonstrates his anxiety to lay down the principles of government which a prince was expected to know as well as his mastery over details.**

Undoubtedly, like most of the medieval historians of this country, Barni appears to be a biographer of prominent personalities rather than a historian of the Indian people. Partially this is true, for we do not find in his book a systematic account of the development of the various phases of culture and civilization, nor a discussion of the social and economic problems of the day with the accuracy and thoroughness of a critical historian. But it is equally true that among the medieval historian there are few who surpass him in making a comprehensive survey of the manifold problems connected with the political life of the country. In a sense he touches all sides of human activity and supplies interesting and useful information about his period. He would not devote a separate chapter to the development of art and literature, but would certainly give us an idea of this aspect of life by mentioning the constructions of great buildings, gardens and canals and praising the scholarship and genius of contemporary scholars and poets. Similarly he does not devote even a limited space in his book to the social conditions of the country but certainly throws some light on them in describing the activities of the leading Sufis or in criticizing the policy of the government.

Thus Barni can claim superiority to many a historian of the Middle Ages in having made the scope of his book wider and more comprehensive as well as in his fearlessness in expressing the truth and condemning the actions of great men when necessary, and for a contemporary writer this is no mean virtue. His style is extremely simple and remarkably free from unnecessary exaggerations and embellishments. Sometimes he indulges in needless repetitions, but he is not guilty of concealing the drawbacks of great men by artificial expressions and

* Barni's *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*. Calcutta ed. pp. 467-68.

** Ibid. pp. 69-80; 95-106.

phrases or over-drawn metaphors and similes. These virtues give him a most prominent place in the long list of medieval historians of India.

A PEEP INTO THE DELHI COURT DURING THE REIGN

OF SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH

BY

N. B. Roy, Mymansingh

On the upper reaches of the Jumna, above the clay lands, stands the city of Delhi in the midst of an expanse of barren country. Famed as the seat of the Kuru Kings of the mythic past of India, it emerged into the light of history under the Tomaras, and eclipsed Kanauj, the imperial capital of Northern India in the 12th century. After the conquest of the Gangetic valley, the Turkish Sultans made Delhi the seat of their power and it became forthwith the metropolitan city and the capital of Northern India. Influenced by the tradition of the Sassanide kings of Persia, the Turkish Sultans built stately edifices and palaces for their residence, spacious mosques with high minarets for halls of worship. Many of the Turkish Warlores sought to leave abiding monuments of their power and greatness by building new cities. The hoarded wealth of Ghiyathuddin Balban enabled his grandson Muizuddin Kaiqubad to build a lovely retreat at Kilughari on the bank of the Jumna which grew into a new town (Nau Shahar) under Jalaludding Firuz Khalji.⁽¹⁾ The great conqueror Alauddin Muhammad Khalji left the traces of his glorious rule in the new town of Siri. Ghiyathudding Tughluq Shah, again, held his court in a new city which came to bear the name of Tughluqabad. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq trumpeted his name by building the town of Jahanpanah (world asylum). Sultan Firuz tore himself away from the faded grandeur of old Delhi, Siri, Tughluqabad and the association of Jahanpanah which had left such woeful memories behind and chose a beautiful spot on the bank of the Jumna at a distance of about ten miles from old Delhi for his residence.⁽²⁾

A vast palace befitting the splendour of the richest monarch of Asia was designed by the royal architects and the cheap labour of downtrodden millions was utilized for building monumental piles. The nobles who basked in the royal favour built their residences round the royal palace and a new city grew up on the bank of the Jumna. It became a populous town, and a busy hive of industry crowded with shops and inns, mosques and minarets. Eight cathedral mosques, of vast dimensions were built in this city bearing different names 1. Masjid-i-khas, 2. Masjid-i-khanjehan. 3. Masjid at Jainagar gate 4. Masjid-i-Naib barbak 5. Masjid-i-Malik Bahar Shahanhnathi, 6. Masjid-i-Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk, 7. Masjid-i-Juma al kushk-i-Shikar, 8. Masjid-i-Indrapat. These Mosques were so stately that each of them could accomodate ten thousand worshippers.⁽³⁾ The illustrious city with its sprawling suburbs over seventeen hamlets was connected by broad roads with old capitals so that a continuous stream of pedestrians, bullock carts and visitors riding on camel and horse poured in and out of the city. The entire way from old Delhi to the new town was flanked

1. Diya Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 176.

2. Aff. " " " " " " " " 117. 134-136.

3. Ibid, p. 135.

with houres and inns here and there, and regular services of carts, camels and horses shuttled daily between the two places at fixed hours and scheduled rates. The fare of a cart was four jitals, of camel six, of horse eight, and of a palanquin twelve jitals.⁽¹⁾

The rude hand of time has wrought desolation upon the noble city which is market at present by only a few tumbledown structures. The casual and brief description of Afif, chronicler of the reign of Sultan Firuz regarding the court and the festivities which were held there affords us a glimpse into the grandeur of the court of Delhi towards the middle of the 14th century A.D. Its vastness may be gauged from the fact that forty thousand people kept guard over the palace⁽²⁾ which was a maze of rooms and corridors skirting seven court-yards.⁽³⁾ There were three audience-halls, one Mahal-i-Chacha-i-chubin, محل چچہ چوبین which was intended for the secret counsels of the Sultan with the highest dignitaries of the state and may be said to correspond roughly to the Privy Council; the other محل داکہ Maha-i-Dakha or محل انگور Mahal-i-Angur served as the gathering place of the nobles, divines and the scholars (Ahal-i-qalam), محل قام was the counterpart of the Dewan-i-khas of the Mughals; the third Mahal-i-bar-i-am or Sahan-i-Miyanegi was the hall intended for public Durbar and corresponded to the Dewan-i-am of the Mughals.⁽⁴⁾ Each of these halls was large and commodious; the Privy Council chamber alone accommodated thousands of musicians, singers and courtiers. Inside the audience hall, the throne was placed on a dais draped with white cloth and the Sultan resplendent in a scarlet and purple robe used to seat cross-legged on it with one cushion behind him and two others serving as his arm rest on the right and left. Beside the Sultan stood a grand dignitary with a fly-whisk to fan away the flies.⁽⁵⁾

Sultan Firuz observed an elaborate process of court ceremony. After he had taken his seat on the throne, the surgeants-at-arms (serapardaharan) attended by their subordinates presented themselves before the throne, and besought the royal command for ushering in the courtiers for audience. First of all the Chamberlains were shown in; they were followed by the swordsmen bearing glittering shields of gold and silver, next followed in succession the distinguished officials in order of precedence. The Head of the Intelligence Department (Diwan-i-Risalat دیوان رسالت) with his subordinates accompanied by the highest officials of the Department of Justice, دیوان قضا entered the audience hall in a long procession. They were followed by the Wazir (the Chancellor of the exchequer) with the subordinate officials of his department; in their wake came the muster-master and the officials of the Department Diwan-i-ard, دیوان اراض attended by the chiefs of the police. They rendered homage by bending low and touching the ground with their hand and took their allotted seats either to the right or to the left of the hall. The princes and the members of the royal family decked in their gaudy robes stood behind the throne. The chief pillars of the state, the Wazir Khanjehan, Amir

1. Ibid. p. 136.

2. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 270.

3. Ibid. p. 361.

4. Ibid. pp. 277-278.

5. Ibn Batuta - *Travels in Asia and Africa* by H. A. R. Gibb, p. 199. This was the practice during the time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and probably continued under Sultan Firuz.

Muazzam, Amir Ahmad Iqbal and Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk, Amir Husain Amir-i-Miran, the deputy wazir took their seats near the throne on the right side, the wazir sat at the immediate right of the Sultan, while Amir Ahmad Iqbal sat behind the wazir on a slightly raised seat. Behind this row a costly piece of cloth was spread in two folds at the head of which sat Qadi Sadr-i-Jehan, below him Banhbanah and Mangli Khan Aghli. To the immediate left of the throne a considerable space was left vacant beyond which on a piece of precious cloth spread in two folds sat Zafar Khan, son of Zafar Khan of Sonargaon. Next to him sat in succession Ahmad Khan and Anirudhha,⁽¹⁾ Azam Khan Khorasani, of them Anirudhha enjoyed the honour of having two umbrellas. At their back sat Rai Madar Deo, Rai Sabir, and Rawat Udharan.⁽²⁾ Behind them Iktadars and the lesser officials remained standing at their respective seats.⁽³⁾

The rules of etiquette and demeanour for the visitors to the Darbar were punctiliously observed. As early as the reign of Sultan Ghyathuddin Balban nobody was granted admittance into the state banquets and gatherings without a cap, stockings, vest (ekta) and a coat (barani). Nor could the decorum of the court be allowed to be ruffled by outbursts of laughter. Balban himself put on grave airs for discouraging all lapses into levity and would not deign to give audience to low-ranked officials like the superintendent of markets.⁽⁴⁾

During the reign of Sultan Firuz the same austere dignity of the court was maintained. He never summoned anybody into his presence nor broke his stern demeanour by holding converse with anybody except through the medium of Wazir, and the royal ears were always inclined towards the wazir to catch his side-whispers.⁽⁵⁾ Every body, high and low, had to offer three salms which were ceremoniously executed touching the ground with the head. The first salute was offered at the threshold of the audience-hall where the Chamberlain was posted. On advancing farther the second salute had to be made, on approaching still closer to the throne, the suppliant was beckoned by the Sultan to take his seat, when the final salam was offered. Silk costumes were in vogue in the court, the long tunic was banned; the use of conical cap, stockings and hair-net was obligatory and nobody was granted admittance into the audience-hall without them, except those who wore the royal presents of gold-embroidered robes, a white girdle, a gold buckle and a cap resembling that of the barbak⁽⁶⁾ (Master of the ceremonies). On every Friday the court was the scene of merriment and gaiety; scores of musicians and singers, wrestlers and story-tellers streamed into Firuzabad from the four old cities of Delhi on every Friday afternoon. They mustered two to three thousand strong in the mahal i-chacha-i-chubin where the Sultan used to sit on that day and entertained the audience. First all the singers and musicians regaled the royal ears by the sweet discourse of music, then came the turn of boxers and gymnasts whose feats naturally excited the audience, the entertainment was closed by the recitation of the story-tellers who threw

1. The word in the text is **اننى رتهو** -

2. The word in the text is **ادهرن** -

3. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 278-281.

4. Diya Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 31-34.

5. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 282-283.

6. Ibid, p. 282.

gathering into raptures by the locution of their tongue and the charm of the narration.⁽¹⁾

The splendour of the royal court was exemplified in the celebration of the Ids and the Shab-i-barat. On the former occasions the vast royal palace with all its seven spacious yards was gaily decorated with the foliage of the mango trees. The Sultan used to sit in the public assembly hall, (Mahal-i-bar-i-am) while a large pavilion was erected in the spacious courtyard in front of the audience hall for the accomodation of the public. This pavilion was borderd on two sides by rows of artificial and natural plants of variegated colours supported on tripods. They countless in number, being made of silk, of clean white cloth, of wax and satin. This forest of plants with hanging tufts of flowers turned the sides of the pavilion into picturesque arbours. The walls of the pavilion were draped with silk screen and the entire quadrangle was covered with a beautiful cloth, where the royal guests were entertained with fruits and betels.

As the hour of breakfast approached the Sultan arrived at the audience-hall and took his seat on the throne. Thereupon the gaurds with their glittering swords, golden and silvery shields were filed into the audience hall; they were followed by twenty one magnificent umbrellas of which one was held over the royal head; the remaining twenty were uplifted in equal number on both sides of the throne. These umbrellas were made of various hues, green, white, black, red; some were made of silk and embroidered with gold, others of wax crimsan in colour.

Next the armorial bearing (Nishanha-i-Maratib) were carried into the audience-hall. then about one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy pennons designed like butter flies were born into the hall by the officers of the depository of flags (Alamkhana) and kept in front of the throne. They were set with diamonds and fluttered in the breez before the throne; the military flags and buntings were forbidden in the court on these occasions. These butter-fly shaped flags were followed by the horses of the royal stables furnished with glittering saddles and elephants beautifully caparisoned with golden howdahs, silvery trappings. These mighty creatures crouched before the royal presence and after tendering homage, trumpeted forth their good wishes to the Sultan. They were then dispersed and ranged in two rows to the right and left side of the hall. Next the falcons were brought into the audience hall by the officials in charge of them. Finally came the singers and musicians attired in ochre robes and crimson turbans. They were accompanied by dancing girls, every one of them was most brilliantly decked with ornaments worth forty lacs of rupees. It is not stated if necklaces of gold and gems, wrist bands and armlets of rubies and pearls adorned these radiant paragons of beauty but they wore on their persons ornaments valued at two scores of lacs. When this bevy of beauties flashing with gold and gems spun and swayed and glided with a whirl of skirts and graceful undulations of body, they seemed to shed the glamour of Arabian Nights in the Sultan's court. After the complete paraphernalia of royal equipage entered the audience hall, the musicians attuned their instruments and with the first strains of music the highest officials and the dignitaries were let into the hall in order of precedence. The music and

dancing continued for sometime⁽¹⁾ enthralling and delighting the aristocracy of the Durbar. When one watch of the day had passed, the amusements were suspended, and the Sultan left the audience hall for congregational prayer. He used to mount either an elephant or a royal charger and proceeded in state to the Idgah (place of prayer) headed his son Tughluq Shah. Two royal umbrellas glittered as this procession moved on, one was held over the head of Sultan and the other over that of Tughluq Shah. After the prayer the royal cavalcade returned to the palace, when the Sultan received the offerings of the nobility and distributed rewards to them in exchange. Fruits dry and green which were piled up in the yard were served out amongst the nobility and the gentry.⁽²⁾

Similarly grand festivities marked the celebration of the Shab-i-barat on which occasion four temporary structures (Alang) were erected in the neighbourhood of Kushk-i-Nujul under the names of Alang-i-Khas, Alang-i-Malik Naib Barbak, Alang-i-Malik Ali, and Alang-i-Malik Yaqub; the members of the royal family and the aristocracy of the capital visited the Kushk-i-Nujul on this occasion and watched the spectacular display of fireworks made at each of the alangs, thirty ass-loads of drums, trumpets and other musical instruments were mustered at each of the alangs and during the three days of the festival of Shab-i-barat (13th, 14th and 15th of the Shaban) these drums and trumpets blared and made a terrific din. On each of these three nights so many lights and torches were kindled that the entire Kushk-i-Nujul and the adjoining place was illuminated like broad day-light, boat race was hold on the Jumna on this occaasion⁽³⁾ and the fashionable society of the day glided in the boats decorated with lights and torches down the waters of the Jumna. Most impressive was the display of the fire works in the royal palace. Rockets were discharged which hissed up into the air showering fragrant ribbons and garlands of flame. The officers of the elephant and camel stables amused the Sultan by presenting the dummy beasts of clay and were sumptuously rewarded. For three successive days the stillness of the bank of the Jumna was broken by the (ra-ta-tat) of fire works, the roar of trumpets and the uproarious mirth of the multitudes who thronged from far and near to behold this wondrous spectacle.⁽⁴⁾

"AHOM KINGSHIP"

BY

Mr. S. C. Rajakhowa, Gauhati.

The growth of the Ahom power was the result of circumstances rather than of any set plan. Sukapaha and his followers were unconscious that their descendants were destined to bring the whole Brahmaputra valley under their sway. The form of Government which gradually evolved was similarly dictated by exigencies as they arose. It is futile, therefore, to attempt any scientific discussion of political theory. As in ancient India⁽⁵⁾

1. An account of the amorous glances and movements of these dancing girls, as the tripped and whirled is given in a Diya Barni, p. 200.

2. Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 361-364.

3. Alang became changed into Arang in Bengali and dreant expressly those places where boats were mustered in rows for race Mymensingh Ballads, Ed. by D. C. Sen, 1923, p. 347.

4. AFG, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shah, op. cit. pp. 365-366.

5. Beniprasad, theory of God in Ancient India p. 8.

and among the Mughals⁽¹⁾ no clear concept of the state emerged among the Ahoms; and, as the Government was always monarchical the term 'King' was really synonymous with Government or state.

The system of Government in its fully developed stage were partly monarchical, partly aristocratic. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan describes it as a monarchical, oligarchy⁽²⁾. But as the monarchical element was preponderant it is better to call it an oligarchical monarchy. The aristocratic element was represented by the principal officials chosen from a hereditary nobility. The origin of the monarchy must be treated back to the political practices that obtained among the people of the Tai race of which the Ahoms formed a tribe. Since the first century B.C. the originally nomadic Tai began to move southwards in Southern China and establish independent states which were simple patriarchal monarchies⁽³⁾. The tradition of monarchy which the Ahoms inherited from their ancestors was further strengthened by the fact of conquest. The very fact, that the people were of necessity primarily organised for warfare, promoted monarchy rather than other forms of Government.

Kingship though confined to royal blood was elective. The three principal councillors of state called the 'Dangarias' selected the king from among the various princely families that sprang from their common ancestor Sukapha. The king succeeded to the throne not by right of birth but by the will of the principal councillors who elected him. The Ahom monarchy resembled a trust rather than family possession. Generally, the succession was limited to the males but there was no bar to females succeeding to the throne. We have in fact two instances of reigning queens.

As the councillors were appointed and could be dismissed by the king it appears strange that the power of selecting the latter were vested in them. The history of ancient or medieval India does not furnish us with instances of councillors or ministers selecting a king. The only instances is that of Harshavardhana of Kanauj who was placed on the throne by the Prime Minister Bhandi with the concurrence of the council of ministers and the approval of the people. But Harsha's case is an exception necessitated by abnormal circumstances. Yet this remarkable practice was not of Ahom origin. In ancient Combodia according to Leclere, were the crown was hereditary in the royal family but without order of Primogeniture in sex or parontage, on the death of a king his successor was elected from among the royal family of high officials.⁽⁴⁾ When a king by his tyranny or negligence forfeits his claim to rule it lay within the powers of the councillors to depose him in consultation with other big officers of the state.⁽⁵⁾

Gait doubts as to whether the three 'Dangarias' had any constitutional power to depose a king. He is even inclined to believe their election of the king as a purely formal affair.⁽⁶⁾ It is true the principle of nomination was not unknown to the Ahoms. The deceased king used to nominate before his death one of his sons or brothers as his successor to the throne

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1. Khosla, Mughal Kingship and Nobility, p. 10.
 2. S. K. Bhuyan, Tungkhungia Buranji p. XXVIII.
 3. H. G. Q. Wales Ancient Siamese Government and Admsnistration p. 14.
 4. Qoted in H. G. Q. Wales op. cit. p. 20.
 5. Buranji Bibekratna M. S.
 6. E. A. Gait, A History of Assam p. 2, 30.

and more often than ~~not~~, his dying wishes were respected by the 'Dangarias'. But if the nominee was considered unfit, nothing precluded them from setting his claims aside and putting a better man on the throne. In view of the several instances recorded in Ahom chronicles of the 'Dangarias' electing and deposing a sovereign, not to speak of the persistent tradition in the country attributing these powers to them, it is difficult to entertain any doubt on the matter. Moreover in a country where law does not give exclusive succession to honours and estates to one son, royal succession would have been a constant source of disturbance unless there were some institutions to regulate it. The fact that the history of the Ahoms is comparatively free from the wars of succession, and rebellions of the grown up princes which disfigure the whole course of Muslim history is a sufficient proof of there being some agency to regulate royal succession among the Ahoms.

That the principal councillors of the Ahom state possessed such wide powers need not surprise us. The councillors were appointed by the King from the families that sprang from the principal nobles who accompanied Sukapha in his tollsome march across the Patkai and shared his wars of conquest. As the representatives of the nobility, the Dangaries formed what can be compared to an assembly of Elders. It is interesting to note that the word 'Dangaria' which was used to denote the councillors means an elder. In the early stage of Ahom monarchy when the king was more a military chieftain than a territorial ruler, and when the tie of kinship and personal relationship between the leader and the followers was very strong, the assembly of councillors really wielded enormous powers. They were in fact regarded as the depository of sovereign powers in the absence of a king. During the interregnum from 1376 A.D.—1380 A.D. and again from 1389 A.D.—1397 A.D. sovereign powers were actually exercised by them.⁽¹⁾ From all these it will not be unreasonable to conclude that as in ancient Rome,⁽²⁾ so among the Ahoms at the death of a king, his sovereignty passed into the hands of the council of Elders.

But as the state grew in size, the nature of kingship underwent a change, with their sway extending at the expense of the chutiyas and kacharis, the Ahoms found themselves masters of extensive territories along the valley of the Brahmaputra, and their king who was originally leader of a band of adventurers was fast becoming a territorial ruler. The crude system of Ahom tribal monarchy, became inadequate to cope with ever-increasing responsibility, and we find Hindus and Muslims ideas of Government slowly influencing the Ahom polity. This influence was clearly visible in the change in the status of the Assembly of Councillors. It tended to lose its original character of an assembly of Elders and was being reduced to an assembly of king's Ministers. Nevertheless, the 'Dangarias' still continued to claim the sovereign powers of making and unmaking a king, though in the last two centuries of Ahom rule their claim came to be occasionally disputed by other big officers of state such as the Bonbarua and the Borphukon.

Kingship was limited though it tended it to be absolute as the state grew. All important matters had to be decided by the king in concurrence with the Assembly of Councillors. The king was bound by a coronation

1. E. A. Gait op. cit. 79.

2. M. Cary, A History of Rome, p. 56.

oath to abide by the advice of the 'Dangaria'.⁽¹⁾ The well-established customs of the country provided another check on the arbitrary use of powers by the king. At the death or deposition of a king, it was the practice with the Ahom ministers to bring the heir apparent to the Assembly Hall and to make him formally acquainted with the fundamental principles which should guide his activities as a ruler, and to make him definitely understand that his failure to observe the customs might lead to worst consequences.⁽²⁾ The extent to which these unwritten laws of the constitution were observed depended on the character, personal influence of the king on the one hand, and those of great councillors on the other. As the great councillors owed their position to the king and enjoyed it during his pleasure it is only too natural that they were powerless against a strong king like Gadadhar Singh or Rudra Singha, who followed their own wishes almost unhampered. The position was not very much unlike that in Saxon England where the Witanegemat served as a real check to despotism, but not when a masterful personality was at the helm of affairs.

But the parallel between the Ahom council and the Witan cannot be pushed very far. The Ahom councillors were also great military hords. At the early stage, the king was absolutely dependent for his success in war on the contingents that these nobles would supply. The military necessities of the king made the powers of the 'Dangarias' very real. It was only when with the growth of the state the personal influence of the king increased and new officers with military duties appointed that the king was able to free himself partially from the over powering control of the Dangarias.

The Ahom officials designations of the Borgohain, Buragohain and the Borpatra-gohain, the three principal councillors were respectively chaothaolung i.e., great old God, chasphrangmung i.e., God of the wide country and Chaoseng-lung i.e., great holy God.⁽³⁾ Thus every designation was associated with Divinity. Such association would be meaningless if corresponding exalted powers and status were not conferred. That the early Dangarias occupied a very exalted position and enjoyed powers commensurate to that position is born out by the fact that they were allowed the same insignia as the king in the Royal court. The story is told that a foreign ambassador visiting the king's court failed to distinguish the monarch from the Dangarias. At this the latter in response to the king's desire forwent the privileges of the raised seat in the court chamber, the white 'Aroan' (a flat round bamboo screen covered with cloth and held over a king as a sign of honour) the white chamber and the spittoon.⁽⁴⁾ This legend possibly contains a kernel of historical truth and explains the loss of powers by the Dangarias with the increase of kingly powers. The allusion to a foreign ambassador in the story may have some reference to foreign ideas that were gradually creeping into the kingdom.

The Ahom kings claimed divine descent. According to the Deodhais, the Ahom priests Sukapah the founder of the Ahom kingdom in Assam was a descendant of Khunlung, who at the orders of his grandfather

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1. Buranji Bibekratna op. cit.
 2. Buranji Bibekratna.
 3. E. A. Gait op. cit. p. 20.
 4. Buranji Bibekratna op. cit.

Lengden (Indra) had descended to earth and established a kingdom.⁽¹⁾ According to the Brahmanical tradition which was invented obviously to induce the new comers to enter the fold of Hinduism, Indra had a son by a low caste woman, who had many children of whom Khunlung was the eldest. The king was addressed Swargadeo i.e., God of heaven which is a literal translation of Ahom Chao-pha.⁽²⁾ The tribal names of most of the Ahom Kings ended in pha in heaven. The person of the monarch was considered very sacred and any deformity in the body even the slightest scar or blemish was a bar to succession. Not only was the king a descendant of Indra but a consecrated king attained the very essence of Indra.⁽³⁾ His divine origin did not make the Ahom king irresponsible. It did not give him "the right divine to rule wrong." As in ancient India⁽⁴⁾ it was only the righteous king who was regarded as divine.

Divine kingship is always associated with pompous Royal ceremonies. Among the Ahoms the most important was the one on the occasion of a king's coronation.

"The ceremony was a very elaborate one. The king, wearing the Somdeo, or image of his tutelary deity, and carrying in his hand the Hengdan or ancestral sword, proceeded on a female elephant to Charaideo, where he planted a pipul tree. He next entered the Patgarh, where the presiding priest poured a libation of water over him and his chief queen, after which the royal couple took their seats in the Holongghar, or a bamboo platform, under which were placed a man and specimen of every procurable animal, consecrated water was poured over the royal couple and fell on the animals below. Then having been bathed, they entered the Singharighar and took their seats on a throne of gold and the leading nobles came up and offered their presents. New money was coined, and gratuities were given to principal officers of state and to religious mendicants. During the next thirty days the various tributary Rajas and state officials who had not been present in the installation were expected to come and do homage and tender their presents to the new king. Before the reign of Rudra Singh, it had been the custom for the new king, before entering the Siring ghar, to kill a man with his ancestral sword, but that monarch caused a buffalo to be substituted, and the example thus set was followed by his successors".⁽⁵⁾

When a king was consecrated he attained the essence of Indra. The king's killing the buffalo with his Hengdon was symbolical of Indra's wielding his unfailing Thunderbolt.

The coronation ceremony had its constitutional significance. Neither Gait nor Francis Hamilton makes any mention of a coronation oath. But the Buranji Bibekratna which contains a very detailed account of the ceremony, says that on the seventh day of the king's installation Chungdeo the titular deity was worshipped in a magnificent manner and at the end of the religious rites the king, in the presence of the deity had to make a solemn promise to rule according to the advice of the Dangarias. In

1. E. A. Gait op. cit. pp. 71-73.

2. E. A. Gait op. cit. p. 240.

3. Buranji Bibekratna.

4. P. N. Surjee, Public Administration in Ancient India p. 71.

5. E. A. Gait op. cit.

theory, a king not duly consecrated, did not possess full sovereignty. He could not strike coin, sit on the throne or hold the sceptre and the white umbrella. But as the ceremony was a very costly affair it could not be held immediately after the accession of a king. In some reigns due to scarcity or foreign wars it was not held at all. In practice, therefore, a king used to exercise most of his powers even before coronation. Once consecrated he was the head of all affairs both civil and military.

THE IMPERIAL MAJLISES IN THE EARLY SULTANATE PERIOD

BY

Dr. Mohd. Aziz Ahmad, Aligarh.

A strong family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic States. The Central Government of India in these days was modelled on the lines of the monarchies of Persia and Roman conceptions of government and law.

The Sultan was the final executive authority for all State-affairs. Yet, in obedience to the time-honoured custom, he summoned a council of chosen officers (*Majlis-i-Khas*) to discuss the more important problems. The Majlis had no legal basis, but it was a thing of reality and held in check the powers of the autocrat.

Side by side there was another council called *Majlis-i-Khilwat* (Privy Council), to which only the most trusted officers and servants were invited. The four ministers generally attended. This Majlis like the previous one did not enjoy the status of a modern Cabinet.

The Sultan frequently held *Majlis-i-Aish* (convivial assembly), to which persons of his taste were alone invited. The principal occupation of the courtiers was to entertain the Sultan in his leisure hours. As a rule, they did not hold any official position in the State.

A number of minor servants were attached to the Imperial Court from the *Barbak* (master of ceremonies) to the *Mehtar-i-Furrah* (Chief of the carpet-spreaders).

The custom of holding courts or *darbars* is very ancient among the royal traditions of Persia, and it came to be established with the advent of Muslim rule in India. *Majlis-i-Am* was radically different from the *Majlis-i-Khas*. It was the highest administrative organ, where the Sultan transacted all the business of the State. The Sultan held a grand *darbar*; gifts were also bestowed on *Muliks* and *Amirs*. An army of *Hujjab* was attached to the Court. The ceremonies of the Court were humiliating and servile. *Sijdah* (prostration), *Nazar* (an offer), (an *Nisar*) showering of gold and silver) were regarded as essentials of etiquette. The *Amir-i-Hajib* or *Hajib-i-Khas* was one of the greatest administrative officers. A *Shannah-i-Bargah* was appointed to enforce the provisions of behaviour and forms of presentation. Provincial administration was dealt with by the various ministers.

SULTAN ZAIN-AL-ABIDEN OF KASHMIR
(1420—1470)

BY

Mr. R. K. Parmu, Jammu (Tawi)

The destinies of States are as much determined by their own environs as by their past History. The character of the Sovereign is the character of the Subjects, we get the Government we deserve.

When God created Kashmir He seemed to have smiled upon her. He gave her the most unconquered peaks of the Himalayas to guard her and the most beautiful panorama of a Prodigal Nature to adorn her. But all that glitters is not gold. The history of Kashmir from the 14th century A.D. is a doleful story of torture, lawlessness and demoralisation. The Empire of the Hindus had for many years been tottering to its fall, and Tartar incursions from Central Asia only gave it the final push. The people lost the savour of life and the parochial, shortsighted and isolated Hindus only made the job of their invaders exceedingly easy. Kashmir came under the Islamic State as easily and completely as a hamlet with a hundred inhabitants; and 75 years of the Muslim occupation of Kashmir form an episode of reckless brutality, when chaos and corruption ruled supreme in all Departments of life, as well as, of the State, from which it was only freed by Shali Khan upon whom the duty to relieve, to recast and to reform Kashmir devolved.

Shali Khan was the second son of Sikandar, the "Iconoclast", from his second wife the talented daughter of Firoze, the Chief of Ohind. He had inherited all her charming traits and while she lived she seemed to have dinned into her patient ears the sublime principles of toleration equality and justice which, more than anything else made him so popular as a ruler in later years. After her death he was put under the tutelage of Maulana Kabir, a man of great erudition. Simple in his tastes and sombre in his department, Shali Khan grew into a man of versatile knowledge and ability.

II

Sikandar was very young when he lost his father, who was succeeded to the throne by his elder son Ali Shah, a tool in the hands of his Chief Minister Suhabatta, the notorious Malik Saif-ud-Din, the converted Brahmin who had as Minister of the kingdom stimulated Sikandar's Zeal against the misbelievers and continued the same policy under his son and successor Ali Shah, assisted by his gang of blood-thirsty Zealots who made all speed to feather their own nests, extracting oil out of the sand, while oppressing the wretched Hindus under them without mercy. Where the caracas is there the vultures will be gathered together !

Therefore, so long Shali Khan sincerely believed in the principles of toleration, equality and justice, Suhabatta's the policy had the bitterest critic. Being of course the most powerful Minister, Suhabatta did not leave any stone unturned to ruin Shali Khan and making no secret of his

mischievous designs against him, got him ousted the country of the Ghakhars and subsequently deputed him with presents to Amir Timur when he had already left India. Shali Khan passed through various countries during his exile until the death of Suhabatta. This proved a blessing in disguise for him for he acquainted himself with the various useful arts and crafts of the countries he visited and introduced them in Kashmir, when he became the Sultan, with such lasting and astonishing results that Kashmir still occupies a coveted place in the world of Art.

III

So long as Suhabatta lived, the simmering discontent with which Kashmir was seething every where could in no way be appeased. Suppressed though the Kashmiris were, they were not annihilated and with the dropping of the pilot by death, a new era seemed to have dawned for them. Ali Shah, since the death of Suhabatta, began to feel that his was an insecure throne and therefore, to make the best use of the remaining days of his life, and to atone for his past sins, he resolved to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. Accordingly, he relinquished the high office of Sultan and entrusted the Government of the country to Shali Khan his younger brother who had been recalled from his exile. It is still uncertain whether he did so with a sincere change of heart, for, having reached Jammu *enroute* to Mecca he was severely reprimanded by his father-in-law, the Raja of Jammu, who persuaded him to give up his quixotic design. Ali Shah gave up his pilgrimage, and returned to recover his throne, supported by the combined forces of the Rajas of Jammu, Rajouri and their feudatories.

The noble-minded Shali Khan unwilling to sit on a throne which he could only hold by blood-shed gave proof-of his magnanimity and non-violence when he again preferred the road to exile after returning the great seal to the *defacto* without a fight.

Ali Shah remounted the throne of Kashmir supported by foreign bayonets. But he could not be blind to the rising tide of public opinion now gathering fast against him. Kashmir during the interim Government had not sulked; she had recuperated, and Ali Shah found himself worse off. A drowning man catches at a starw, but Ali Shah would only catch at serpents if he, inspite of the strong opposition offered to him by his subjects, still resolved to be the King of Kashmirians.

IV

Gratitude is a broken reed, an absent quality in politics. History is replete with instances where great politicians have astonished the world by their ingratitude. But the politics of the Ghakhars were otherwise. As soon as they heard of the fate of Shali Khan, their sincere ally, they vowed to a man to put him back on the throne and rid the country once for all of the turbulent villains. Thus ensued one of the most important battles in the history of Kashmir at the Tata-kuti pass "an elevation of 15,500 ft. in the central part of Pir Pansal, the loftiest and most conspicuous of the mountain chains to the south of Kashmir" in May-June, 1420, between the forces of Raja Jasrat Ghakhar and those of Ali Shah. The Sultan of Kashmir seems to have received such a crushing and ignominious defeat that his whereabouts thereafter are still a mystery and Shali Khan ascended the throne under the title of Zain-al-Abiden.

The victory of the Tata-kuti pass was decisive. The ruthless system that prevailed in Kashmir in the reign of the "Icoloclast" and his immediate successor received a fatal blow. But withal the victory was not a triumph for Zain-al-Abiden for a long time to come. There was desolation and dis-spiritedness every-where.

SECTION 4

Medieval India, Part II
(1526—1764)

President

KHAN BAHADUR M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A. I.E.S. (Retd.)

Secretary

Mr. A. M. SIDDIQI,

Osmania, University, Hyderabad-Dn.



KHAN BAHADUR PROFESSOR M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A., I.F.S., (Rtd.)
President, Section 1 (Medical India, Part 2).

FOREWARD

I have pleasure in presenting the Transactions of the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress. The session was memorable in a number of ways, for besides being held in the historical capital of the premier Indian State, it broke all previous records both in the number of registered members (277) and in the number of papers offered (147). Moreover the session saw the final ratification of the Constitution of the Indian History Congress Association (p. 21), which put the Congress on a sound and permanent footing, and also the definite inception of the work on the great History of India which the Indian History Congress has undertaken (p. 16).

I regret that the Transactions are being published fully twenty months after the Hyderabad Session. This was mainly due to the fact that in spite of all our efforts, the press — or rather presses — in which the work was done failed to realise the need of performing it within the allotted time. As a matter of fact we had to take away our typescript from the first press at the end of 1942 as its work was much too slow.

I am indebted to the Sectional Secretaries for being good enough to correct the proofs of their respective sections and also for looking after the proofs of Section V in the absence of Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan who was away from Hyderabad while the material for his section was in the press. It is to be greatly regretted that in spite of all their efforts a number of misprints have somehow crept in.

I have to apologise to the members that I have not been able to give them any off-prints of their theses nor include any photographs connected with them owing to the extreme shortage of printing paper in the market. It was also not thought possible to print all the papers in extenso, and I have to thank the Sectional Presidents for indicating which of them should form part of the Transactions in full and which in a summarised form.

H. K. SHERWANI,
Local Secretary

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS FOR SECTION IV
(MEDIAEVAL INDIA, PART II 1526-1764)

BY

Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat, M. A., I.E.S. (Ret.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must express at the outset my best thanks to the Executive Committee of the All-India History Congress for the honour it has done me by inviting me to preside over the Section which deals with the Mughal period of Indian History at this its Fifth Session which is being held in the Deccan. For students of the Mughal period, the Hyderabad State, whose guests we are, has a very special interest, for it constitutes, more than any other State or province in India the most permanent historical legacy which the Mughal Empire, as it perished, bequeathed to posterity. Alike in several of its administrative features, its institutions, its territorial nobility and its educational medium, this State perpetuates, though in a thoroughly modernised form, some of the outstanding features of the Mughal system as it was in operation during the 16th and 17th centuries. Moreover, the territories over which H. E. H. the Nizam, the descendant of the last Mughal Imperial Viceroy of the Deccan, holds sway, are a veritable historical museum for all interested in the ancient and medieval history of the Deccan, and a visit to some at least of these historical sites and monuments will amply repay us for gathering in this capital this year. Among these monuments, apart from the world-famous centres at Ajanta and Ellora, the pride of place may perhaps be given to what may well be described as 'the Taj Mahal of the Deccan'. I refer to what is popularly and modestly known as the "*Bibika Maqbara*" at Aurangabad, which was built by the orders of Aurangzeb in honour of his favourite wife Rabia-ud-daurani. Being intended no doubt to be a replica of the famous 'Taj' at Agra, it reproduces in its beautiful design and lay-out most of the characteristic features of its more famous proto-type in the north of India.

The present position of studies in the Mughal period of Indian History may be regarded as eminently satisfactory. After the pioneer labours of a number of distinguished European scholars in the last century, such as Blochmann, Erskine, Elphinstone, Briggs, and others, the work on the period has been continued in the last forty years largely by Indian scholars, and the reigns and lives of almost all the Great Mughals have formed the subject of separate histories or biographies. But the field of study in this period is still far from being exhausted, and I may point out a few directions in which historical scholars may yet find scope for research and investigation. The *Ain-Akbari*, for example, has not yet been utilised as fully it should be for enquiry into the economic history and the administrative machinery of the 16th century, and the publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal of a second edition of the English translation of this monumental work may be expected to make it more readily available to students than it has been for the past thirty or more. Then again, the great Persian histories bearing on the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb have not yet been rendered into English, and it may be hoped that well-translated editions of the same, on the lines of Beveridge's *Akbar Nama*, will be entrusted to competent scholars by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has for over a hundred years taken the lead in the production of such works. Then again, the long and memorable reign of Aurangzeb should afford many topics to students for elucidation and investigation. An analytical study of the Letters of this Emperor would, I think, provide the subject for an excellent monograph on many aspects of this great ruler's

life and character. From the published Records of the East India Company, mostly edited by Sir William Foster, we may also glean valuable contemporary and first hand information about the political history and the social or economic condition of various parts of Mughal India during the 17th century. Lastly, there are available, in every province in India, Imperial Farmans and Sanads, whether in public or in private possession, which require to be edited and published, with historical Introductions, in the form of comprehensive regional monographs. I have indicated above only some of the directions for research work in the period on Mughal history. There are many others as some excellent papers submitted for the present session of this Congress will show. Another matter for gratification is that both Muslim and Hindu scholars have in the past made valuable contributions to the study of the Muslim period of Indian history, and I sincerely hope that the tradition of historical studies based on Persian will continue to flourish in the future also among the Hindu *literati*, especially in the provinces of Northern India.

A few months more, and we shall witness the completion of the fourth century of the birth of the great Emperor Akbar, whose achievements in uniting a large part of India into a single political unit are being now more increasingly appreciated than ever before. I have no doubt that measures will be taken by historical societies all over India to celebrate this event in an appropriate manner. If possible, something in the form of a permanent memorial in a literary form is also desirable. There would naturally be many suggestions forthcoming as to what this form should be. Among these, the publication of a Source Book of History for the Life and Reign of Akbar, containing extracts from all the best sources of information, may be considered.

I may be allowed to offer a few remarks on the project for a new and comprehensive History of India in 15 or 20 volumes. The proposition would be fraught with many difficulties at any time. It is more so when we find that two separate organisations contemplate the production of such an encyclopaedic work almost simultaneously, and what is more, to carry the same through within the space of a very few years. When we remember that the sole object of all historical research and investigation is to arrive at the truth on the basis of well-authenticated and accurately presented facts, and that the function of the historian is that of the judge rather than that of the advocate, it seems difficult to understand the necessity or desirability of the duplication of such an enterprise. Political, communal, religious or racial considerations all have to yield before the one overwhelming basic principle which lays down that Truth should hold abiding vigil by the desk of the historian. There is another aspect of the subject to which I may refer. There need be no hurry to carry through so great a work in short space of a few years.

If the various difficulties that are bound to confront this scheme are found to be unsurmountable, I would suggest something on more restricted lines, viz. that the scope of the proposed enterprise may be confined to what is commonly known as the 'British Period' of Indian history from the middle of the 18th century onwards. Since the days of Mill and Wilson's great work on the subject, no exhaustive and critical history of the period on the same scale has yet been attempted on sound historical lines. At the same time, the materials for such a work have gone on increasing and, apart from published materials on the subject, a most valuable mass of documents is now available in the Record Offices of the various provinces of India. In probably no other country have such records remained comparatively so neglected or utilised by historical writers as they have been in India. Side by side with Records located in India, we have those in the India Office and the British Museum. Here then we have a field of investigation that offers every prospect of original contribution to historical literature in connection with a period that has been less tapped by our scholars than any other preceeding it in the long centuries of India's historical past.

Before I conclude, I should like to express my great satisfaction at the fact that a special section is assigned by the All-India History Congress to Local or Provincial History, i.e. to the history of the province in which the Congress holds its annual session. The very large number of Papers contributed to this Section, which is presided over by one of the ablest historical scholars of the Deccan, viz. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, shows how popular this Section is. I have always felt that while our young men in Colleges and schools, have a modest knowledge about the general history of India, their equipment in the past history of their own province is of the most fragmentary character. As regards the archaeology of their town or province, their knowledge is generally poorer still. This is, in my opinion, a wrong approach to historical studies. It is essential that knowledge of local history, local architecture and sculpture, and local epigraphy and numismatics should proceed side by side with the study of Indian history as a whole. I commend this subject for introduction in the curricula of our Universities, and I also hope that historical writers in the various British provinces and Indian States will devote themselves to a greater degree than hitherto to labour on provincial history and to produce works that would invite and foster the study of this subject by the rising generation in our country.

Proceedings of Section 4, (1526—1764.)

The first meeting of the Section was held on 22nd December at 11 A. M.

Sher Shah the Soldier-King by Mr. Abrar Husain Faruqi was the first paper read.

This was followed by the paper on *Jodh Bai's Palace at Fatehpur Sikri* by Dr. S. K. Banerji, Lucknow University. It was a short but interesting paper and contained the personal observations of the Doctor. It roused a lively discussion in which Prof. Sharma and others participated.

The next paper was *The Old Feudal Nobility of Maharashtra* by Prof. S. V. Puntambekar of Benares who explained his original views about the Revenue and Zamindari system of the Maharashtra as it existed in the Mughal days.

After this Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu of Jodhpur was called upon to read his paper on *Rah Amar Singh, the well known Hero of Rajputana*. He explained his topic by reading some of the paragraphs of his paper.

Prof. Vijaya Chandra Joshi M. A., Christian College Lahore followed him and read his paper on *Records of the East India Company 1600-1677*. Some of the members present put a few questions which the Professor Replied.

The meeting was resumed at 2. P. M. but although some of the members were present, readers of the papers were absent. The remaining papers were therefore taken as read.

(Sd.) A. M. SIDDIQI,

Secretary.

THE EVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY

Mr. Atalananda Chakraborti, Calcutta.

Summary

The entire procession of life as well as of thought is subject to evolution. History itself, like other branches of knowledge, has evolved from very small beginnings and proceeded from myths and legends to crude court chronicles, and from national propaganda to detached quest of truth. It must now take yet another leap, from the scientific to the creative.

The historian of India has taken up his work in right earnest and is confidently developing his resources to write the history of this great country on the lines laid down by the masters of scientific history in the West. But the unfortunate part of it is that very often the essential quality of responding to the living problems of life is sacrificed to the erudition of ministering to mere intellectual curiosity. The worker prizes technique more than the objective.

The sad result of all this is intellectual mechanisation. The creative machinery is clogged with stones and statuary plates and inscriptions—things valuable enough but far too remote from the immediate needs of our life. Even the best of virtues must needs be balanced. Over-specialisation too is a deadly vice. Our historian must have his ear tuned to the call of life and think out of the realities of life, if he is to reach the altitude of creativeness.

Let us talk more concretely. India to-day is torn with communal dissensions. Much bad blood is flowing, and daily the situations worsening. And the evil is no longer confined to sordid politicians but is spreading, it is terrible to contemplate, even to innocent school-going children. What is education worth if it cannot train our mind in the art of living well and honourably, with grace and charity? Of all branches of knowledge it is history which has in this respect a special responsibility and his moreover best equipped for exerting a steady and wholesome influence on the life of the people. Communalism has nothing to stand upon if Indian history is studied in its true perspective.

The great historian of the greatest Moghul was of no mean assistance to the emperor in his endeavour to unite India and Indians. The consideration that weighed with Abul Fazl has to-day acquired a far greater reality, and our historian has before him the serious task of bringing his intellectual industry and creative imagination to bear on the problems of living life. The spirit of *Ayin-i-Akbari* was to appreciate how the emperor Akbar tried to "convert the thorny field of enmity into a garden of amity and friendship", while the *Akbar Nama* held before the emperor the ideal that if a king is to "become fit for the exalted office" he is to "regard all sects of religion with the single eye of favour,—and not be-mother some and be-stepmother others".

It should be understood that the necessity of Islam was not limited to Arabia. Islam was necessary to give anew to the world the knowledge of the ancient West and East—of Greece and India, while it was also to bring forth its own simple faith based on the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. This faith, already tinged by the Persian mysticism, was further coloured by the Indian atmosphere. And the

fugirs and *bhagats* soon combined to bring out a Hindustani version that Hindus and Muslims alike of India recognised as their very own.

The Afghan rulers of India, who were but recent Central Asian converts to Islam, were called upon to confer with the culture of this land. Instead of importing soldiers they had to get supplies of savants from Arabia and Persia. So it was that even the warlike court of Alauddin Khilji was not without erudite Maulvis. The cultural competition, through various phases of rivalry and conflicts, natural on such occasions, moved on to the broader harmony of the Ibadat Khana. This is a fact that history has to emphasize. This is a more vital part of history than the accounts of battles and broils. The Hindu and Muslim alike of the pre-British days had caught a glimpse of a much higher method of settling their affairs. They had almost mastered the art of raising politics up to the foot of the Throne of Heaven. In fact the thousand years of Muslim history in India is the history of the evolution of unity of India.

The political conquest of India by Muslims had to wait till the days of Ghor, who talked of no *jehud* but contrived alliance with the Hindu Raja of Ganouj. With Kutbuddin Aibak the Muslim State of India was independent of any foreign control of Arabia or Afghanistan. From now on, Muslims became Indians, and Hindus and Muslims mingled their loyalties and blood in defending the throne against invading forces from outside, no matter if they too were Muslims. Till the other day, Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi fought for the Moghul emperor, Bahadur Shah. And to-day India hopes to be Britain's colleague in reconstructing the word.

ETHNOLOGY AS A SUPPLEMENTARY SCIENCE TO INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

BY

H. Goets, Purandhar

Modern ethnology is more and more becoming a historical science. Because of the absence of written records and of the semi-mythic character of oral tradition it is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the details of the political History of primitive tribes. But a detailed analysis of their cultural inheritance, material as well as intellectual, enables us to establish well-defined ethnic and cultural groups, their inter-relations, their earlier and later stages, their spheres of influence. A careful survey of their geographical distribution permits us also to find out the historical dislocations of these groups, i. e., their migrations, conquests and defeats, their rise and fall, often even the approximate time of these events.

Whereas the ethnology of the primitive civilizations is, thus, more and more becoming an exact historical science, that of the historic civilizations has, however, hardly progressed beyond the stage of description. In this field the ethnologist can succeed only in collaboration with the archaeologist and historian. For here cultural stratification is very complicated. Though at the bottom of society there may still be vestiges of primitive forms of life, these are generally so obliterated by later reinterpretations and accretions that in most cases it is difficult to eliminate their original character without a sufficient appreciation of those latter stages of cultural evolution. But these intermediate strata between the dominating civilization at the top of the social ladder and those primitive survivals amongst the lowest classes and in remote districts represent as many residua of earlier stages of civilization. Mummified and degenerated, they are still preserving what had been, decades, centuries, millenia ago, the splendour of the ruling nations and classes, the zenith of cultural life,

For this same reason, however, these lingering traditions are of the greatest value for the historian. As much as the ethnologist cannot dispense with the services of the historian and archaeologist, ethnology can become a very important supplementary science for historical research. Our modern approach to history is broader than that of the old historiographers who are our chief source of information. We are no more satisfied with the acts and deeds of rulers, statesmen, generals and divines, we aspire at a comprehensive analysis of all the aspects of life, diplomacy, legislation and local administration as well as of the economic and social structure, of manners and customs, religious, artistic and intellectual movements. But in this respect our ordinary historical sources again and again prove insufficient and leave painful gaps in our reconstruction of the past. Several of these gaps can, however, be filled, completely or partly, with the help of the information to be culled from ethnological research. These are before all migrations and regroupings of social classes, changes in the economic structure, religious movements, and finally the domination and expansion of material civilization (esp. costumes) and of art tradition.

Especially in India researches in this line promise very ample and satisfactory results. For whereas our sources of direct historical information are notably insufficient in this country, and will probably remain onesided, in spite of all the many new sources more and more systematically explored in the last decades, India can without contradiction be declared the country with the richest historical material surviving in her ethnological tradition. The great number of comparatively isolated areas favourable to the survival of cultural "strands", the age-old seclusion of the village communities, the former insufficiency of trade roads, the strong individual life of tribes, castes and religious sects, the long multiplicity of political life, the comparatively loose local control of the great empires, the cymbiosis of several successive civilizations have left a cultural stratification much more manifold than that to be found in China or Japan, the Islamic countries or Europe before the cultural levelling created by modern industrialization.

Before making use of these ethnological data for historical purposes, it is necessary to ascertain their exact genetic relationship. It is inadmissible simply to project modern ethnographic fact into the past as it has been done in some recently published studies. Because, for instance, certain costumes and other objects represented in the Ajanta frescoes are at present still to be found in the west of Southern India, we are not entitled to infer a direct connection between the art of Ajanta and that part of this country. Ethnological experience lets just the contrary relationship appear probable: The modern incidence merely represents a local survival of a fashion once the rule in much greater area, but since that time superseded by latter fashions. Likewise it is in contradiction to historical evidence to imagine Sivaji's followers dressed in the modern Maratha costume. From all the available sources it is evident that at that time the Marathas wore the usual Hindu dress of the Mughal Empire. A specific Maratha fashion developed first at the court of the Peshwas; and the present Maratha costumes are survivals of the innovations created in the poona of the latter 18th century, and at the headquarters of Sindhia, Holkar, etc., but not of an earlier period.

Thus, the existing popular traditions are, on the whole, not the source, but the remnants of the splendid civilizations once flourishing at the courts and sanctuaries of the great Indian kingdoms. The country was and still is conservative, obstinately sticking to traditions and only slowly adopting alterations, in most cases introduced from the next provincial or state capital. New developments have always come from the focal centers of life, the courts with their crowds of people anxious to arouse attention, or leisurely enough to spend their whims on innovations and new fashions. Occasional allusions in the chronicles attest to this fact which we must generally infer from many other observations and conclusions. It is true that most of these

innovations have not been completely new creations ; they were richer and more sophisticated adaptations and transformations of earlier or foreign good. Thus it could happen that old traditions sunk back into popular life were consciously taken up, for political reasons or sheer whim, by new dynasties or influential parties. The afflux for instance, of nobles from the Deccani kingdoms to Delhi in the later 17th century can be immediately traced in costumes, fashions, architectural and literary tastes, etc. But these traditions, to had once been developed in some earlier court or city society. And sometimes we are, thus, able to trace the residua of both in the still existing ethnographic data.

The transition from the field of history to that of ethnography, i. e. from ever-changing court society to conservative popular life, is always a phenomenon of the later life history of some phase of civilization. Every new start attracts sources from outside, but the process of amalgamation and evolution is then so rapid that the new form of civilization remains, for the time being, the privilege of a small circle. The new Mughal civilization created under Akbar and Jahangir did, on the whole, not spread beyond the sphere of the court before the time of Shahjahan. This fact explains the sensation which was aroused by Maharaja Jai Singh I when he built his new palace at Amber in the most modern imperial style ; he was indeed the first vassal prince to adopt Mughal civilization. In fact a civilization must first have reached maturity and a classical authority before it can spread over its whole potential sphere of influence. But even then it continues to be the luxury of a few influential circles outside the capital, of provincial governors and vassal courts. It is only in its fall that a civilization really becomes the common property at least of all the upper classes in a country. This can be demonstrated everywhere, from Europe to the Far East, from America to Africa. Italian Renaissance culture, for instance, though slowly penetrating the surrounding countries already in the 15th century, became the fashion in the whole of Europe at the very time that in Italy it was delining under foreign rule. The reason for this fact is not far to seek. If new forms of life arise, not only the classes able to appreciate them are small, but also the persons able to provide for this new taste, architects, sculptors, painters, writers, tailors artisans, etc. are few. Even when their number increases, few can be spared because of the many schemes planned by the leading class ; if they are to be had at all, they are very expensive and thus remain a luxury for the few. But with the decline the situation changes. There is a growing surplus of experts of every type whereas the demand is stagnating and finally breaking down in the moment of a political collapse. Then the refugees of every type bring the ideals once restricted to the capital into the outlying provinces, and also the means to provide for these ideals.

Thus Persian civilization was brought to India by refugees ; first in the time of Htutmish by refugees from the Mongol invasion, later from Tamerlane in the time of Firoz Shah, from the Uzbeks in the early Mughal period. Similarly "Bathen" civilization spread into the provincial centres with the decline of the house of Tughlaq, and it became dominant in the provinces in the late 16th and early 17th centuries and survived in remote places up to the early 18th century. Mughal civilization, too, began to spread in the time of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, but it became dominant not before the 18th century. The first wholly to introduce Mughal civilization in Rajputana was Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur. What we now are accustomed to call "Jaipur art", is thus more or less later classical Mughal art or a local evolution of it.

The great invasion of Mughal culture in the Himalayan Rajput states falls into the period between Nadir Shah's invasion in 1738 and the breakdown of Mughal administration in 1751. Dakhini-Muslim civilization was likewise brought to the Maratha country after the fall of Bijapur.

But this is only the first stage of that migration of former leading classes and of their special culture down into the lower strata of the ladder of political, social and geographical, importance. The process can be repeated many times until it reaches the bottom. The coming of Mughal refugees, soldiers as well as artists, into the Beas Valley between 1738-1751 was the cause of the refined "Kangra" civilization at the court of Sansar Chand II at Tira-Sujanpur and Nadaun, and of the less important similar developments in other hill states. With the Gurkha and Sikh invasions since 1806 this "Kangra" civilization was brought, again by refugees, deeper into the Himalaya, to Chamba and even to Kashmir. Thus, in Chamba the court life depicted in the "Kangra" paintings is still not yet extinct. Still elderly ladies in Chamba town are wearing the Mughal court costume, in the fashion it developed in the Kangra Valley; still the wedding litters are the same as at the Mughal court, etc. But in the secluded valleys of Upper Chamba, at Brahmor, much earlier "strands" are to be found. There the peasant women still use textile designs such as had been the fashion at the Mughal court in the time of Akbar and Jahangir; from a now destroyed example of a fine kamarband with similar design in the Chamba palace treasury, the history of which is known, it is known, it is evident that this type had been introduced into Chamba proper in the late 16th or early 17th century, and it must have spread to Brahmor in the early 18th. But at Brahmor residua of much earlier stages of Indian civilization are still to be found in popular art. The lotus rosettes so common in Buddhist railings of the 2nd century B.C. are the usual decoration of the houses of the Gaddi shepherds. They are in fact to be found everywhere in the Inner Himalaya on the so interesting decorated fountain stones (since the 11th century); yet it is only in popular art that I have found the much more characteristic design of the animal in the centre of a lotus rosette, such as it is else known from the railings at Mahabodhi, Bharhut and Mathura. That such like railings must once have existed also in the Western Himalaya, is evident from the Audumbara and Kulinda coins which are contemporary with the just mentioned railings. Nothing has been rediscovered, and probably these railings had been of wood, and not for Buddhist sanctuaries, but connected with the cultus of yakshas, rakshasas and nagas. But both survive in the modern ethnographical evidence, the railing sculptures in the rural art of Brahmor, the naga worship in innumerable wooden shrines at lonely fountains and mountain lakes and the rakshasi Hidimba of the Mahabharata as Hirma, a form of Chamunda much venerated in Kulu and Chamba.

In Kashmir, on the other hand, we are confronted not with a geographical, but with a social stratification. All the stages of the history of this valley are still alive in popular life. Five main types can be easily discerned which correspond to the chief periods of the country: The great ruins of the Hindu period have their modern counterpart in the Kashmir brahmins. The unique wooden mosques have had their prototypes in Persia and Turkistan under the Mongol Il-Khans, but characteristic costumes and other objects which are to be found on Persian miniatures of that period, can still be seen among the Kashmiri peasantry and boatpeople. Mughal rural has left us not only its famous garden palaces, but dress and household-good fashions of Jahangir's and Shahjahan's time are still common in Srinagar. Vestiges of Afghan rule are evident in the house architecture, certain lacquer and metal work, and also in a few costume types. Finally has Sikh civilization, enriched by imports from the Kangra side (painting, embroidery, etc.) been introduced by Dograrule.

I have cited only a few examples from my own fields of research. But they could be multiplied by innumerable other cases from the whole of India and from practically every period. A considerable material awaiting exploitation is already heaped up in the various publications on the ethnography of the Indian provinces. Especially the notes on the innumerable castes, subcastes and sects, their history,

migrations and habits, contain very valuable informations for the historian. Also some beginning has been made to utilize these for historical researches. To cite only two examples, has e.g. S. V. Mukerjee followed up the population movement of Gujarat and its historical background in the last volumes of the Baroda Census Report And Prof. Commissariat has included an account of the various heterodox Muslim sects of Hindu origin in his History of Gujart.

But on the whole we must confess that this vast material has hardly been approached, and it must be conceded that its compass and complicated character must deter the individual research scholar. On the other hand it is, however, very urgent to attack this subject. For it may be doubted how long we shall still be able to make use of this so valuable source of information. In the last two decades modern life has begun to penetrate in great strides into the Mediaeval world of tradition-bound middle-class India. And it is just the urban and the middle-classes who are our principal source for the ethnographical exploration of Indian history. Wherever you look round, the old traditions are quickly disappearing, not only through the influence of the West, but as much because of the conscious revival of old Indian traditions in the spirit of nationalism. For although they may revitalize Indian tradition and national life, they nevertheless cross and obliterate the special traditions of individual groups, castes or sects.

The first task will be the sifting of the already collected ethnographical data from a historical point of view. This will already teach us a lot about the historical dislocation of population in India. But just then it will become evident how insufficient these data are. Hardly anything has so far been done to undertake a survey of the cultural good, material as well as intellectual or artistic, preserved in these various castes and sects with a view to his relation to what we know from archaeological and literary history about India's past. This will supplement our picture of Indian history in a quite unexpected measure, as will be evident from the few examples which I have cited above. Many aspects of Indian life in the past for which no other sources are available, can thus be complemented, many local gaps filled in. Finally it may be hoped that certain recurrences and laws may be eliminated as to the directions of the migration of population groups and to the progress of civilization through India which may permit us to decide at least the greatest probability in all those cases where sufficiently reliable evidence can no more be obtained.

SHER SHAH—A SOLDIER-KING

BY

Mr. Abrar Husain Faruqi, Parbhani.

Summary

Introduction. The topic is introduced with the fair and impartial criticism on historians who, knowingly or unknowingly presented distorted or perverted facts with the result that readers are misguided.

Sher Shah's parentage and his education.—His name was Fareed Khan, the son of Hasan Khan, the Jagirdar of Sahisram (Behar). He was a Afghan by descent, belonging to the Sur-sub-tribe. His father was enslaved by his slave-girl and Fareed's education was neglected. He was treated by his step-mother with jealousy. He left his home and went to Jaumpur, where he fined his education and military training in his younger age.

Fareed returns home.—During his three years' sojourn at Jaunpur Fareed distinguished himself by his war like spirit, talents and good department, the boy was strongly recommended by Jamal Khan to be taken back. Fareed was entrusted with the administration of the Jagir by his father, who was highly pleased with his unparalleled administrative capacity and military talents. But a Jagir was soon transferred to his step brother Sulaiman Khan by the machinations of his mother. In disgust Sher Khan left the Jagir and went to Agra to try his luck there. Nizam Khan his brother also accompanied him. In the mean time his father Hasan Khan died and through the efforts of Dualat Khan the Jagir was restored to Fareed.

A dissension between Sher Khan and Sultan of Behar.—Mohammad Khan Sur supported Suleman Khan, the step-brother of Sher Khan and created a dissension between the Sultan of Behar when Sher Khan, who was driven out of his Jagir by Suleman Khan with the assistance of Mohammad Khan Sur. But with the help of Sultan Barlas, Babar's officer, Sher Khan had succeeded in the re-occupation of his Jagir.

Sher Khan in the Camp of Baber.—Sher Khan had an opportunity to see Emperor Baber's Court where he had scrutinized every thing and arrived at the conclusion that if the Afghans were united they would oust the Mughals from India. When at the Royal dinner Baber's suspicious glance created in him misgivings about his safety, consequently he effected his escape from the camp, and he again joined the service of Sultan of Behar.

They had incited Prince Jalal Khan son of the late Sultan of Behar against Sher Khan. Sher Khan seeing the trend of intrigue resigned the post and making himself free from every obligation went to his Jagir, where he had planned to invade Bengal and collected a strong army of Khiljis, Lodhis and Surs.

Sher Khan versus Humayun.—At first Humayun crushed the growing power of Sultan Mahmud and later on turning his attention towards Sher Khan marched on him with a large army. Sher Khan sued for peace and an agreement was arrived at. Sher Khan had already occupied the Rohtas fortress by diplomatic dealings and the justifications in the light of emergency was evident. Mr. E. W. Thompson's allegation of treacher is not consistent with the slogan of "every thing is fair in love and war".

First clash between Sher Khan and Humayun.—Humayun had occupied Gour without the slightest opposition, because Sher Khan did not only evacuate it but made its palaces so fascinating and attractive for pleasure-loving Humayun that he had wasted his valuable time there. In the mean time Sher Khan came out from the hill fortress well prepared and occupied Benares and Monghyr, and later met Humayun at the bank of the Ganges near Buxar and defeated him.

Two kings at a time ; Humayun's last but unsuccessful attempt.—Sher Khan on his nobles' insistence assumed the kingship of India with the title of SHER SHAH. Raising an army Humayun again met Sher Shah, who was no longer a feudal-chief but the king of India, at Kannauj the old capital of Harsha, and was defeated. He then fled to Lahore, Sindh and Kabul. After this final victory Sher Shah escorted Queen Haji Begam to Kabul. He ruled India for five years and during that time he had so laboured for the good of country that his reign is one of the brightest periods in the Indian History.

POSITION OF CHRISTIANS IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

BY

Prof. M. L. Roy-Chowdhury, Bhagalpur.

The Christians were in India at the time of the Mughals, some in quest of gold, some for adventure, some for converting the 'Great Mogor' on religious mission. The professions to which they belonged were confined to commerce, jewellery, medicine, surgery, army and artisanship (enamelling, goldsmithy and lapidary).⁽¹⁾ Their number was not very large if the cross breeds were left out. Their services were best utilised in the army. In Bengal, Pratapaditya had some Christians in his admiralty, in the siege of Asiragarh, Muqarib Khan had at least seven Christian gunners.⁽²⁾ Shah Jahan had two hundred Portugueses in his army of revolt against Jahangir.⁽³⁾ Mirjumla had eighty Christians in his artillery⁽⁴⁾; Dara Selkoh utilised at least two hundred Europeans against Aurangzeb.⁽⁵⁾ These people generally led ugly lives, were polygamous, married low class Indian women and were always ready to change their faith to Islam because of the allowances granted to them or for petty facilities of existence as Muslims.⁽⁶⁾ Renaissance and Reformation movement in Europe had urged the Jesuits to seek new fields for preaching the message of Christ; Goa became the centre of Jesuit missionaries backed up by the Portugese King. Already there had been attempts to convert the 'Great Mogors' in Central Asia but attempts had always failed and now a fresh urge seized the Jesuits to try once more the lost cause, and circumstances favoured them-Akbar, the eclectic, being on the throne of Hindustan.

During the conquest of Guzrat, he came in contact with the Portuguese Christians, and in his inquisitive mood he sent a farman to the 'Principal' at Goa to send some missionary.⁽⁷⁾ Since the arrival of the first mission in February, 1580, the Christians began to play a new role in the land of the Mughals. They took part in the discussions of the Ibadat Khanah, and by their manners and intelligence they created some influence on the mind of the Emperor. They started a school which was attended by royal children-Salim, Murad and Danyal and also by some children of the nobility.⁽⁸⁾ Akbar himself took some lessons from them, some of these Jesuit Fathers took to learning Arabic, Persian and Hindustani⁽⁹⁾ in order to make direct approach to the people. For some time interpreters from Armenian Christians were appointed as was the case with First mission of Rudolf Acquaviva who appointed Henrigher.⁽¹⁰⁾ Father Xavier became so well versed in Persian that composed several books in that language so that the people might understand the view point of the Christians.⁽¹¹⁾

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1. Mosserrate, Mem. A. S. B. III, 1v14, folio 60 (a)
 2. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, pp 282-283.
 3. Annual later from Goa, 1924. "The Examiner" April 6, 1912.
 4. Manucci, Storia de Mogor I. p. 226.
 5. Ibid. I. p. 265.
 6. MacLagan, Jesuits and the Mogor, p. 315-16.
 7. Regarding the motives of this invitation, a detailed account has been given in chapter V of the Din-i-Ilahi by me.
 8. MacLagan op. Cit. p. 274.
 9. Ibid. p. 193. In 1653, they took to the study of Sanskrit to know the Hindu standpoint and they carried Sanskrit script to Europe in 1667 (?)
 10. Smith. op. Cit. p. 169-70.
 11. Father Xaviers, Persian works are.—

1. Mir'at-ul-Quds (Mirror of Holiness) or Dastan-i-Masih (Life of Christ)
2. Aina-i-Haqquma (The Truth showing mirror).
3. Dastan-i-Ahwal-i-Hawariyan (Lives of Apostle)
4. Zabur (Psalter)
5. Gospels.
6. Adad-i-Sultanat (Guide of Kings). This was dedicated to Jahangir in 1609, He also wrote books in Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani.

By the year 1594 A.D. the Christians were favoured with a farman from Emperor Akbar stating, "if any of the infidels wished to build a church or synagogue, or idol temple, none were to prevent them."⁽¹⁾ After this farman, they found little or no difficulty in construction or maintenance of churches and houses in public places. The position of the Christians in Mughal India is being discussed below under the following heads:—

- (a). their right to purchase lands, to build houses and to construct chapels, churches and cemeteries.
- (b). their right to make conversion, to congregate, to carry processions, to make exhibition of relics, to play music.
- (c). Right of public service.
- (d). Freedom from Jeziah.

Before entering into a discussion on the subject it is necessary to explain the general attitude of the Muslims towards Christianity. Christ has been accepted by the Prophet of Islam as one of the prophets and Bible as a revealed book, and the Christians are Ahlul Kitab. (possessors of the Revelations). So the question of non-recognition on ground of polytheism did not arise in their case. Marriages between Christians and Muslims are allowed by Muslim Law. According to Aadith and Fiqh any one who is not a subject of a Muslim country may claim a guest's protection in a Muslim country and he is entitled to remain in the country unmolested for the term of the whole year. If he continues after one year, he has to pay the capitation tax for which a notice is to be given to him. Of course the state has a right to cut the term of stay short for political reasons. In case he stays after the term of a year, he gets the protection of a Dhimmi and is called 'Mustaman.' An alien gets the status of Dhimmi automatically if he purchases a tribute paying land and at once he becomes liable to pay the Jeziah for the ensuing year. An alien woman by marrying a Dhimmi becomes a Dhimmi.⁽²⁾ A Dhimmi is not entitled to build a new place of worship except in his own house. But he may repair one which is broken. He cannot make an open exhibition before a Masjid. A Dhimmi cannot have any share in a booty but may have discretionary allowance if he has joined the war.⁽³⁾

Strictly speaking, in India, no technical distinction was made between the status of a Dhimmi and a Mustaman i.e. between a non-Muslim subject and non-Muslim alien. An alien was to report himself to the authority within 24 hours of his arrival in the country.⁽⁴⁾ In almost all cases, the Christians who stayed in the country were amenable to the jurisdiction of the royal executive and judiciary. There are instances when they were tried before Qadi's court.⁽⁵⁾

Christians could purchase lands in India. Akbar gave them formal permission to build Church⁽⁶⁾ and the Christian built one in 1599. Another Church was built in 1604 at Agra which liberally patronised by Prince Salim. This Church was

1. Badauni, Bib. Ind. 406 p.
 2. Hamilton, Hedaya, II, 196.
 3. Encyclopedia of Islam p. 710.
 4. Palsart, Remonstrant (Moreland), Sec. 11.
 5. MacLagan op. cit. pp. 298-99.
 6. Agra Diocesan Calendar 1907, p. 201.

known as "Akbar Badshah Ka Girja."⁽¹⁾ In 1599, the Lahore chapel was finished to which Akbar 'sent costly gold and silk cloths for its adornment'⁽²⁾ Akbar also sent a picture of Mary for the Chapel from his own collections.⁽³⁾ Liberalism of the Emperor permeated into his higher officers and the Governor of Lahore was personally present at the opening ceremony of a Church in Lahore in 1597 A.D. ⁽⁴⁾ Lands were granted for residences, and for building churches, chapels and cemeteries. In 1626, Jahangir confirmed the purchase of a piece of land by Christians and made it rent free inam⁽⁵⁾.

Jahangir granted another six bighas of land for an Armenian cemetery. Jahangir once dedicated property in the name of Lord Jesus which originally belonged to a Hindu. Settlements were started at Patna in 1620, but it did not last long.⁽⁶⁾ A church was built for the Jesuits at Jaipur⁽⁷⁾ through the courtesy of Raja Jaisingh (he had built already a Mosque by his money for the Muslims). The Portuguese built a portable church in imitation of Akbar's portable Mosque. A Christian could go near a Mosque to obtain a hearing and would have a hearing if they did not speak anything against the Prophet. Christian bequests to their Church were recognised by the State; Mirza Sekander; father Zu'l Qarnain⁽⁸⁾ made such grants.

The Christians were given by Akbar right of making conversion. According to jurist Abul Qasim one of the eight offences which deprived a dhimmi of his right to protection was 'attempt to seduce a Muslim from his faith. So Akbar's permission was very bitterly resented even by Mirza Azam Khan, though he was an Ilahian; Jahangir confirmed the permission.

But Shah Jahan and following him his Governor Shaiyasta Khan at Dacca gave permission 'to make converts but not of the Muslims.'⁽⁹⁾ Aurangzeb gave an order which forbade Hindus to change their religion for any but Islam.⁽¹⁰⁾ The priests were permitted to display various kinds of fire, works and artificial lights on the days of their festivals, they carried relics and arranged pompous funerals and played music in order to captivate people.⁽¹¹⁾ The archive reports of Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Goa show that the number of converts was fairly large. Manucci says that in 8 years' time he converted 15,000 men, while Bernier says that conversion of a Muslim was not possible; Manucci says that in 48 years he had never seen a Muslim becoming Christian.

How is it possible to reconcile the reports of Bernier with those of Manucci? The records of the Church archives regret that the Indian converts were polygamous, they led bad lives, and were ready to change their faith because of allowances granted to converts, or for petty conveniences of the life of a Muslim. It may be concluded easily that conversion of high class Hindus or Muslims were few

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1. MacLagan, op. cit. p. 315-16.
 2. J. A. S. B. LXV. 1896, p. 66.
 3. Memoirs, A. S. B. V. 1916, p. 174.
 4. Payne, Akbar and the Jesuits, p. 75.
 5. Journal of the Punjab Historical Society V, 1916, p. 12; some say this was a grant by Akbar.
 6. Patna Gazetter, 1924, p. 73.
 7. MacLagan, op. cit p. 324.
 8. Monserrate, Commentaries. fol. 86 (a) Blochmann, op. Cit I. 46.
 9. Memoirs A.S.B.V. 1916, p. 157.
 10. Farman, Sept. 7, 1685.
 11. MacLagan op. Cit. p. 275.

and far between⁽¹⁾. From the Jesuit records, the period of conversion extends from the year 1599 to 1667 A.D. In this period they had three distinct quarrels with the authorities, (a) in 1604 with Quliz Khan, Governor of Lahore, (b) in 1614, with Jahangir for detaining his cargo ship at Mecca, and (c) in 1633-35 with Shah Jahan on the question of the Hugli. So the period was rather short, interspersed with vicissitudes of quarrel and famines. During the period of famine, they purchased children from famished parents or guardians and converted them especially in Kashmir. Some of the missionaries being physicians, were approached by the people for treatment generally at the dying stage. The Fathers at death bed of their patients, sprinkled water over the dying or dead people, and congratulated themselves that 'they had saved a soul and thus served God.' The large numbers of the converts claimed by Mauceci might be conversions of this type. Contemporary evidences, on the whole, point out that the conversions were generally secret and of low class men who did not change their rituals or made of life with the change of faith, or they were merely sick bed or death bed conversion, when out of necessity no objection could be made by the people⁽²⁾.

So far as right to public service was concerned, there are instances to show that there was no actual objection to their recruitment. One Mirza Sekandar of Aleppo, originally known as Yaqub held a high position in Akbar's court. His son Dhill Qarnain⁽³⁾ was a Governor and Mansabdar during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Juliana was the lady-officer-in-charge of medical department of the Harem. A group of Russian slaves was in the employ of the Queen mother⁽⁴⁾, at the time of Akbar. They generally entered the service of the Mughals in the artillery; some of the missionaries were employed as teachers. A large number of European physicians and surgeons were found in the employ of kings and noblemen⁽⁵⁾. Some time after, when the prospect of conversion receded behind their immediate objective, the kings of Europe began to employ these clergy men as their plenipotentiaries and they became so many political hirelings under clergy men's gown scrambling for petty privileges of their countrymen.

Freedom from Jeziah

There was no question of Jeziah during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb reimposed it in 1569; and Fathers and other Christians had to pay it just like other non-Muslims and they could not claim "guest's protection" as has been enjoined by the Hadis because of the length of their stay. An instance has been recorded that the Agra officials were remitted their arrears of Jeziah as a favour. The Missions were not rich and they could not pay in favour of poor Christian converts; therefore many of them reverted to Islam⁽⁶⁾. In 1686, the Goa authorities sent a mission to the south where Aurangzeb was staying. The leader of the mission Magalhaeno met Aurangzeb personally and the Emperor was pleased to release the Christians of the Empire of the impost. The farman of release ran thus:—

1. Important conversions numbered only six in the whole Empire including two daughters of the Chogtai family, one physician of Jahangir's court and Muqarib Khan. Payne—op. cit. p. 194 and MacLagan op. cit. pp. 274-3. The two nephews of Jahangir converted in 1610 were reconverted soon later.

2. *Storia de Mogor*. III 198. Annual Letter of 1648-49 refers to purchase of children by the Fathers during famine, pp. 233-34.

3. Authority was Zul Qarnain's life are exhaustive, e. g. *Tuzuk Amal-i-Salih*, Terry, Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci.

4. Smith op. cit. p. 206.

5. Article read by Dr. H. Hosain at the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, May 6, 1940. He named a large number of professional Christian physicians.

6. MacLagan op. cit. p. 123.

"Non-muslims belonging to the religious orders could only be exempted from the tax if they were known to be poor", and the exemption of the Fathers was given on this ground of poverty⁽¹⁾. One Parwanah of Aurangzeb dated 1693, a second Parwanah by Bahadur Shah in 1707 repeated that the Fathers were exempted from Jeziah on the ground that they were 'Faqirs'. Farrukh Siyar in 1718 and Muhammad Shah in 1726 granted exemption on similar grounds⁽²⁾.

Individual Moghal Emperors in relation to Christians:

Akbar treated the Christians more or less consistently, courteously and generously. He liked their intellect. He not only granted them permission to build churches and to make conversions, he went so far as to adopt the son of a Christian Yaqub of Aleppo also known as Mirza Sekandar. This boy was adopted by Akbar on condition that he would not be converted⁽³⁾. This boy, Dhul Qarnain, was trained up in the harem and had free access into the harem⁽⁴⁾. When Jahangir came to the throne, he asked the boy to be converted, but on his refusal he had Dhul Qarnain forcibly circumcised and forced him to read the Kalema⁽⁵⁾. But still he persisted in his faith. As has already been mentioned, Juliana was in his employ as the medical superintendent of the harem and a family of slaves was in the employ of his mother. Though Akbar was sympathetic, some of his officials were bitterly against them, Quliz Khan Governor of Lahore fixed a day in 1604 for the wholesale seizure of all children and wives of all Christians.

Jahangir was a lover of paintings, he was frank and jovial. The Christians took advantage of his frankness and simplicity. They were suspected to have taken some part in the rebellion of Salim against Akbar⁽⁶⁾. He paid them money to build a Church at Lahore. The Jesuits put too much hope on Jahangir and some Christians in their joy in anticipation wrote that Jahangir became a Christian in 1567. Austin and Bordeaux said that Shah Jahan had poisoned Jahangir because he was afraid that his father would become a Christian⁽⁷⁾. On the whole he was kind to Christians if not to Christianity. He paid five to seven rupees per day for maintenance at Agra to each christian and occasional grants were given for their festivities. At Lahore he once wanted to know the number of the Christians in the city as he was intending to make charity in cash⁽⁸⁾. But Jahangir became very much angry with Portuguese because they detained a cargo ship from Mecca and withdrew all state help from them, and stopped the building of Church at Lahore for which he had already granted lands⁽⁹⁾. The story of the conversion of the two sons of Daniyal and their reconversion has already been referred to.

Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim and he had no sympathy, neither any positive dislike for either the Christians or Portuguese. He confirmed the purchase of lands by Christians at Lahore which was resold by Oliveira⁽¹⁰⁾. After the Bengal

1. Ibid p. 124.

2. J. P. H. S. 1916, pp. 30-36.

3. MacLagan, op. cit. p. 172. Yaqub had another son named Sekandar.

4. Some say Dhul Qarnain was Akbar's son. Akbar had a Christian wife, but it is not known definitely how many children she bore.

5. Payne, Jahangir and the Jesuits, pp. 15-23.

6. Din-i-Ilahi, p. 364.

7. J. P. H. S. 1914.

8. Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, 1616. Foster's Roc, p. 276.

9. Islamic Culture, Vol. IV p. 306-08.

10. J. A. S. B. XXI, 1925, p. 58.

fracas, he officially persecuted the Christians. He closed their Churches at Agra and Lahore. Four hundred Christians were brought from the Hugli to the court and Bering⁽¹⁾ said, "the handsome woman became inmates of the seraglio, those more of advanced age, or of inferior beauty were distributed amongst Omras ;⁽²⁾ little children underwent circumcision and were made pages ; many became Muslims." Those that stood sternly and refused conversion were "consigned to hell (prison) to pray to Allah for the delivery of their soul." The attitude of the common people was very hostile and they were always pelted in the street, jeered at services and sometimes social stigma was raised against converts. Asaf Khan was probably the only noblemen who was more or less sympathetic towards Christians.

To summarise, there are on record three instances of official persecution of Christians in India :—(1) by Quliz Khan at Lahore in 1604, (2) by Jahangir in 1614 following seizure of cargo ship from Mecca, (3) by Shah Jahan in 1633 following the Hugli trouble.

Saha Jahan's persecution of the Christians and Jesuits was to some extent mitigated by the friendly sympathies of his son, Dara Shukoh. He attended their parties and used to make friendly visits to them as Jahangir did⁽³⁾. The liberal attitude of Dara once more lit up the lost hope of the Christians and they expected his conversion was only a matter of days. Manucci says that Dara died all but Christian. According to him, Dara died praying for the safety of his soul. "Muhammad has taken my life, oh, the son of God, Grant me my life."⁽⁴⁾

Aurangzeb's relation with the Christian is more mysterious than not. Aurangzeb, the persecutor of the Shias, and of the Hindus, was not as hard on the Christians. Soon after his accession he wished Father Busi to accompany him to Kashmir⁽⁵⁾. In 1671 A.D. he confirmed the grant of a place of worship granted by Jahangir⁽⁶⁾. He asked for a Persian Translation of the gospel but it is not known whether he read it or not⁽⁷⁾. Campbell says that he had a discussion with Aurangzeb and that he cited a copy of the Bible as his authority, Aurangzeb treated it with respect and kissed it. During the reign of Aurangzeb, there was hardly any official interference with the Christian worship. When Jeziah was imposed on the non-Muslims, Christians were not exempted. But on representation of Megalhaeno, it was remitted as has already been mentioned. But except three noblemen, Amanat Khan, governor of Lahore, Shaiysta Khan and Wazir Jafar (son-in-law of Asaf Khan), almost all the governors were inimically disposed towards the Christians. Qadis particularly took the cue from Aurangzeb and seized the slightest opportunity to make searches, to impose fines, to send them to jail and if not do any thing atleast to insult them⁽⁸⁾.

Position of the Christians in the period of later Mughals no longer depended on the grace of the Government, but on their own capacity. They no longer needed patronage of the officers of the central government but they strengthened their

1. Storia De Mogor, III, p. 179.

2. Ali Mardan Khan had a Portuguese wife. It is not known if she was a part of the Bengal loot. MacLagan, op. cit. p. 270.

3. Badshahanamah, Lahori, E. & D. VII pp. 42-43.

4. "Muhammad Mara Mi-Kushad. Ibn Allah mara jan mi-takshad." Quoted by Qanongo in his Dara Sukoh.

5. Storia de mogor II, p. 154.

6. J. P. H. S. V. 1916 p. 24.

7. Annual report, 1670-78.

8. Indian Antiquary XXXV 1906, pp. 205-6.

position sometimes by bribe, and often by tact. Within 50 years of the death of Aurangzeb, the Christians gathered strength enough to consolidate their political position and ultimately to supplant the Mughal supremacy by Christian supremacy.

WHEN WAS AKBAR'S TOMB BEGUN ?

BY

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Akbar's tomb at Akra is a unique monument of its kind in India, and is totally unlike any built either before or since. It has no parallel even in any other Muslim country. Its importance in the history of Indian architecture will be apparent from the fact that if had not been incomplete, as it now stands, and if it had been roofed with a central dome or canopy, it would have ranked next to the Taj among Indian monuments of this class. Even as it is, this building designed in a truly Indian style is a worthy burial place of a great nation-builder and statesman who was an Indian of Indians, and who dreamt of a united India of Hindus and Musalmans.

Historians of Indian architecture are not unanimous on the point as to when the construction of the tomb was begun. The usual view is that it was begun by Akbar himself. Authorities like E. W. Smith, Fergusson, Keene, and Havell have supported this view. The principal argument in support of this view is the testimony of two European travellers, William Finch, and William Hawkins.

Finch who visited the tomb in 1611 has left an interesting description of it. We learn from his account, firstly, that the construction had been started ten years prior to his visit, for he says, "King Acahar's Sepulchre is 3c. distant from Agra in the way to Lahore, nothing neere finished as yet after tenne yeares worke", secondly, that only one of the gates had been ready at the time of his visit; thirdly, as he says, "The Tomb was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with gold and flowers;" and, lastly, again in Finch's own words ".....it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled marble, and to be seelod over within, with pure sheet-gold richly inwrought". From this it appears therefore that the mausoleum had been begun in Akbar's lifetime, though it was still under construction in Jahangir's reign.

Hawkins, who visited the mousoleoum in the same year, writes: "The Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest monuments of the world. It hath beene this foureteene years a building, and it is thought it will not be finished there seaven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needful things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth." This statement partly corroborates the view that the construction had been started in Akbar's reign itself.

There is another view taken by Dr. Fuehrer who believed that Akbar's tomb was really the work of his son, Jahangir. That the building was both begun and completed by Jahangir can be learnt from the latter's well-known autobiography. The Emperor has thus described his visit to his father's tomb in the third year of his reign:

"When I was dignified with the good fortune of making this pilgrimage, I saw the building that had been erected in the cemetery. It did not come up to my idea of what it ought to be, far that would be approved which the way-farers of the world

should point to as one the like of which was not in the inhabited world. Inasmuch as at the time of erecting the aforesaid building the affair of the ill-started Khauarn took place, I started for Lahore, and the architects had built it after a design of their own. At last a certain expenditure was made, until a large sum was expended and work went on for three or four years. I now ordered that expert architects should again lay the foundations in agreement with men of experience, in several places, on settled plan."

Jahangir's statement is clear, and shows firstly, that the construction was started during the rebellion of Khusrn, i. e., after Akbar's death; secondly, that the old design was rejected by the Emperor, and lastly, another design was prepared in accordance with his desire. If Akbar had started the tomb himself, Jahangir would surely have mentioned this fact, and as he had no reason to write an utter falsehood, his version may be accepted as correct. The story of the European travellers is nothing more than bazaar gossip, jotted down probably in their old age when their memory too was half-obliterated. Besides, the very fact that the two travellers have given different versions regarding the commencement of the construction, although they visited the tomb had been started by Akbar himself.

There is an inscription on the South Gateway, which clearly states, "In the seventh year of the August accession of Jahangir, cooresponding to A. H. 1021, after seven years of work attained completion." This shows beyond all possibility of doubt that the work had been begun in the first year of Jahangir's reign, and was completed in the seventh year after seven years of construction. It is strange how the mere use of the word "*completed*" in the inscription has misled scholars like W. Smith Ferguson, Havell and others into believing that Jahangir *did not begin* it!

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS. 1618-1621

BY

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In 1618 there were in all five English factories in the dominions of the Great Mogul: Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Broch and Surat. At the first of these places Francis Pettiplace and Robert Hughes were busy procuring materials like indigo, carpets etc. for dispatch to England. The factory in Ahmedabad was under the charge of John Browne, the poet-politician, who wrote poetry whenever he found time from business. "Even in his business correspondence Browne adopted a rather affected style" (1). At Burhanpur, a factory had been opened by Nicholas Bangham in 1616, but at this time it was about to be closed down, since the trade had largely fallen off, owing to the conclusion of peace with the Deccan princes followed by the departure of Shah Jahan from that place. Surat, the oldest and the most important English settlement, was then under the supervision of Thomas Kerridge, who was ably assisted by Thomas Rastell and Giles James. All the other factories in India were to act in subordination to the Surat factors except Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesty's ambassador who had recently been invested with supreme powers, even in coomercial matters. This arrangement had very much roused the indignation of Kerridge and his fellow factors.

The development of Dutch commerce, at this time, in the dominions of the Mogul, was not at all to the liking of the English in India. Pieter van den Broecke,

1. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, In.rod., p. V.

had established a factory at Surat in 1616. When in the following year he paid his second visit, he met with disaster; his two ships were driven ashore and totally lost. Pieter Gilles van Rayesteyn, who had succeeded Van den Broecke at Surat, arriving at Court in January, 1618, succeeded in procuring for his people several important privileges from the Prince. Sir Thomas Roe in his letter from Ahmedabad to the Company had written that the "Fle minge" had established themselves at Surat, and had succeeded in obtaining a farman upon as good terms as themselves. Sir Thomas Roe tried his best to stop the Hollanders from planting themselves firmly at Surat, but it was of no avail. The Dutch had used the same means as the English in prevailing over the Indians, viz, fear⁽¹⁾. In his report to the Directors at Amsterdam, Rayesteyn says they were well treated and obtained a farman from the Prince granting them a number of privileges, though not all for which they had applied.

From a letter written by an English Nathaniel Halstead at Burhanpur to John Bangham at Agra, dated 7th August, 1518, it is clear that a dutch expedition had gone to Agra. "The Dutch from Agra were expected here before this"⁽²⁾ but on this no further detail is available.

No supplies could reach the Dutch Factory at Surat during 1619, owing to troubles in the Far East. In a letter from Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastell, to the President at Bantam, February 15, 1619, they write that they are sorry to hear of the insolvency of the Dutch. We learn that the Hollanders are very much discouraged for want of supplies and since the day Vandarbrooke lost his ship at surat no other ship of their nation had touched the port, though they expected one daily. The English on the other hand were hoping that no dutch ship should come there so that the Hollanders would find themselves in ever increasing difficulties.⁽³⁾ Again the English are extremely distrustful of the Dutch; they cannot envisage the keen competition from the Hollanders, and determine to hinder them by their "elder experience". The Dutch at Surat were very quiet at this time, it was probably due to their wanting conditions, for no supply ship had come, although they were expecting it daily. Perhaps the dutch had failed to put in an appearance because of the English fleet anchored at Surat, or otherwise they were uniting their forces for the defence of Bantam. If the former reason had desisted the Dutch from approaching, then non the withdrawl of the English ships, they would at once come to the rescue with supplies. The English have found to their cost that the Dutch are ever intruding in all parts and places of their trade and commerce. Although, this cannot be avoided, still the English are determined to use their nature experience to put the Hollanders out of business. However, we learn from a letter by Thomas Kerridge, etc. at Surat to the factors at Ahmedabad, that the Hollanders were able to obtain a certain amount of money by the sales of brass guns, which they had saved from the wreck of the Middle burg, to the local authorities. They proceeded to invest this, for the hopes of the supplyship were diminishing daily.⁽⁴⁾

In March, 1620, news reached India that an agreement has been reached between the two companies at home. The conclusion of peace gave Hollanders a badly needed intermission and with it the opportunity of making up for the last time. In the autumn of 1620, Pieter van den Broecke appeared once more at Surat, and made that place his head quarters, with the title of "Directors for Arabia, Persia and India." He then proceeded to set on foot other factories at Ahmadabad, Broach and Cambay⁽⁵⁾

1. *Ibid*, p. 15.

2. *Ibid*, p. 38.

3. *Ibid*, p. 65.

4. *Ibid*, p. 92-93.

5. *Ibid*, p. 200.

In March, 1621, we hear of a Dutch caravan being at Mandu on its way down from Agra. A Dutch letter from Mausaliptam speaks about the robbery which took place at a little distance from Mandu. The Dutch who were travelling with the English escaped from this pillage, because they had stayed behind owing to the desertion of their camel drivers.⁽¹⁾ In the following month Wouter Heuten with some Dutchmen arrived at Agra, where he was presented by Asaf Khan to the Emperor and graciously received.

As regards Ahmadabad, we have reference in James Bickford's letter from Ahmadabad to the President and Council at Surat, wherein he speaks of the two visits paid by Walter Heuten to that city "in Mr. Browne's tyme," and when there they were treated most hospitably by the English. They were even supplied with powder and masket and a sum of Rs. 1000/-. But all this the Hollanders never repayed⁽²⁾. Another visit was paid by the Hollanders to this city sometimes later; however, it aroused feelings of a very different nature. Safi Khan prevented a Dutch caravan from leaving Sarkhej, till sufficient redress was obtained from the English. Safi Khan had made a claim 23,000 larrees on the English, and pending satisfaction of that claim they were not allowed to leave Sarkhej. The Hollanders who were fully ready to depart from that town, their goods laden and everything else for their journey provided for, naturally rebelled against Safi Khan's orders. Safi Khan had evidently made the mistake of putting down the Dutch and the English as belonging to the same nation. He would listen to no arguments from the Dutch, that they were a nation different from the English and that they should not be held responsible for what the latter did. To Safi Khan they "were all one." At first much reluctance was showed by the English to acquit their rivals of any responsibility in the matter; though, they complied after a while and the Dutch goods were released. James Bickford had to go in person to Safi Khan to convince him that they belonged to two different nations and that the Dutch had no hand in the present mischief. Safi Khan at last convinced, allowed the Dutch to pass. Thus released the Hollanders with their goods proceeded to Surat. But the language used by the factors in their letters reporting this dispute, clearly elucidate that distrust and jealousy had taken the place of former cordial relations. The English suspect the Dutch of treachery in trade relations and advise the other factors to be careful in their transactions with them. They associate the Dutch with underhand means to oust the English from trade rivalry. The Dutch with secrecy and by all cunning practices try to "demnify" the English. The Hollanders are also kind and complimentary, but if the occasion provided itself they would not hesitate to cut the ground underneath the English. But then the same might be said of the latter, for they were always eager to do the Hollanders in the eye. When the Dutch gave out their intention of quitting Ahmadabad and proceeding to Surat, the English at once suspected them of harbouring some mischief. You know the Dutch are politique and divellishly subtle, this plott suspicious and dangerous to us" ⁽³⁾. The English are afraid that having done them mischief in the South, they will now do the same at Surat, and convinced that the Dutch will never do them any good, they resolve to doubly guard their interests here. When Safi Khan stopped the Hollanders goods at Sarkhej for the mischief done by the English, and when the former begged of the English to acquit them from the suspicion of being their accomplice, the latter showed considerable reluctance to do so. Thereupon the Dutch chief lapsed into a bitter invective against the English, upbraiding them of returning evil for good. "The Dutch Chief here was somewhat moved and out of the baseness in their inbred condition cast all in teeth with courtesies they had done our President etc. in Surratt in tyme of there freedom and your trouble, keeping you in their house and giveings you meate and drincks when you were not permitted to buy any for yourselves" ⁽⁴⁾.

1. *Ibid.* p. 243.

3. *Ibid.* p. 348.

2. *Ibid.* p. 354.

4. *Ibid.* p. 354.

So long as the Dutch were ill of funds and home support, and so long as their competition in trade was of a negligible quantity, the merchants of both nations were on excellent terms, but gradually as the Hollanders became strong their factors more conversant with the Indian ways, their treasury getting more funds, the relation between the two became more and more estranged, till in 1621, we find them watching one another with ever increasing suspicion and ill-will, an attitude which had at this time become a standard one between the two nations through the entire East.

The Anglo Dutch rivalry in the Far East, at this time, is intimately connected with the affairs of these two nations in India. The rupture between the two started with the Dutch claim of exclusive trade with Moluccas and the Bomdas. The English resented this claim and were determined once and for all, to end this Dutch hegemony, if need be even with force. A fleet was sent under Dale and Jourdain in the early spring of 1618 but ill-luck dogged their foot-steps and generally they had the worst in encounters with the Dutch.

In March, 1620, the united fleet of Pring and John Bickley, the latter had brought the reinforcement of three ships from Surat, sailed for Bantam, determined once more to try their fortunes against their more enterprising antagonists. However on their way, they received the news that an arrangement had been brought about between the two companies at home. Few days later they met near Bantam, as friends and not as enemies. Hence forward it was decided to take joint action after mutual consultation. But all this was hollow pretence. The bitter rancour between both the nations was smouldering underneath, even from that moment of promised unison and it took no great time to emerge to the surface. Only two measures emanating from the joint deliberation are of any importance to us. One is the blockade of the Portuguese possessions on the Malbar coast, by the Joint Anglo-Dutch fleet under Dedell as the Admiral, and Fitzherbert as the Vice-Admiral⁽¹⁾. The other is the permission granted to the English for a share of Pulicat trade, the Dutch establishment on the Coromandal coast. Hence an agreement was drawn up between the two for regulating the joint trade at Pulicat⁽²⁾. However, all this was merely on paper, the real feelings of the two nations were entirely different. The growing bitterness between the two could be measured by the orders of the Dutch Governor-General given to his subordinate at Masulipatam. Herein he warns his subordinate not to trust the English in the least. He also advises to discontinue the practice of buying cloth jointly with the English, but this is to be done without their being cognizant of it. Again the English should be made to stay outside rather than inside the Fort. They should also be made to pay regularly half of all expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat. "In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English, and they on the other hand will have to come to us"⁽³⁾.

1. For the consultation by the united Council of Defence at Batavia, October (N.S.—September 26 O. S.), 1621 see the "English Factories in India" 1618-21, by William Foster, p. 275-277.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 253-54.

3. *Ibid*, p. 299.

RAJA TODAR MAL'S SONS

BY

Mr. Jangir Singh, Benares.

Although the sources of knowledge about the sons of Raja Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of Akbar, are very limited, yet we have enough of authentic material to satisfy the curiosity of those who would like to know whether any of them rose to distinction.

The Akbarnama speaks of Dharu⁽¹⁾, 'Gaurdahan'⁽²⁾ (evidently Govardhan) and Kalyan Das⁽³⁾ as the sons of Raja Todar Mal. 'Kamsavadha', a Sanskrit drama composed by Sesha Krishna, speaks of Govardhandhari as the son of Raja Todar Mal. It appears that Govardhandhari was shortened into Dhari, which must have been lovingly changed into Dharu by his parents, and this last form became more popular than the other two. Some writers have stumbled into the mistake of regarding Dharu and Govardhandhari as two different individuals. The author of the 'Khattriya Itihas'⁽⁴⁾ even guesses that the latter was the elder of the two. Govardhandhari or Dharu appears, no doubt, to be the eldest son of the Raja, but these two names belonged to one and the same individual. The Index Volume⁽⁵⁾ of Beveridge's Akbarnama published in 1939, rightly states that the Akbarnama mentions only two sons: one Dhari⁽⁶⁾, and the other Kalyan.

Dharu has been first⁽⁷⁾ mentioned in the Akbarnama as having been deputed to carry from Gujarat both the news of the victory of Dolqa gained on June 6, 1577, against Mirza Muzaffar Hussain and Mihr Ali, and the choice elephants to the court. He appears to have fought side by side with his father at the said battle, and the nature of the task entrusted to him after the victory was obtained indicates, firstly, that he deserved some reward for his bravery, and secondly, that he was in this manner given a chance to get the same and gratify his ambition. How he was recompensed, it is difficult to say. The next time when we come across him, we find him being sent by his father, in accordance with Akbar's order in the 28th regnal year, on the special mission of chastising⁽⁸⁾ Arab Bahadur, who, having been defeated by the Khan Azim between Tirhut and Champaran in Bihar, had advanced towards Jaunpore. Govardhan drove the rebel into the hill country. It is difficult to say whether Dharu had already been posted at Jaunpore or he was sent from the Court at Agra. A passage in the Akbarnama⁽⁹⁾ refers to Shamsheer Khan's coming from Bihar to Benares in the 24th regnal year in order to get Raja Todar Mal's soldiers from that place and then employ the same against the Bihar rebels. The Raja was then at the capital, so that it is quite probable that his son should have been stationed temporarily at

1. Akbarnama (Beveridge's translation), Vol. iii, pp. 294, 876, 929 and 930.

2. *Ibid*, 605-606.

3. *Ibid*, 812, 1200 and 1249.

4. Khattriya Itihas (in Hindi) by B. Balakrishna Prasad, 140-141.

5. Page 62, Column 2.

6. Prof. S. R. Sharma has 'Behari' in his list of the Hindu Mansabdars of Akbar, under 'Haftsadi', (Vide, I. H. Q., Sep., 1937, p. 476).

7. Akbarnama (Beveridge), iii, 294.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 603-606.

9. *Ibid*, 421.

Benares or posted permanently at Jaunpore. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how the Raja's men came to be at Benares. Moreover, we know that it was from Jaunpore⁽¹⁾ that he went to Court after his father's death. From the 28th regnal year onward, however, he appears to have remained posted at Jaunpore for several years. Five years after this happened another incident⁽²⁾, which leaves no room to doubt that he was the imperial officer in charge of Jaunpore. After Wazir Khan's death in the 32nd regnal year, Shahbaz, while returning from Bengal, made over the subordinates to Salih, who was Wazir Khan's son, and himself proceeded about the beginning of the 33rd year to pay his respects to the Court. Salih's brain soon began to engender rebellious plans and he began to look for opportunities of revolt. Having come to know of this, the emperor issued necessary instructions to Mir Murad, who had been sent as 'Sazawal' of the Amirs of Bihar and Bengal. Accordingly, the latter enlisted every one of Wazir Khan's soldier, who were willing to serve the Amirs of these provinces (Bihar and Bengal), and arranged to take the others along with Salih to Court. The excuses put forward by the unwilling Salih were of no avail, for Mir Murad knew his business well. On the way, therefore, the former, by means of cajolery, bribery and other tricks, spread dissension among the officers, and when he reached Jaunpore he succeeded in deceiving Dharu. According to the Sazawal's instructions, the Raja's son ought to have sent some one with Salih in order to keep an eye over his movements, but he neglected this precaution and allowed the suspect to proceed towards the west without any escort. Having collected many musketeers by lavishing gold on the way, Salih marched near Fathpur Hanswa to the quarters of the Mir, who, having forestalled his evil design, managed to take shelter in the fort near by. Besides besieging the fort, the rebels set about plundering the neighbourhood and indulging in incendiarism. "Suddenly," says Abul Fazl, "the fief-holders of the countryside heard of this commotion and arrived there. The first of all to come was Allah Baksh Mural, and he brought a good contingent." This man had been sent from Jaunpore by Raja Govardhandhari Tandan. Salih was soon bound and taken to Court.

Besides illustrating Dharu's promptitude in realising the consequences of his mistake and rectifying the same, the aforementioned incident proves beyond doubt that the Raja's son was at this time the fief-holder of Jaunpur. No wonder then, if during his tenure of office here, he should have had occasion to preside over a festive function said to have been held at Benares in honour of Vishweshwar and witness the performance of the Sanskrit drama 'Kamsa-Vadha'⁽³⁾, which had been composed by Sessa Krishna under his patronage. In the beginning of the said drama occurs the following Sloka :

तस्यान्तितंडनकुलामलमंडनस्य, श्रीतोडर क्षितिपतेस्तनयौ नयज्ञः ।

नाना कला कुलपुङ्गव स विदग्ध गोष्ठीम्, एकोऽधितिष्ठति गुरुर्गिरिधारिनामा ॥

The name Raja Todar Mal's son has already been introduced before this as Raja Govardhandhari, 'the renowned of the empire' (साम्राज्यशूरधरो गोवर्धनधारि राजश्च). In this Sloka, besides giving the name of his sub-caste and

1. *Ibid.*, 876.

2. Akbarnama (Beveridge), iii, 813-814.

3. J. Eggeling's I. O. Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., part v to vii, p. 1591 a & b, MS. No. 4175.

his father's name, the author says that Giridhari (same as Govardhandhari) presided over the performance of the drama and acted as the 'Guru' or preceptor. H. J. Colebrooke also seems to interpret the Sloka in this sense, for he takes Giridhari to stand for Govardhandhari. And this is all the more probable because evidently Govardhandhari could not fit in metrically and the synonym Giridhari had therefore to be used by the composer of the drama. On the other hand an altogether different interpretation has been given, and it is stated that Govardhandhari had a Guru named Giridhari, who was the grandson of Vallabhacharya, the founder of the Gokulastha Gosains, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. It is rather difficult to accept this interpretation solely upon the basis of the aforementioned Sloka.

In 1589 A.D. Dharu was in Jaunpur. Towards the clear of this year, his father died⁽¹⁾ at Lahore. He left Jaunpur for good, and had an audience⁽²⁾ with the emperor about the middle⁽³⁾ of 1590, when he presented his father's servants and was suitably rewarded. In the same year, Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khankhanan was appointed Subadar⁽⁴⁾ of Multan and deputed to conduct the Sind campaign against Mirza Jani Beg the Tarkhan. Raja Govardhandhari, who had by now earned the titles⁽⁵⁾ of 'Bahadur' and 'Khan', joined the Khankhanan with his contingent. Dharu did good service and displayed courage in several engagements with the enemy, till he was fatally wounded in the forehead with a spear and fell from his horse. "Soon", says Abul Fazl⁽⁶⁾, "he played away the coin of life". Thus did he die fighting bravely like a true warrior in the early⁽⁷⁾ part of 1592 A.D.

It is said⁽⁸⁾ that this promising young man, whose career in life was thus cut short by the cruel hands of death, used to shoe his horses with golden shoes. His name appears in the list of the commanders of seven hundred, as given by Abul Fazl. His monthly salary⁽⁹⁾ amounted to more than eight thousand rupees, and he was entitled to maintain sixty-two horses, twenty elephants and forty-six beasts of burden.

Kalyan Das⁽¹⁰⁾, the second son of Raja Todar Mal. has also been spoken of as Raja Kalyan⁽¹¹⁾, Raja Kalyan Singh and Raja Kalyan Mall⁽¹²⁾. As several other men of the period also bore the name 'Kalyan', confusion has often resulted over his identification. For instance, the son⁽¹³⁾ of Patr Das (Tripurari or Tipr Das) Raja Bikramajit was also named Kalyan. The tongue of this worthless fellow had to be cut out and he had to be imprisoned by imperial orders for keeping in his house a 'Luli' (maimed) woman

1. Akbarnama (Beveridge), iii, 861-862.

2. Ibid, 876.

3. 14th Kurdad. Vide, Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 876.

4. Elliot & Dowson, Vol, i, p. 247.

5. Abul Fazl now speaks of him as 'Dharu Bahadur Khan'. Vide, Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 929, and note 4 on the same page.

6. Ibid, 930.

7. Ibid. (21st Farwardin, 37th year).

8. Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch.), i, 352, first edition.

9. Ibid, 257, second edition.

10. Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 812.

11. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 389-390, 402, 192, 199, 202 & 307 (Rog. & Bev).

12. J. B. & O. R. Society, vii, 54-56; R. D. Banerji's Orissa, ii, 35.

13. Tuzuk (ROG. & BEV.), 104.

whose parents he had murdered and buried. There was another⁽¹⁾ Kalyan (Rawal Bhim's brother) of Jesalmer, who was exalted with the tika of Raja and the title of Rawal by Jahangir. Still another⁽²⁾ Raja Kalyan was the 'zamindar' of the province of Idar, on the frontier of Gujarat. Besides these, there was the famous Rai⁽³⁾ Kalyan Mal (father of Rai Singh), who had made an addition in Akbar's harem in the 15th Ilahi year. One of the sons of Raja Man Singh was also named Kalyan⁽⁴⁾. Raja Todar Mal's son, however, should not be confused with any of his namesakes.

Professor S. R. Sharma of Lahore has confidently asserted⁽⁵⁾ that "Raja Kalyan Singh has been wrongly described in the Tuzak (Persian Text, 199, Memoirs I, 402) as a son of Raja Todar Mal." His arguments in support of his statement are:

(1) The "Maasir-ul-umara does not mention any such son of Todar Mal, nor any son who rose to distinction."

(2) At one place, Nathan, in his Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, mentions Kalyan Singh as the son of Raja Man Singh, and that from the context there, it seems that Kalyan Singh was following his father to the Court.

(3) Man Singh had a son named Kalyan Singh.

The learned Professor is surprised to find Sir Jadu Nath (J.B.O.R.S. VII, 53) follow Tuzuk without even mentioning the difference between Baharistan and the Tuzuk in this connection. It is unfortunate that the said Professor did not even suspect that Sir Jadu Nath stands on a firmer ground than he does.

If the Maasir does not mention any son of Todar Mal, it does not establish that he had none. The Akbarnama⁽⁶⁾, a much better and contemporary authority, not only mentions but also relates the exploits of two of the Raja's sons.

As to his second point, he seems to forget this Nathan, on which he solely depends, on f. 4-b.1.2, and also in Chapter X of his Baharistan-i-Ghaibi⁽⁷⁾, calls Raja Kalyan a son of Todar Mal (راجہ کلیان ولد تودرمل). It should also be noted that at the only place⁽⁸⁾ where Kalyan Singh is spoken of as the son of Raja Man Singh, the prefix 'Raja' is not used before 'Kalyan Singh'. In probability, the son of Raja Man Singh is meant here, for he may not have got the title of 'Raja' in his father's life-time, just as Man Singh did not so long as Bhagwan Das was living. And since the context also confirms this view, the learned Professor, alluded to above, seems to be right so far as this part of his statement is concerned. But he has absolutely no reason to conclude that wherever the name occurs the son of

1. Ibid, 325.
2. Ibid, 427.
3. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (De), ii, 362.
4. Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch.), i, 486, 1st edn.
5. Journal of Ind. History, xi, 1923, pp. 339 & 340.
6. Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, pp. 812, 1200, 1249.
7. Borah's Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, note 1 on pp. 793-794.
8. Ibid, Vol. i, p. 10.

Man Singh must be meant. The son of Raja Todar Mal has been spoken of during Jahangir's time as Raja Kalyan, or Raja Kalyan Singh or even Raja Kalyan Mal. Moreover, we know that the legitimate heir⁽¹⁾ of Man Singh at the time of his death was Bhao Singh, the other living heir being Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, who predeceased Man Singh. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Kalyan Singh, the least known of Raja Man Singh's sons, should have died like some of his other brothers in his father's life-time. And this seems to be almost certain, because otherwise the son of Jagat Singh (Kalyan's brother) could not have been spoken of as the next living heir after Bhao Singh. As to Todar Mal's son Raja Kalyan, we know that he was living even long after Raja Man Singh's death, which took place in 1023 Hijri (1614 A. D.).

Further, the identity of Raja Kalyan as the son of Raja Todar Mal is placed beyond doubt by reading the account of his career in the Tuzuk along with that contained in the Akbarnama. The latter⁽²⁾ tells us that "Kalyan Das, the son of Raja Todar Mal, got a mansab of 1,000 zat and 500 horse" in the forty-ninth year of Akbar's reign. The Tuzuk⁽³⁾ confirms this as well as his identity by telling us that in 1611 A.D., the rank of Raja Kalyan was increased by 500 zat and 300 horse "so as to make it up altogether to 1,500 personal and 800 horse."

Abul Fazl mentions him for the first time in connection with the submission⁽⁴⁾ of Raja Rudra Chand (1568-1597 A.D.) of Kumaon. This Raja had been interviewed by Mathura Das Sahgal, the Collector of Bareilly, who endeavoured to induce him to accompany him to Court in order to do homage to Akbar. Raja Rudra Chand showed his hesitation to accept that Khattri's protection, promising at the same time to go to Court if Raja Todar Mal took charge of him. In stead of coming in person, the latter sent his son Kalyan Das to reassure the Raja of Kumaon. Thereupon, the latter, relying on Kalyan, went to Lahore and in the winter of 1588 paid his respects to Akbar.

We meet him next in the forty-sixth regnal year (1601-1602 A.D.). "On Bahman 8", says Abul Fazl⁽⁵⁾, "it came to H. M's notice that some avaricious persons did not abstain from levying dues. He committed the charge of the empire to some well-intentioned and moderated persons." Of these, Kalyan Das was one, and the Gujarat routes were put under his charge.

In the forty-ninth year of Akbar's reign, we find his name appearing tenth in the list of the Amirs who received promotion. The Akbarnama⁽⁶⁾ says, "Kalyan Das, the son of Rajah Todar Mal got a mansab of 1,000 Zat and 500 horse, and the charge of Fort Kalinjar."

In the reign of Jahangir, Raja Kalyan was sent to Bengal, hence he sent presents for the emperor, who received⁽⁷⁾ the same on Wednesday the

1. Ain-i-Akbari (Bloch.), i, 486, 1st edition. Also see the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

2. Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 1249.

3. Tuzuk (Rog. & Bev.), 192.

4. Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 812.

5. Akbarnama (Bev.), iii, 812.

6. Ibid, 1249.

7. Tuzuk (Rog. & Bev.), 192.

8th Muharram (probably, 23rd of March, 1611 A.D.). The result was that soon the rank of Raja Kalyan was increased⁽¹⁾ by 500 personal and 300 horse, "so as to make it up altogether to 1,500 personal and 800 horse." On the 24th of May, 1611, an order⁽²⁾ was issued which transferred Hashim Khan, the Subahdar of Orissa, to Kashmir, though the said officer did not leave for the new place immediately after the receipt of the aforementioned order. It was probably about the month of October that, on the recommendation of Islam Khan, Raja Kalyan, being one of the "useful house-born⁽³⁾ ones" (Khanzadan), was given an increase⁽⁴⁾ in rank of 200 personal and horse, favoured with a standard, an ensign and a royal kettle-drum, and also honoured with the governorship⁽⁵⁾ of Orissa. He governed this province from 1611 to 1617 A.D. Raja Kesho Das Maru, the lieutenant of his predecessors had inflicted a crushing defeat⁽⁶⁾ on Purushottam Deva, the ruler of Khurda (on the borders of Orissa and Golconda) and had forced upon the latter a humiliating peace⁽⁷⁾, which was cast to the winds at the earliest opportunity made available to Purushottam Deva by the recent transfer of some of the imperial officers including the governor of Orissa. Raja Kalyan emulated the feats of Kesho Das Maru and raided Khurda. He succeeded in devastating the territory of Purushottam Deva, and thus forcing him to abide by the terms that Maru had extracted from him. The result was that Purushottam, in addition to presenting his renowned elephant 'Seshnag' to the emperor and paying the promised tribute of three lakhs of rupees to the imperial exchequer, had to send his daughter to the imperial harem.

Certain unpleasant reports⁽⁸⁾ against Raja Kalyan led to his recall in 1617 A.D. His delay in appearing at the Court gave his enemies an opportunity of further poisoning the emperor's mind against him. So, when he sought an interview with the emperor towards the end of August, he and his son were placed in charge of Asaf Khan, who was ordered to investigate the case against him. About a week after, sixteen out of the eighteen elephants which the Raja had brought from Orissa, were included in the emperor's private elephant stud and two were presented to him. When one more week had passed the Raja was allowed to see the emperor, as Asaf Khan had reported that Raja Kalyan was innocent. On this occasion, the latter presented as an offering 100 muhrs and 1,000 rupees together with a string of pearls consisting of eighty pearls and two rubies, a bracelet with one ruby and two pearls, and the golden figure of a horse studded with jewels. The emperor not only gave him a dress of honour and a horse but also appointed⁽⁹⁾ him as one of the two lieutenants (the other being Rashid Khan) of Mahabat Khan, who was made governor of Kabul and charged with the pacification of Bangash, the country of the Afghans. Kalyan's career after this is obscure.

A third son of Raja Todar Mal is mentioned by Ali Muhammad Khan in his *Mirat-i-Ahmad*⁽¹⁰⁾. We are told that Rai Gopinath, the son of Raja

1. Ibid, 199.

2. R. D. Banerji's *Orissa*, 32.

3. Borah's *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, i, 143.

4. *Tuzuk* (Rog. & Bev.), 202.

5. Ibid. Also see Borah's *Baharistan*, i, 143.

6. *Tuzuk* (Rog. & Bev.), 307.

7. Kesho Das himself married the Raja's sister, got Rs. 10,000 as indemnity and obtained a promise from the Raja not only to pay Rs. 3 lakhs to the imperial exchequer but also to send his daughter to the royal harem. Vide, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. xi, 1932, p. 346 (Sharma's translation).

8. *Tuzuk* (Rog. & Bev.), 389-390.

9. *Tuzuk* (Rog. & Bev.), p. 402.

10. Persian text, part 1 (*Baroda*), p. 188.

Todar Mal, was deputed to restore order in the town of 'Kari' (کری) near Surat. With his own contingent and some other nobles like Raja Sur, he went there via Malwa and quelled the disturbances in that part of the country. Nothing more is known about him.

THE RUSHANIYAHS

BY

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The Rushaniyachs gave a great deal of trouble to Akbar when he was engaged in pacifying the frontier between his Indian provinces and the trans-Indus territories. He was so annoyed with them, that forgetting his doctrine of universal, tolerance, he gave them the name of *Tarikis*, the followers of Darkness.⁽¹⁾ This was an exact antonym of Rushaniyachs, which means the followers of Light. Syed Amir Ali calls them an exact counterpart of the "Illuminati" in Europe; but I have not been able to discover much similarity between the two sects beyond the fact that both of them, in common with all sects, considered themselves enlightened.⁽²⁾ It will be useful to study their beliefs and to find out why they were so obnoxious to Akbar.

The Dabistan-i-Madhib, that compendium of useful knowledge regarding comparative religion under the Mughuls, gives an excellent account of this cult. The founders of this sect was Miyan Bayazid Ansari, who was born in Jalandhar in 1331 A.H. 1525 (A.C.)⁽³⁾ His forefathers had lived for generations in India and were professional soldiers.⁽⁴⁾ His father, Abd-u'llah, had no liking for Bayazid's mother and ultimately divorced her. Thus his childhood was not happy; he retained throughout his life, unpleasant memories of his childhood.⁽⁵⁾ It was probably the unkindness of his father, his step-mother and his half-brothers which embittered and hardened his attitude towards humanity; for Bayazid developed into a curious combination of mystic fervour and ferocity. He came to believe that he had attained mystic enlightenment and called himself Pir Rushna'i, Later he claimed the dignity of prophethood and said that he received direct inspiration from God.⁽⁷⁾ Miyan Bayazid inspired his followers with the idealism of ascetic self-denial and sacrifice which did not die for several generations. His simple but fierce and warlike followers believed that their leader had, since his very adolescence, led a life of renunciation and mystic communion with God.⁽⁸⁾ There is always a possibility of a legend growing up around the person of an impostor; but Bayazid's teaching and life depict the psychology of a man, sincere and earnest, though misled by the very frenzy of his soul. His sensitive nature could not bear the persecution by his family, and he turned his thoughts towards the pleasures of spiritual life. Even as a child he had asked questions which were shrewd, but which betrayed the

1. E. G. Akbarnamah, text, iii, p. 446; Bada'uni, text, ii, p. 349; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, text, ii, p. 404.
2. Journal of East India Association, new series, Vol. vi, p. 296.
3. Dabistan-i-madhabih, p. 247.
4. T. A., ii, p. 398 calls him Hindustani, and B., ii, p. 349 calls him a Hindustani soldier.
5. D. M., p. 247.
6. B. ii, p. 349; T. A., ii, p. 398.
7. D. M., pp., 248, 249, 251.
8. D. M., p., 247.

tendencies of an undisciplined mind. A child, who could say, "I can see the earth and the sky, but where is God?", was a born sceptic and heretic.⁽¹⁾ An unkind home had made him rebellious; an irrational control had bred supreme contempt for a authority in his mind. When Bayazid was only a lad, he was attracted by the life of one Khwajah Ismail; 'Abdu'llah tried to dissuade his son from becoming the disciple of a man who was lower in status than their family, and asked him to turn for guidance to the descendants of the Saint Baha-u'd-din Dhakariya. The young sceptic said truthfully that mystic superiority was not a matter of inheritance⁽²⁾.

In an age which was so religion conscious, yet so sceptic and eclectic, it is not difficult to understand the growth of Bayazid's mind. His mystic nature had strengthened his heresy; for the mystics in every religion tend to emphasize the esoteric aspects of their faith to an extent that some times they lose balance and their reasoning is reduced to mere quibbling. In India, where mysticism provided a haven to all questioning minds which had been baffled by the sight of numerous creeds equally claiming to show the path of Divine favour, the tendency to explain away the very fundamentals of exoteric religion was even greater. The arch-heretics of the period were the natural product of this phenomenon. An intense conviction generally possesses a man who, without having the more profound wisdom of a balanced outlook, can invent clever explanations for popular belief or reasons for discarding it. Miyan Bayazid seems to have slid into this state⁽³⁾.

His main thesis was not very different from the well known mystic esotericism. He said to the theologians: You say that you bear witness to the fact that there is no god but God; but you are telling a lie in saying that.⁽⁴⁾ How can a man who does not know God make such an assertion truthfully?⁽⁵⁾ Similarly, once Maulana Dhakariya said to Bayazid, "You claim to have a knowledge of the secrets of any heart, tell me the secret of my heart, If you tell me truthfully, I will believe in you." Bayazid replied, "I do possess that power, but you do not possess a heart. If you had possessed a heart, I could have told you its secret." When the theologian insisted that he did possess a heart and even offered to submit to a surgical operation to prove his assertion, Bayazid replied that the heart was not that piece of mortalflesh which beat even in the bodies of goats and sheep: the true believer's heart, according to the Prophet of Islam, was greater than the Heaven, bigger than the very throne of God and it witnessed divine glory.⁽⁶⁾ The fundamentals of Islam Bayazid explained away by saying that every duty prescribed therein had a double interpretation the legal and the spiritual. To recite the formula of faith bearing witness to the unity of God and to speak the truth were legal aspects; the spiritual aspect was to be continuously absorbed in the meditation of God and to guard the heart from doubt. To fast during the month of Ramadan and to keep oneself away from food and drink as well as sexual pleasure is the law; to eat little, to keep the body from indulgence in evil are the demands of a spiritual life. It is a legal obligation to pay the *Zakat* and the tithes; but those treading the spiritual path should feed and clothe the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. T.A., ii, p., 398. B., ii, p., 349; D.M., pp., 247, 248.

4. This has a reference to the Muslim formula of faith.

5. D.M., p., 248.

6. D. M., p., 249.

poor and the starving and help the helpless. The law demands that the believers should circumambulate the House built by Abraham, and that they should abstain from evil, from sin and from strife; those who are spiritual circumambulate the house of the Friend, namely, the heart, they fight their evil selves and serve God as the angels do.⁽¹⁾

Upto this point there is hardly anything original in Miyan Bayazid's teachings. Even the theologians are not impervious to a higher interpretation of the law; they, also, are not content to follow the letter; they, also, want the believer to be impregnated with the spirit of the Faith. Miyan Bayazid was, however, original in giving his own names to the various stages in the spiritual growth of a man; though here, also, he was borrowing the fundamental idea from Muslim mystics who judge a man's attainments by his achievement of nearness to and absorption in the Godhood. The stages defined by Miyan Bayazid are the following:-

Shariat—following the law;

Tariqat—following the mystic path;

Haqiqat—literally, the Reality, but defined as being continuously absorbed in remembering God, having faith in the guidance received by the seeker's soul, removing the veil of the non-divine from the heart and to fix the sight on the beauty of the Friend;

Ma'rifat—literally knowing, but defined as seeing the self of God with the eyes of the heart, the rational perception of His existence in every place and in every direction, and to abstain from injuring any creature of God; Qurbat—literally, nearness, but defined as knowing God, hearing the sound of His Glorification and understanding it;⁽²⁾

Waslat—literally, union, but defined as the renunciation of one's existence or ego, the performance of every action in the presence of the Creator, giving up all unnecessary actions and utilizing intelligence for the purpose of union with God; Tawhid—literally, unity or oneness, is defined as the complete annihilation of one's self in the absolute God and thus gaining absolute eternity, being united with the One God, and avoiding evil;⁽³⁾ Sakunat—literally, peace or abiding, is defined as the achievement of complete peace, obtaining the power to radiate this virtue, acquiring the qualities of the absolute God and giving up one's own characteristics. This was the highest that the human soul could achieve.⁽⁴⁾

1. The House built by Abraham is the sacred Kabah in Mecca, the heart is frequently referred to as the 'House of God' by the mystics.

2. This is a literal translation; but the meaning is that when one reaches the stage of qurbat, one truly understands the nature of God, literally hears His silent glorification by the entire animate and inanimate universe, and understands the reason and the meaning of this glorification. The reference is to the Quranic verse; "Whatsoever is on the Earth and in the Heavens glorifies Him."

3. The text has از شدک خدر کردن and, therefore, I have translated it as avoiding evil; but this seems to be a copyist's error for از شدک خدر کردن which would mean 'avoiding polytheism or association of anyone in divinity with God. This will be more appropriate; particularly because some mystics believe that it is shirk even to think that any one truly exists except God.

4. D.M., p., 250.

These stages may be compared with the various stages generally recognised by the Muslim mystics:—

Shariat—the law;

Tariqat—the mystic path;

Ma'rifat—the enlightenment;

Hudur—the realization of the presence of God;

Shuhnd—the vision of God.

Fana—the annihilation of the self;

Baqa—the acquirement of eternity by complete union with God.

Miyan Bayazid's division of the mystic development of the human soul into various stages is neither so convincing nor so logical; but, than, this is hardly to be expected. For it must be remembered that the sufis had worked out a convincing system of philosophy after several centuries of experiments in mystic exercises combined with attempts at a philosophic interpretation of their experience; the sufis were not only mystics, their experience had also given them the perception to formulate their knowledge into a well-knit philosophy. Miyan Bayazid had always been too much of a sceptic and a rebel to classify his ideas in a conventional way, hence he probably never learnt the method of cogent thinking. Besides, he had never received a proper education.⁽¹⁾

Apart from this fundamental mysticism, there is very little in Miyan Bayazid's teachings which deserves a close study. Born in 931 A. H., it was as early as 949 A. H. that he began to attract disciples.⁽²⁾

If these dates are correct, Bayazid must have been precocious. A youth who has a bunch of followers at eighteen can be excused if he comes to have a faith in his extraordinary powers. The first millennium after the Prophet's mission was soon coming to an end and the hope of a Mahdi was almost universal. A learned and pious man like Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur was misled into believing himself to be the Mahdi and his claim found favour with a number of Muslims of learning and piety. Could this boy, whose precocity had been rewarded at eighteen, be blamed for gradually developing the idea that God had chosen him to be His instrument for reviving righteousness and religion? Whenever there is a universal hope of a Messiah, impostors will rise; but sincere men also are likely to be misled into believing themselves to be the chosen instruments destined to redeem the world. It is not possible to probe into the motives of such men. Bayazid gradually came to believe in his mission as a Mahdi, even as a divinely inspired prophet; but this belief was announced when he

1. D.M., p., 251.

2. D. M., p., 251. He could not have proclaimed himself a prophet at that time. B, ii, p. 349 implies that he proclaimed his mission in 986 A.H. This is supported by D.M., p. 251 which says he had not yet proclaimed his mission when he attended Mirza Muhammad Hakim's court. D.M. however, creates a difficulty by saying میان روشن در نه صد و چهل و نه قوی شد و مذہب اور دانی I take this to refer to Miyan Bayazid's popularity as a pir, not to the acceptance of his mission as a prophet.

was thirty one.⁽¹⁾ He kept the Muslim form of prayer, but abolished the custom of facing the Ka'bah; for he argued that God was in every direction, and, therefore, it did not matter which way a man turned his face. He also made the amazing statement for the benefit of his disciples that it was unnecessary to bathe in water; the four elements are purifying; the body is continuously bathed in air and is thereby purified.⁽²⁾ Such statements show the immaturity of his mind; but there is nothing in them to earn the implacable hostility of Akbar's otherwise exceedingly tolerant Government.

The reason of Akbar's detestation of the sect is to be found in the attitude of the Rushaniyats towards those whom they considered to be in error. Miyan Bayazid argued that any one who did not possess a knowledge of his own self and of God was not a man. "If he is harmful, he deserves the same treatment as the wolf, the tiger, the serpent or the scorpion, and such animals, according to the teachings of the Arabian Prophet, should be destroyed before they inflict injury. If such a man is virtuous and prays regularly, he is only like a cow or a sheep, for does not the Qur'an say that 'they are like beasts, even more misguided than beasts'? And, the killing of cows and sheep is lawful." Bayazid also said that people who had not acquired the abiding and eternal life of a spiritual existence were in reality dead; their heirs, who were ignorant of a higher life like their fathers, were similarly dead; the property of the dead, whose heirs also are dead, should pass to the living; hence he ordered that the ignorant should be killed and their property be seized.⁽³⁾ This parody of a syllogism as well as of the shar' could only be the outcome of a diseased mind; in a more sophisticated age or society, this prophet would have been sent to a mental hospital; but Bayazid lived among the border tribes and had found a people worthy of his philosophy. Thus, in this respect, Bayazid's philosophy was not only diametrically opposed to Akbar's ideal of universal tolerance, but also was a political danger. No government could tolerate a sect which acted on these doctrines and considered it their religious duty to way-lay travellers and carry out daring raids into peaceful areas.

As has already been mentioned, Bayazid was a man of very meagre learning, in fact he was hardly educated in the proper sense of the word.⁽⁴⁾ His teachings are however, incorporated in several books. The following books are ascribed to him:—

Maqṣud-u'l-mu'minin in Arabic :

Khair-u'l-bayan in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pushtu; the same material has been presented in the four languages, so that one who reads it in one, need not read it in any other language; this was the bible of the sect and was considered to be divinely inspired; *Hal-namah*, which is an autobiography.⁽⁵⁾

1. Vide Supra.

2. His claims and some of his teachings put him outside the pale of Islam, but we have only the testimony of the D. M. B. ii, p., 349 and T. A., ii, p., 398 both say, 'He spread the religion of heretics, and neither of these authorities calls him an infidel, nor refers to his claims of being the Mahdi and a prophet. Both of them, however, properly consign him to hell.

3. D. M., p., 251.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Also T. A., ii, p., 398, B. ii, p., 349.

Bayazid claimed to receive divine inspiration without the mediation of any agency like angels and was convinced that God spoke to him directly.⁽¹⁾ He said that he was unwillingly obliged to take up arms against those who did not accept his mission on account of the receipt of repeated mandates from God.⁽²⁾

Miyan Bayazid died in 989 A.H. (1581 A.C.). when Akbar led his campaign against Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and was succeeded by his son, Jalal-u'd-din commonly called Jalalah by the Mughul historians.⁽³⁾ He was only fourteen years old at the time of his succession; and considered it politic to wait upon Akbar when he was returning from Kabul. Jalalah was well received and was shown favour. Loyalty to the Mughuls, however, was unpopular with his followers and he soon reverted to the policy of his father.⁽⁴⁾

His activities prospered to such an extent that when Shahrugh Mirza came to seek asylum with Akbar in 992 A. H. (1584 A. C.), the Tarikis blocked his way near 'Ali Masjid, and he was able to save his life with difficulty.⁽⁵⁾ Similarly, next year, when Mirza Muhammad Hakim died and his children were brought to the court, the Khaibar Pass had to be opened by Mughul troops to enable the *cortege* to proceed to India.⁽⁶⁾ This state of affairs could not be tolerated for long, and, therefore, Rajah Man Singh, who was given the government of Kabul, was specially commissioned to punish the Tarikis.⁽⁷⁾ When in 1586 A.C. 'Abd-u'llah Khan Uzbek's ambassador arrived at Kabul, the Kaibar route was still dangerous and Man Singh had to take special measures to escort the party.⁽⁸⁾ At last, in 994 A. H. Akbar decided to go to Lahor and reside there for some time to devote greater attention to the frontier and North-West affairs.⁽⁹⁾ One of the reasons was that he wanted to punish the Tarikis.⁽¹⁰⁾ He appointed Zain Khan Kokah to deal with them. The operations started, but the Tarikis replied by surprising Sayyid Hamid Bukhari, a Gujrati noble, who fought bravely but was overcome and lost his life.⁽¹¹⁾ In the mean while Man Singh came to escort Mirza Sulaiman and inflicted heavy punishment on the Raushaniyats. Zain Khan arrived a little later and united his forces with those of Man Singh.⁽¹²⁾ Man Singh was shortly afterwards removed from the Governorship of Kabul, which was entrusted to Zain Khan. Man Singh was given the sole duty of chastising the Tarikis.⁽¹³⁾ In -95 A.H. 'Abd-u'l-Muttalib was sent to Bangash and succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the sect.⁽¹⁴⁾

1. The evidence is conflicting. At p., 249, the D.M. makes Bayazid say that the archangel Gabriel came to him with divine commands, at p. 251 his disciples claim that God spooke to him without the agency of Gabriel the traditional bearer of Divine inspiration in Muslim lands.

2. D.M., p., 251.

3. B., ii, p., 349; T. A., ii, p. 398. The text of D.M. is corrupt at this place and does not make sense. Only D.M. gives Jalalah's full name; the Mughul historians did not like to call him by a name which was their sovereign's title.

4. Ibid; D.M., p. 252.

5. A.N. iii, pp. 446, 447.

6. A.N. iii, p., 473.

7. A.N. iii, p. 476; B. ii, p. 349; T. A., ii, p. 398.

8. A. N., iii, pp., 479, 486, B., ii, p., 351.

9. A.N. iii, pp., 493, 494, B., ii, pp. 352, 353.

10. Ibid.

11. A.N., iii, pp., 509, 510; B. ii, p., 354, T.A., ii, p., 404.

12. A.N., iii, pp., 512-514, T.A., ii, p. 404, B., ii, 354-355.

M. Sulaiman was left behind before the engagement and joined Man Singh in the pass after the victory.

13. A. N., iii, pp., 517, 518.

14. B., ii, p., 357.

Jalalah, at this time, made a journey to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek' court, probably to get some help, but the Transoxianian monarch was desirous of seeking Akbar's friendship, and therefore his mission did not succeed. Jalalah soon returned to continue his struggle; Akbar now appointed Ja'far Beg Qazwini, who bore the title of Asaf Khan to help Muhammad Qasim Khan, at this time the governor of Kabul, in dealing with the Tariki leader.⁽¹⁾ In 10001 A. H. Zain Khan Kokah was made the governor of Sawad and Bajaur and instructed to cooperate in the operations against the Tarikis.⁽²⁾ Jalalah was obliged to leave Tirah and enter the Kafir territories.⁽³⁾ In the mean while, Wahdat 'Ali, a relation of Jalalah prevailed over a portion of the Kafir territories and took hold of the fortress of Kanshal.⁽⁴⁾ Zain Khan and Asaf Khan defeated Wahdat 'Ali and took Kanshal. Wahdat 'Ali surrendered and no less than 7,000 Tarikis were taken prisoner. The country up to Kashghar a Badakhshan was brought under control.⁽⁵⁾ However, Jalalah, in spite of elaborate precautions, was able to slip back to his old haunts.⁽⁶⁾

In 1004 A.H. (1596 A.C.) Qasim Khan died and the Tarikis rebelled again.⁽⁷⁾ Qulich Khan, the new governor, took vigorous measures and dispersed the rebel forces.⁽⁸⁾ Tirah was reconquered in 1006 A.H. (1598 A.C.) the Tarikis retired to their mountains; Jalalah took shelter in Safid Koh.⁽⁹⁾ Next year, however, the Tariki leader succeeded in capturing Ghaznin.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1007 A. H. he was wounded in an encounter with the Hazarabs near Ghaznin. He fled to Rabat, and, there, was dispatched by one Murad Beg, a follower of Sharif Khan Atgah.⁽¹¹⁾ Jalalah was only thirty two when he died; he had proved himself a capable military leader in continuing an unequal struggle with a strong empire bent upon crushing him; he is credited with uprightness in dealing with his followers; he was strict in the observance of his religion.⁽¹²⁾

The sect continued to be vigorous under Jalalah's nephew and successor Ahab Dad, son of 'Umar Shaikh, who was Jalalah's brother.⁽¹³⁾ He was an efficient leader; but his vanity seems to have been great, for his followers claimed not only supernatural powers but also divinity for him. However, he maintained Bayazid's religion. He was killed by a canon ball when he was besieged in Nawaghar by Jahangir's troops under Ahsanu'llah Zafar Khan.⁽¹⁴⁾ 'Abd-u'l Qadir succeeded him; he was the

1. B. ii, pp., 380, 381.

2. A.N., iii, pp., 639, B. 381.

3. A.N. iii, pp., 639, 640. Also Insha-i-Abul.Fadl, ii, p., 163.

4. A.N. (Bib. Ind. edition) has Kahshan, but Ma'athir, ii, p., 368 has Kanshal Iqbal-Namah & I.O. Ms. 236 also have Kanshal. B. ii, p. 388 says Wahdat 'Ali was Jalal's brother, but A.N., iii, p. 640

calls him a خوش a relation, which seems to be correct, for the D. M. (pp., 251, 252) gives a list of Miyan Bayazid's children - four sons, 'Umar Shaikh, Kamal-ud-din, Nuru'd-din and Jalal-u'd-din (alies Jalalah) and a daughter Kamal Khatun.

5. A.N., iii, pp., 640, 641; B. ii, pp., 387, 388; D.M., p., 252. Bada'uni says 14,000 prisoners were taken.

6. A.N. 111., p., 642.

7. A.N., iii, p., 702.

8. Ibid.

9. A.N., p., 740.

10. D.M., p., 252.

11. A.N., iii, p., 776; D.M., p., 252.

12. D.M., p., 252.

13. Ibid. The text had Abdad, but this seems to be a mistake, for he was revered to as Ahab, the one God, by some of his followers. D.M., p., 252.

14. D.M., p., 252.

son of Bibi 'Ata'i, Jalalah's daughter. Zafar Khan pressed him hard on all sides; ultimately he was persuaded to accept an office under Shah Jahan.⁽¹⁾ The Tarikis, throughout their struggle with the Mughuls, were actuated partly by religious, partly by tribal feelings⁽²⁾. The Afghan spirit of independence found an expression in their warlike activities. When their leaders submitted to the Mughuls, the Tarikis lost their hold on the Afghans who discovered new leaders. Payazid's religion died out when it ceased to provide a centre for Afghan resistance to the Mughuls.

JODH BAI'S PALACE AT FATHPUR SIKRI

BY

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Amongst the secular building built by Akbar at Fathpur Sikri the so-called Jodh Bai's palace is the largest and one of the most impressive. Its massive and severe entrance, the spacious courtyard, the breezy Hawa Mahal, the gorgeous blue enamelled tilings, the unique *entresol*, the raised viaduct that runs from there to Hiran minar, the interesting medallion like decorations at the north and south corner-rooms and the Hindu features of the chapel and other apartments have drawn the attention of the tourists to Fathpur Sikri and every one has enquired who the builder was, the purpose served by the building and the period of its building were.

Mr. E. W. Smith's work entitled *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri* in four volumes is a monumental work. Not only does it describe the building and give photographs and drawings of its details but it takes pains to present the traditional historical associations also.

Recently Rev. H. Heras, the learned historian of Bombay has written an interesting article on this building under the tempting title *The palace of Akbar at Fathpur Sikri*⁽³⁾. His contentions are that this comprised four different buildings assigned to four different purposes and that the Emperor Akbar, his queen and the princess all resided there and that the central hall on the west side of the courtyard was the Emperor's *Khwabgah* or retiring room. He draws the conclusions from his reading of Father Monserrate's *Commentaries*.

Let us describe the building first. It is rectangular 232' × 215' enclosing an open quadrangle, 179' × 162'. Around it are halls, smaller rooms or corridors and in the centre of each side is a more imposing double-storeyed hall. The entrance situated on the east side is a magnificent pile in the orthodox Hindu style. There are no arches; instead, pillars, lintels, brackets and pediments abound. On crossing the entrance reaches the large open quadrangle. On the west side adjoining quadrangle is a large hall measuring 36' × 32' usually denoted as a Hindu chapel or *thakurdwara*. There are seven niches in the walls which Edmund Smith states to have contained

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. When Abd-ul-Qadir entered the Mughul camp, his horse was frightened and wanted to turn away. An old Afghan, who was watching said to 'Abd-ul-Qadir; "the Miyan said, keep away from the Mughuls. Your horse is a truer follower" of the Miyan; he refuses to go to them. Your are going willingly."

3. See the *Journal of Indian History*, parts 1-3, 1926.

statuettes or idols of the Hindu deities within living memory and the piers of the all are adorned with bells and chains. At the west end of the hall is a stone dais with a chimney in the wall and on the two sides of the entrance to the hall are stone seats. The ornamentation of the bottom of the east facade is similar to those met with in the fourteenth century Hindu architecture and at the top of the facade are representations of Prahmani ducks. The dripstones are 6' in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' in thickness supported by massive Hindu brackets. There is a second storey above the chapel. Rev. Heras supposes the chapel and the hall above to be meant for Akba's residence.

On the north side are several striking structures. On the ground floor next to the courtyard is an open hall, $36' \times 20'$ and behind it another inner chamber, $36' \times 11'$. This inner room communicates with the east and west sides by a narrow passage and the walls of the hall have apertures allowing the persons from the back chamber or in the passage to observe unnoticed the proceedings of the hall.

At the top of the back chamber is an intermediate floor generally supposed to have been used as a banqueting hall by the Emperor. This may be termed an *entresol*, for its floor is lower than that of the adjoining Hawa Mahal and its ceiling is in level with that of the reception hall and it supports a 'hipped' dome. North of the *entresol* on the ground floor is an open corridor and at its top, at a higher level than the *entresol* is a room popularly known as the Hawa Mahal or Breezy room indicating its chief characteristic. The walls consists of large open screens, some measuring $7'6'' \times 5'8'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and with representation of two birds on one of them. The roof is waggon-shaped and is covered on the outside with cement and concrete and is laid with enamelled tiles of rich blue colour. Round the exterior of this apartment are brackets serpent-shaped like those to be found in Jaina buildings at Mount Abu or Palitana and imitated at Fathfur Sikri in the stone cutter's mosque or Shaikh Salim Chishti's Tomb. The room was exclusively used by women.

On the south side too adjoining the quadrangle is a reception room with another rooms at its back, the roof of which forms another *entresol* with a hipped dome.

Adjoining the chapel and the two reception rooms are corridors and at the four corners of the building are four rooms both on the ground floor as well as on the first floor. Each of the angle rooms measures $19' \times 19'$ and is crowned by a dome. At one time it was full of decorations in colour but now the colour is hidden under a heavy coating of the white lime but in the crown of the dome may still be noticed an exquisite circular medallion $7' \times 3''$ in diameter. The angle-rooms on the ground floor also bear rich decorations.

On the east side there are open corridors and the south wing contains the baths and the latrines.

From Jodh Bai's palace a few feet to the west of the Hawa Mahal, a raised viaduct leads on to the fairly distant Hiran minar, a tall tower standing by itself in or by a lake in Akbar's time. The viaduct enabled the royal women to pass unnoticed to the minar and enjoy the breeze of the open expanse of the lake and the hunting fields near it.

At the end of the description of the building we may emphasize once more its Hindu features. The whole building breathes of the Hindu atmosphere and reminds one of Rajput *sanana* like that of Raja Man Singh's Palace at Gwalior. Even the very entrance looks like a Hindu entrance. The stunted pillars with the carvings of bell and chain, the low flat roof, the raised platforms for the guards, the niches with their pediments and the absence of arches and windows indicate unmistakably its Hindu character. On passing into the courtyard and into the chapel halls, corridors and other rooms, one again notices the Hindu features, e.g., the profuse application of colour in the decorations, generally tabooed by the Muslims, the carvings in low relief of birds, the serpentine brackets, the screened passage around the two reception rooms with apertures in the walls to enable the ladies to look through, the massive dripstone resting on equally massive brackets and lastly the complete absence of the arches. The chapel itself with its raised platform for the performance of the haven or oblation ceremony, the running chimney in the wall, the stone seats for the visitors, the several niches with their pediments, the pillars with the bell and chain decorations and the carvings in low relief of the Brahmani ducks all indicate its character.

Let us now take up the question as to who resided there. By tradition it is assigned to Jodh Bai and she is told to be Akbar's chief queen. But the contemporary history does not confirm the tradition and, as Blockmann points out, no queen of Akbar bore the name of Jodh Bai; the name is usually associated with the chief queen of Jahangir and as Fathpur was deserted in Akbar's reign and was never utilized for residence by Jahangir no queen of the latter could have resided there. Assuming therefore that the building belonged to one of Akbar's queens, Edmund Smith first suggests the name of Ruqaiya Begam, Hindal Mirza's daughter, on the ground that she was Akbar's first wife being married to him in 1551 and hence the chief queen. The *Ain-i-Akbari* also calls her *زن کلان*. But on second thought, Edmund Smith changes his mind and considering the Hindu feelings that pervades the buildings suggests it to belong to Jahangir's mother, who was the eldest daughter of Kachwaha Raja Bhara Mal of Amber or Jaipur. The birth of the Emperor's eldest son, Salim, made her henceforth the chief queen as indicated by her title of *Mariam-uz-zamani*.⁽¹⁾ Put to us it seems that the house assigned to her was the adjoining building known as the *Sunehra Makan* or *Mariam-ki-kothi*, the name Mariam being an abbreviation of the full title Mariam uz-zamani.

The so-called Jodh Bai's palace was the residence of more than one lady. It is the biggest secular building in Fathpur Sikri and as against the Emperor's *Khwabgah* measuring 14'3"x14' or Turkish Sultana's house, measuring 13'6"x13'3", this palace externally measures 232'x215'. Again, whereas the two former buildings comprise a single room surrounded by screened verandahs, the latter has a dozen halls or rooms, a spacious enclosure 179'x162' and extensive terraces. With the foundation of the new capital, the top of the ridge was occupied by the Jami Masjid, the royal apartments and those of his chief favourites and the chief offices of the government. He had no space to spare for other buildings. While economising space in other directions if he allotted so much of space to this Jodh Bai's palace he must have had cogent reason for it and the reason seems to be that it was utilized by many more than one lady. Various facts supports the statement. The two reception room and other halls, a

1. The Dawager-queen, Hamida Banu Begam, Akbar's mother bore the title of Mariam *Mahani*.

large number of corridors, the angle rooms both on the ground and on the top floors, the extensive terraces all testify to their being used by a fairly large number of inmates. Also the viaduct leading to the breezy Hiran minar starts from this palace, showing that for an evening outing on the lake all the ladies would have to come to this place. If it had belonged to one single individual she would resent the constant intrusions from other ladies and the total number of women in the Emperor's harem at one stage is mentioned by Abul Fazl to be 5000. Our third reason for the assertion of the palace being used by a multitude of women is that it was directly connected with the *Khwabgah* thus enabling the Emperor to approach the building from the terrace on the west of the *Khwabgah* without even getting down to the ground floor. Unfortunately, the pathway connecting the terrace of the *Khwabgah* with Jodh Bai's palace has been pulled down by the Archaeological department and hence this accessibility from the *Khwabgah* is sometimes lost to view.

The Emperor probably took his dinner in this palace at the banqueting hall and utilized the opportunity to come into contact with some of the inmates of his large harem. Unless he came to dine there, there is no point in having a banqueting hall in this palace nor in having the passage leading from the *Khwabgah*; for the Hindu ladies if left to themselves would have preferred at least in Mediaeval time—to time in the kitchen or in their own apartments and the ladies might have approached the Emperor at the *Khwabgah* by other and more regular routes. If in the midst of his midst of his multifarious duties he found time to dine in Jodh Bai's palace, there was a primary need for it which was to afford him the opportunities to come into contact with his womenfolk and know their needs or grievances and get a general report on the affairs of the women.

It may be said that the building was used by all the women and not the Hindu women only either for residence or as a place of rendezvous. But the Hindu atmosphere of the place would not suit the Muslim women. They would not choose to stay where a Hindu chapel existed, *havana* was performed and idols had been placed in the niches. They would certainly prefer a residence outside. That the place was used for residential purposes is clear from the presence of the baths and the latrines in the south wing. Common sense would also indicate that the allotment of so much space just to enable Akbar's womenfolk to meet each other would not be advisable especially when *Panch Mahal* and a garden was available in the vicinity for the purpose. Hence our conclusion is that this palace was used as a residence by all or many of the Hindu ladies in Akbar's harem. It may be that the Muslim women came there to call on some of the Hindu ladies or that on approach to the viaduct was allowed to all the royal women without distinction of religion.

Let us now turn to Rev. Heras's contentions. He entirely rejects the above conclusions and suggests that Akbar resided there in the apartments of the west wing and that the women and the princes resided in the remaining wings and bases his conclusions on Father Monserrate's statements.

Let us quote the latter. Their total circuit is so large that it easily embraces four great royal dwellings, of which the king's own palace is the largest and the finest. The second palace belongs to the queens and the

turn to the royal princes whilst the fourth is used as a store-house and magazine. The roof of these places are not tiled, but are dome-shaped, being protected from the weather on the outside by solid plaster covering the stone slabs. This forms a roof absolutely impervious to moisture. The palaces are decorated also with many pinnacles, supported on four columns, each of which form a small covered portico.⁽¹⁾

As Monserrate mentions the king's palace to be the largest and as in the next paragraph he makes it as large as the tomb of Shaikh Salim,⁽²⁾ Rev. Heras concludes that the biggest secular building, i.e., Jodh Bai's palace must be the Emperor's residence and that the second, third and fourth palaces mean the other wings of the same building where the king resided. Hence he allots the west wing to the king, the north to the queens, the east to the princes and the south for the store-house and the magazine.

It is possible that Rev. Heras is correct in his surmises and that the king had an apartment in the western central hall on the first floor for himself. But certainly 'dwellings' are not wings and all the queens - and Monserrate himself mentions 300 of them⁽³⁾—could not be accommodated in the north wing. Secondly a magazine and a house fit ill with the bath-rooms and water-closets of the harem. Thirdly if the king resided in the west apartment far away from the main entrance, he could not meet any of his nobles or ministers without himself coming out of the enclosure. Also it would mean a ceaseless worry to him to live in the midst of the din of the harem where the continuous babble of the women and the prattling of the children would make his life miserable.

Fourthly, the tomb of Shaikh Salim apart from the rest of the Jami Masjid is not a large building and hence an edifice compared with the tomb in area would not be termed extensive.

If we slightly modify Rev. Heras's statement and make Jodh Bai's palace serve as temporary residence for the Emperor before or after the dinner or for a siesta in the day not much objection remains to his surmises. His reason for making the palace Akbar's principal residence is that Father Monserrate mentions the residence of the Portuguese mission including himself to be next to the king's palace. Monserrate says '.....they began to plan to remove their quarters into a house which was actually built against the palace-wall, so that by making a door through this wall a secret means of meeting might be devised. When they told the king of this plan its purpose, he immediately ordered the ointments, perfumes..... to be conveyed out of that house into another; for the house (which the priests wanted) was used for the manufacturing and storing of the perfumes'⁽⁴⁾ Then the writer goes on to describe the removal of the priests into their new house. The annotator of the book suggests that *Bibi Mariam ki kothi* was their residence and that it was so called in honour of the Virgin Mary whose statue was in the chapel. Rev. Heras accepts the suggestion of the annotator and says, 'that the Capuchin Fathers of Agra who were the immediate successors of the last Jesuits in India point Mariam's House to be the house occupied by Aquaviva and Monserrate long before the commentaries were published.'⁽⁵⁾ Assuming therefore the kothi to be the residence of the priests, the nearest house, i.e., Jodh Bai's palace, Heras assigns to the king.

1. *Commentary of Father Monserrate* by Hoyland and Banerji pp. 199-200.

2. *Ibid* p. 202.

3. The exact figure is much larger.

4. *The Commentary* p. 58.

5. See Heras's mentioned above,

The mission had reached Fathpur in March 1580 and stayed till February 1583 though Monserrate left the city ten months earlier. Akbar continued to stay in Fathpur till 1585 when Ralph Fitch visited it. The tradition of the capuchin Fathers that *Bibi Mariam ki kothi* was occupied by the mission is opposed to the other and the more common tradition of its being occupied by a lady. The highly decorated walls of the house and the elaborate paintings depicting hunting and battle scenes, angels and Rama and Hanuman and the *Kirti mukhas* in low relief would prevent us from assigning it to the mere storage of the perfumes.

Again the residence of the priest, if placed in *Bibi Mariam ki krthi* would be in the *zanana* and as such would be opposed to the cannon of the purdah-ridden Muslims. Jodh Bai's palace, Panch Mahal, the ladies garden and one or two other *zanana* buildings would be too near the priests and inconvenience the royal inmates. Also by the residence of the mission in *Bibi Mariam ki kothi* it would not be possible for the Emperor to have secret meetings with the priests. His coming in and going out by the main entrance would be noticed by the eunuchs and the Rajput guards and also by the women of the palace and the Emperor's arrival at the priests' residence could be noticed from the Hawa Mahal.

Nor does *Bibi Mariam ki kothi* about Jodh Bai's palace and hence Monserrate's words that the priests' house was actually built against the palace walls, so that by making a door through this wall a secret means of meeting might be devised, could not apply to the kothi and the palace.

The question still remains, "where then were the Christian priests lodged at Fathpur?" We are unable to answer it unless it be on the south side of the present *Khwabgah* somewhere near the Hakim's houses and the now no longer existing *Ibadat Khana*.⁽¹⁾ Many of the houses in the neighbourhood of *Khwabgah* have been pulled down and *Ibadat Khana* and the *Khushbukhana* or the priest's residence may be two of them.

This would also be the natural environment for the learned and pious Fathers; for they would be adjacent to the king in the *Khwabgah*, also near the Hakims and the *Ibadat Khana* and would be far away from the women quarters.

Our conclusions are (1) the local tradition on the whole is correct with regard to the location of Akbar's *Khwabgah*. (2) *Bibi Mariam ki kothi* belonged to Jahan-gir's mother who bore the title of Mariam-us-zamani. (3) Jodh Bai's palace was assigned to the Hindu ladies of Akbar's *zanana*. (4) the palace would be available to the Muslim ladies for a short stay or far passing on to the viaduct or even to meet Akbar at his dinner time.

While passing, we may note that the Hindus queens of Akbar were not regarded by their relations to belong to the Hindu fold. No Qazi could unite the Emperor to a Hindu lady unless the latter uttered the *kalima* and professed Islam at the time of the marriage ceremony. But these ladies though legally converted, continued in their former conviction; hence the *thakurdwaras* and the idols and even the representations of Ram and Hanuman and of *kirti-mukhas*. On Mariam-uz-zamani's death she was buried and her mausoleum may still be seen in Sikandra. These nominally Muslim Hindu ladies had their Hindu servants or *mankes* as they would be called in. Rajputana who also were looked down upon by their relations; but they all together continued in their former mode of life and Akbar raised no objections, though on the death of any of these ladies, the Muslim priest would bury them in accordance with the

1. V. Smith places it in this locality.

Muslim rites. Jodh Bai's palace vividly demonstrates Akbar's large-heartedness in allowing his Hindu queens and their attendants a free choice of worship even though every body else considered them to be converts to Islam.

One more question remains, 'when was it built?' It must have been one of the earliest buildings of the newly-founded city for the accomodation of the ladies would be one of the primary duties of the Emperor and as the Hijri date corresponding to 1571 is inscribed on the Jami Masjid and Birbal's House, at least the same date or a year earlier may be assigned to Jodh Bai's palace.

TWO ALIGARH MSS OF THE MAKHZAN-I-AFGHANI

BY

Dr. A. Halim, Aligarh.

The Nawab Abdus Salam Collection of the Muslim University Library possesses two Mss. of Niamatullah's Makhzan-i-Afghani—viz. Nos. 136/2 and 136/3. Both the Mss. are incomplete, but a combined reading of the two will give the most complete text of the Makhzan. In No. 136/2 which is written in a very neat *Nastuliq* hand, the Section on the cause of the composition of the book and pages 355-361 are after-additions. There is a big gap from page 72, so that there is a sudden jump from the middle of the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi at page 72 to that of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in page 73. Besides this, the whole of Chapter V, on the life of Khan Jahan Lodi, a very important portion of the work, is missing. The last defect may have crept into the body of this Ms. due to the copyist copying from a manuscript from which those portions were missing, and the copyist instead of copying from the first Section (Fasl) of the V Chapter (Bab) opened the V (Section)Fasl of the IV Chapter and wrote it (and a few more sections) as chapter V. Elliot might have consulted this very manuscript or its proto-type. Since the colophon page of this Ms. is missing it is not possible to say who the scribe was. The Manuscript does not appear to be a very old one and is in a very nice state of preservation. Unlike the preceding one, in Ms. No. 136/3, the scribe mentions himself repeatedly at the end of almost every chapter, accompanied by the remark "by the Grace of God, such and such chapter of the Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Makhzan-i-Afghani was finished on such and such date." The different chapters were finished on different dates of the year 1129 A.H./1716, "in the 6th year of the reign of Padshah-i-Ghazi Muhammad Farrukh Siyar", by a copyist named Abdus Shakur Shahjahanpuri and the IV Chapter was written partly by Abdus Shakur and partly by his brother⁽¹⁾ Abdur Rasul son of Abdur Rashid (S/O Qazi Luqman) Shahjahanpuri. The copying was done "at the village of Ata-i-pur⁽²⁾ in Shamsabad Pargana, Qanauj Sarkar, included in the metropolitan Province of Akbarabad (Agra)", at the orders of "the revered and respected brother Mian Abdur Rab⁽³⁾".

Ms. No. 136/2 begins with the praise of God thus "Hamdi ke Muarrikhan-i-Waqa-i-nigar etc", followed by the praise of the Prophet. It is preceded by a section on the cause of the composition of the book which, as I said before, is an after addition. The historical portion of this manuscript is complete. The narrative breaks at the

1. Compare remark at the end of Chapter IV f. 196 (a) (in Ms. 136/3), where Abdus Shakur calls himself son Abdur Rashid, son of Qazi Luqman and at the end of chapter V Abdur Rasul makes a similar claim.

2. A village at present in Kampil Pargana, Qaimganj Tahsil, Farrukhabad Distt. U.P. cf. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. IX p. 184.

3. In f. 60 (a) the name portion of the patron is worm-eaten and is badly patched up.

Khatma in connection with the life of the so called Afghan Saints, after a full account of Kh. Yahya. The portion from 355-361 which was later copied from some other Ms. contains accounts of the genealogy and dynastic history of Haibat Khan Kakar, who was conferred the title of Dilawar Khan⁽¹⁾ by Jahangir, for his success in suppressing Prince Khusrau's rebellion, one of the author's patron. Ms. No. 136/3 begins with the praise of the Prophet in folio marked as 1(a) and hence a page on the praise of God etc. is apparently missing. This is followed by a Section on the cause of the composition of the book. It ends in folio 319(6) in the midst of the discussion on the origin of the title of Karrani in chapter VI. Its VI chapter is incomplete at the end. The VII chapter and the *Khatma* do not exist. In the index of contents, however, the VII Chapter is concerned with the reign of Jahangir, followed by a Khatma on the life of the Afghan saints.

The author who calls himself Khwaja Niamatullah of Herat, son of Habibullah gives a short reference of his career in India in the body of the work⁽²⁾. He says that "the father of this humble self had served in the Khalisa department of His Majesty (Emperor Akbar) for a period of 35 years of his life, and this humble self, the author of this history, Niamatullah had held the office of Waqia-nawis, and other respectable offices, in the court of the Asylum of Men, Emperor Jahangir, for a period of 11 years. In the time, when His Majesty in 1017/1608 had returned to the metropolitan city of Agra, after the conclusion of the triumphant march to Kabul and Lahore, and had halted at Agra, on account of the vicissitudes of fortune and ill-luck....., I was deprived of the services of the august court." In 1018/1607(3) Niamatullah entered the service of Nawab Khanjahan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi whom Emperor Jahangir called his son, and whom he deputed for the conquest of the Deccan. In this journey he met Mian Haibat Khan Kakar of Samana one of the employees of Nawab Khanjahan and both became harmonious in views," and in accordance with the efforts of the above named (Haibat Khan), he, the author wanted to write the history of the (Bani Israil) tribe from the beginning (i.e. from Propet Yaqub of Israil). "Then Niamatullah goes on to say that he" began writing the book on the 20th Zilhaj; 1020/Feb. 23, 1612, on Friday after the Asr (after-noon) Prayer, which according to the traditions is the most auspicious moment, in Malkapur in Berar⁽⁴⁾, whose governor Prince Parviz of Sublime Fortune had marched to the Deccan on a campaign. He finished it on the 10th Zilhaj 1021/Feb. 1, 1613, in Burhanpur, Khandesh. After citing the names of the Arabic and Peasian authorities he consulted, and paying for the life and prosperity of Khan Jahan Lodi, he says in the introduction that, "Nawab Khan Jahan Lodi having accepted the book, I have named it Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan-i-Makhzan-i-Afghani." He also informs us in the introduction, that the book consists of seven chapters, with a Muqaddamma (Prolegomena) at the beginning and a Khatma at the end.

The Muqaddama (Prolegomena) starts with a reference to the history of the creation from Kairmurs to Noah, and Sam S/O Noah. The author's remarks that the history of the genealogy of the Afghans and their migration into the Sulaiman and Firuz-Koh regions having been unknown, will be discussed in the Khatma. "From that time (the time of Talut i.e. patriarch Saul) up to the reign of Bahlol Lodi, none of this (Afghan) dynasty has attained the position of a ruler. The aim of this work is the writing of the lives and deeds of those successful kings." He goes on to say that "although the reign of Bahlol Lodi has been discussed by Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad in the Tarikh-i-Nizami and Shaikh Abbas Sherwani in the Tarikh-i-Shershahi and Maulana Musthaqi in his own history and Maulana Ibrahim Kalowini in his

1. Ms. 136/2 Chapt. VII, p. 247.

2. P. 235, Ms. No. 136/2.

3. Wrongly entered as 1022 H in Ms. 136/3 but correctly in the other one.

4. Malkapur is a Mahal of the Sarkar of Narnala, Berar Suba. Vide Ain. Jarrett, II, p. 234.

Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi, none of them has succeeded in tracing the genealogy of that tribe; so that they might be in a position to state fully the truth about their descent." That is according to the author the special reason for the composition of the book. In the list of Persian authorities, special mention is made of the Majmu-at-Tawarikh written by Mian Ahmad Khan S/O Bhikan Khan Kambu, in connection with the lives of saints, the latest work on the subject just completed in 1021/1612.

C H A R T.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Bankipore Ms.	India Office Ms. No. 576.	M. U. Ms. No. 136/2	M. U. Ms. No. 136/3	Dora's Translation.
Preliminary	Praise of God etc. Causes of composition; Muqaddama.	The same	The same	The same	The same
Chap. I.	History of King Talut (Saul) His apptas king of the Israi- lite.	"	"	"	History of Yaqub or Israil.
" II.	History of Khalid Ibn Wahid up to the end of Umar's Cali- phate.	"	"	"	History of King Talut and the migration of the Afghans to Ghore etc.
" III.	History of the Lodis from Bahlol to Ibra- him.	"	"	"	History of Khalid Ibn Wahid up to the end of Umar's Cali- phate.
" IV.	History of Sher Shah and his Successors up to Adali's reign 1021 H.	"	"	"	History of the Lodis Bahlol, Sikandar & Ibrahim.
" V.	History of Khan Jahan Lodi.	"	"	"	Sher Shah and his successors.
" VI.	History of the Afghan descendants of Sar- ban, Batan's Ghur- ghusht.	"	"	"	Life of Afghan saints.
" VIII.	Account of Jahangir's reign.	"	"	Nil	Nil
* Khatma; Life of Afghan Saints.		"	"	Nil	Nil

* The contents of the Tippu Sultan's Lib. Ms. of Makhzan and of the Br. Mus. Ms. No. 696 (Rieu I, p. 210) are the same as those of No. 1, 2, and 3 noted above.

The contents of this history found in different Mss is shown in the accompanying chart, and stated below in detail thus:—

- A. Praise of God, Praise of Prophet, causes of the composition of the book.
- B. Muqaddama, consisting of an account of Patriarch Yaqub or Israil and the genealogy of the Israilite tribe.
- Chapter I. An account of Malik Talut and the elevation of Bani Israil to power and their expulsion by Bakht Nasr (Nebuchad Nezzar).
- Chapter II. On Khalid Ibn Walid, his governorship of Basra and Kufa, Syria, Asia Minor, Iraq, Arabia and Persia till the end of the Caliphate of Omar.
- Chapter III. Account of Bahlol Lodi who raised the "standard of the Prophet in India till the end of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim and his attainment of martyrdom"(1).
- Chapter IV. From the accounts of Shershah Sur, till Humayun's return to India(2) and seizure of power by the Chaghtais.
- Chapter V. On the parentage and genealogy of Khan Jahan Lodi(3) "which in the aim of the composition of this history, who was a man of praiseworthy traits."
- Chapter VI. Account of the Afghan genealogies consisting of those of the Sarbanis, Ghurghushtis and Batanis.
- Chapter VII. Account of the reign of the Khedive of the age.....Padshah Abu Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir.

The 7th chapter must have been added to the book after its completion on the 10th Zilhaj 1021 H. Nilamatullah speaks of this date in the introduction and also in verse at the end of the Bankipore Ms. In M. U. Ms. 136/3, fol 5 (b) the author says in the introduction that the book consists of 6 chapters plus a Muqaddama and a Khatma. This is not a slip of the scribe but a statement of fact and the mention of the seventh chapter in the list of contents as devoted to Jahangir's reign strengthens my contention. Secondly the strongest point in favour of this view is that the seventh chapter of Ms. 136/2 contains a 'farman' which Jahangir promulgated on the 14th Zilhaj 1021(4) and despatched to Ellichpur, to the deputy governor of Berar, the author's patron, Nawab Khan Jahan Lodi. The last event is stated in connection with a supplement on the life of Nawab Khan Jahan. Since the book finished on the 10th Zilhaj 1021, it could not contain an account of the 14th Zilhaj of the same year unless the seventh chapter would be an addition after completion.

From the accompanying chart it is clear that the contents of Bankipore, Aligarh, Tippu Sultan Library and India Office, Br. Museum Mss. are the same. We

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1. In three Sections.
 2. Consists of 9 Faisls, the last ends with the account of Kh. Usman Nuhani the last independent ruler of Bengal.
 3. See Blochmann, Ain. I, p. 503-6 for the life of Fir Mohammad.
 4. Ms. 136/2, p. 264.

may leave aside Dorn, the translator of the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, who used a very incomplete and defective Ms. It is high time to refer to the *Makhzan* independently of Dorn. I share the opinion of Sir Henry Elliot in regarding the *Makhzan* and the *Tarikh* as the same work. I go even further and say that I do not regard the *Tarikh* and the *Makhzan* as separate versions of Niamatullah's works. I do not agree with Elliot when he says that "the *Tarikh* contains in addition, a memoir of Khan Jahan Lodi from which the book takes its name and it also gives a meagre history of the life of Jahangir", and that "in other respect it (the *Tarikh*) may be considered as a revised version of the *Makhzan*."⁽¹⁾

I am not prepared to admit of any difference between the two, because in the first instance all the Mss. of Niamatullah's history bear the name of *Tarkh-i-Khan-Jahani-Makhzan-i-Afghani* and no difference is made between the *Makhzan* and the *Tarikh*.

Secondly the contents including the introduction are the same in all the Mss. of Niamatullah's work.

Thirdly had the *Tarikh* been "fuller than the *Makhzan* in some points" and had the *Tarikh* been "a revised version of the *Makhzan*" involving, necessarily some textual variations, Niamatullah had no justification to say in Chapter V, to which he devotes about 50 folios in connection with the ancestry life of Khan Jahan Lodi thus:—"If life is spared to me and time proves faithful, I shall complete a full supplement of the life and happenings of the victorious Nawab mentioned here⁽²⁾. This promise he fulfils in the 7th chapter in connexion with the events of Jahangir's reign⁽³⁾.

Fourthly in the 7th chapter of the work which according to Elliot should be the *Makhzan* (as opposed to the *Tarikh*) and in which according to him a very meagre account is given of the life of Khan Jahan Lodi, the author refrains from discussing the events of the life of Khan Jahan and excuses himself thus "since this section has been in entirety discussed in the biography of the victorious Nawab Khan Jahan Lodi in detail, I have refrained from repeating it here⁽⁴⁾ too. Thus the life of Khan Jahan is an indispensable part of the book and has been discussed at length by him, though it is missing from Ms. 136/2, in which the seventh chapter is incorporated.

Fifthly the introduction is the same. The dates of the beginning and ending of the composition are the same in all the Mss. This could not have been possible if there were two versions of the same work.

I have not come across any serious textual difference between the two Mss. to confirm the views of Elliot, though in Ms. (136/3), a very detailed account of Khan Jahan Lodi is given. The minor variations in the different Mss. may be ascribed to the vagaries of the scribes eager to display their own learning. The two Mss. I examined tallied with one another almost line for line. In chapter VI (at the beginning) of No. 136/3, though the pages are not properly arranged, the section on the *Skiranis* is more detailed whereas in 136/2 the section on the *Turins* is more detailed. The wordings vary in both the sections. In spite of the minor differences. I consider these works as one and the same. There cannot be two versions of the same book, there is nothing to distinguish between the *Tarikh* and the *Makhzan*, for, nowhere is Niamatullah's work known otherwise than the *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Makhzan-i-Afghani*.

1. Elliot, Vol. V p. 67.
2. Ms. 136/3 ; f. 196 (a).
3. Ms. 136/2, p. 264-5.
4. Ms. 136/2, p. 253.

Niamatullah wrote this work in collaboration with Haibat Khan Kakar of Samana (Dilawar Khan) whose life and ancestral history is included, it appears, from the pen of Haibat Khan, in the last portion of the Ms. 162/2(1). Haibat Khan's great grand-father Malik Firuz came to India as the result of a general appeal circulated by Bahlol Lodi to his kinsmen, the Afghans, to help him against Sultan Mahmud Sharqi who had besieged Delhi, a few months after Bahlol's enthronement in 1455. The said Malik Firuz, so, it is written, distinguished himself at the battle of Narela 1456, and was made in consequence a noble and conferred 50 villages in "Babal Sarkar in Hind." His father Salim Khan was made a noble in the time of the Suris with a Mansab of 50 thousand, and subsequently the governor of Gaur and 'attained martyrdom through the deceit and trachery of Taj Karrani.' This portion ends with the remark that Haibat Khan has four sons.

Niamatullah as a historian.

Apart from the introduction portion (muqaddama) and Chapter VI on the dynastic history of the Afghans, much valuable time has been wasted in proving that the Afghans are Israelites, and in producing systematic genealogies, none of which, I am afraid, will stand the test of historical criticism. In the chapter on Saints, history and hearsays are difficult to distinguish nor can all the saints discussed can be proved to have been Afghans. Niamatullah displays a rare gift as an historian. The historical portion of this book is short and concise and does not abound in many absurd and ridiculous stories in connexion with Lodi and Suri history, so abundant in Mullah Mushtaqi, 'Abdullah and Ahmad Yadgar's histories. He states the facts and portrays the characters without ever attempting to raise them to the position of heroes. There is no marked tendency to over-portray his patron Nawab Khan Jahan. Niamatullah who wrote his work almost at the same time as Ferishta, treats his subject very methodically and the dates are abundant and mosly correct. The history of the Lodis is mainly based on Nizamuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* though other authorities were used. The early Suri history is based on 'Abbas Sherwani the latter one on Mulla Mushtaqi. His work is indispensable to any body trying to reconstruct the history of the Suris and the Lodis. A very important part of this history is the seventh chapter on the reign of Jahangir. The author claims that he was an eye-witness of the scenes of the death of Emperor Akbar and the coronation of Jahangir.(2) Besides describing the last stage of Akbar's fatal illness the intrigues of nobles to set up Prince Khusrau as his successor, their failure, and Jahangir's coronation festivities, he also discusses the circumstances of the rebellion of Prince Khusrau, his flight to the Panjab, his defeat and capture; his eventual release and attempt by his accomplices to assassinate Jahangir while returning from Kabul. The systematic accounts of the reign ends with the return of the Emperor to the capital city of Agra on Zilhaj 1,1019/ March 13,1611.(3) In addition, this portion includes short biographies of some nobles and some additional information regarding Khan Jahan Lodi, to whom as Vice-governor of Berar(4) the Emperor despatched a farman dated the 14th Zilhaj 1021/ March 4,1613. As this portion of Niamatullah's work has not been tapped by modern historians, I shall discuss this in detail in a separate paper on a future occasion.

Incidentally I may point out that the author of this book dealing with the exploits of the Afghans exclusively and vaunting their family history, was not an Afghan himself, although the title of Khwaja was assumed by the Lohani Afghans

1. This portion contains a Ghazal in praise of Khan Jahan. Then follows a dynastic history of Haibat Khan Kakar, "who has cited the above" i.e. the genealogy.

2. Ms. 136/2, p. 235.

3. P. 262, Ms. 136/2; Niamatullah in p. 235, (136/2 Ms.), at the beginning of this chapter puts the event in 1017 H.

4. Prince Parviz, the permanent governor had gone to the Deccan to fight Malik Ambar.

in Bengal especially. Niamatullah unlike other Pathan historians seems to have been a Persian, perhaps a Moghal, and if he wrote to make the history of the Afghans the subject matter of his book, it was just for the sake of money, for both of his patrons were Pathans. The absurd genealogies of the Pathans, might have been supplied to him by his patrons especially by Haibat Khan.

RAO AMARSINGH THE WELL KNOWN HERO OF RAJPUTANA

BY

Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Jodhpur.

Rao Amarsingh, the elder son of Maharaja Gajsingh of Marwar, was born on 12th December 1618 A.D. and was by nature an independent, reckless and unyielding prince. This was the main reason why his father selected his younger son Maharajkumar Jaswant Singh I to succeed him on the throne of Marwar. As soon as Amarsingh came to know of this decision he, losing hope of his ancestrone, took a band of selected Rathors and went to serve at the Mughal Court. Emperor Shah Jahan impressed with his gallantry soon got pleased and awarding him an elephant made him his courtier.⁽¹⁾

After this, Amarsingh took part in several expeditions with the Imperial armies and was bestowed on by the Emperor a mansab of 2000 Zat and 1300 horse⁽²⁾ on 14th December 1629 A.D.

Later, on the 10th December 1634 A.D. the Emperor pleased with his bravery raised his Mansab to 2500 Zat and 1500 horse and again awarded him an elephant, a horse and a flag.⁽³⁾

Next year he accompanied Sayyad Khan Jahan to punish Bundela Junhar Singh.⁽⁴⁾ In this expedition when the fort of Dhamuni was captured by the Imperial army, Amar Singh decided to wait with his soldiers outside the fort till dawn. But in the meantime, the magazine in the fort caught fire by the sparks from the torches of the free booters, and blow up a portion of the rampart which killed three hundred men of the Imperial army encamped on the other side of it. Though the casualty list contained a greater number of Amarsingh's own warriors,⁽⁵⁾ yet he managed to help the wounded and kept order in such a splendid manner that no confusion reigned in the army.

This presence of mind of Amar Singh again pleased the Emperor and on 19th January 1635 A.D. he raised his Mansab to 3000 Zat and 1500 horse.⁽⁶⁾

After this, when Sahu Bhonsale, taking out a descendant of Nizamul Mulk's family from the prison in the Gwalior fort raised the banner of revolt, Emperor Shah

1. Badashah Nama, Vol. I. Chapter 1, P. 227.
2. do do, do, I, do 1, P. 291.
3. do do, do, I, do 2, P. 65.

We learn from the chronicles that on the invitation of Maharaja Gajsingh, he (Amarsingh) reached Lahore on the 9th day of the dark half of Paush, V.S. 1691 (4th December 1634 A.D.) and was Presented before the Emperor, who bestowed on him a Mansab of 2500 Zat and 1500 horse and a Jagir of five Parganas. But Col. Tod has written the Vikram year of this event as 1690 (1634 A.D.)

Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. 2, P. 976.

4. Badshah Nama, Vol. 1. chapter 2. p. 96
5. do do do 1. do 2. p. 110
6. do do do 1. do 2. p. 124

Jahan himself marched up to Daulatabad and from that place despatched three armies to punish the Bhonsale. In one of these armies, which was sent under the command of Khan Dauran, Amarsingh, with his brave Rajputs, was placed in the vanguard⁽¹⁾ After suppressing this rebellion successfully, when Amarsingh returned to the Imperial Court in 1637 A.D., the Emperor awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a Mansab of 3000 Zat and 2000 horse.⁽²⁾

The following year when Shuja was sent to Kandar with the Imperial army, the Emperor again awarded Amarsingh a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a trumpet and bade him farewell to accompany Shuja.⁽³⁾ On 6th May 1638 A.D. when Amarsingh was at Kabul with Shuja, his father Maharaja Gajsingh died at Agra. In fulfilment of the Maharaja's wishes Emperor Shah Jahan bestowing the title of Raja on Amarsingh's younger brother Jaswant Singh I made him the ruler of Marwar, and awarding the title of Rao to Amarsingh gave him Nagaur as Jagir. Further the Emperor raised his (Amarsingh's) mansab to 3000 Zat and 3000 horse.⁽⁴⁾

In 1639 A. D. the Emperor was again pleased with his bravery and first gave him a horse and afterwards an elephant.⁽⁵⁾

In the month of March 1641 A. D. the Emperor again ordered Rao Amarsingh to accompany Shahzada Murad towards Kabul, and awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and an elephant.⁽⁶⁾ But after five months, when Jagat Singh son of Raja Basu rebelled, the Emperor ordered Shahzada Murad and Rao Amarsingh to leave Kabul and go to Paithan, Via Sialkot to suppress the rebellion.⁽⁷⁾ After about seven months when Jagatsingh accepted the allegiance of the Emperor the Shahzada and Amarsingh both returned to the Imperial Court.⁽⁸⁾

In the meantime the king of Persia had mobilised his army to capture Kandhar. As soon as this news received, the Emperor raised the Mansab of Rao Amarsingh to 4000 Zat and 3000 horse and awarded him a robe of honour and gold caparisoned horse,⁽⁶⁾ and ordered him to accompany Dara Shikoh to check the advance of the Persian army. But as the king of Persia died he returned with Khan Dauran Nasrat Jang in October 1642 A. D.

Sometime after this event Rao Amarsingh fell ill and could not attend the Imperial Court. But when after recovery he attended the Court Salabat Khan the

1. Badshah Nama Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 136-138.

2. Badshah Nama Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 246-248.

3. do do II, p. 37

4. do do II, p. 97

5. do do II, p. 145

6. do do II, p. 228

7. do do II, p. 240.

8. Badshah Nama Vol. II, p. 285.

9. Badshah Nama Vol. II, p. 293-294.

(This Mansab has also been mentioned in Badshah Nama Vol. II P. 721)

Shahi Bakhshi being jealous⁽¹⁾ of the Rao uttered some harsh words,⁽²⁾ which the Rao took as an insult to himself. This was enough to enrage the brave Rathor, who setting aside the etiquette of the Imperial Court as well as ignoring the presence of the Emperor thrust his dagger and pierced the heart of Salabat Khan thus killing him at the spot.

We learn from the chronicles that at that time Amarsingh so much lost himself in anger that he advanced towards the Emperor and attacked him also with his sword, but it struck the throne instead and the Emperor escaping death took to his heels and entered the ladies apartments.⁽³⁾

Seeing this Khali-ulla-khan and Arjun Gaud⁽⁴⁾ two of the attending nobles attacked the Rao, but when they could not face the enraged brave Rathor successfully some six or seven other Mansabdars and mace bearers also joined them. Though Rao Amarsingh faced them bravely yet, being encircled by those nobles-like

1. It is already stated that the Rao Received Nagaur from the emperor in Jagir and as the boundries of Nagaur and Bikaner were adjoining a boundry dispute arose on a trifling matter between the servants of Rao Amarsingh and of Karansingh, the ruler of Bikaner. But as Rao's servants were unarmed at the time, Karansingh's men, who were well armed killed many of them. When this news reached Rao Amarsingh at Agra he sent words to his servants to avenge the death of their brethren. In the meantime Raja Karansingh, who was in the Deccan, also wrote a letter to Salabat Khan—the Sahi Bakshi—and persuaded him to help the cause of Bikaner. The Bakshi therefore issued orders to appoint a Shahi Amin to inquire into the dispute and forbade both the parties to take any further action into the matter. This was the main cause of the enmity between the Shahi Bakshi and the Rao. (Badshahi Nama, Vol. II, P. 382.)

2. It is stated in the chronicles that Salabat Khan addressed the Rao as Gavaur (fool), as is also evident from the following couplet :—

उण मुखते गगो कह्यो, इणकर लई कटार ।

वीर कहण पायो नहीं, जमदह होगई पार ॥

(i.e.) as soon as Salabat Khan uttered the letter 'ग' the Rao took out the dagger and before the khan could utter the letters 'वीर' (rudd) the dagger of the Rao went through the heart of the Bakhshi.

'Badashah Nama' describes the valour of Rao Amarsingh in the following words :—

"A young man like Amarsingh who surpassed all the other Rajputs of the well known families in in nobility and valour and for whom the Emperor thought that he accompanied with other Rajput nobles, will die in a great battle fighting against the enemy and will achieve good fame. (Vol. II p. 281).

Col. Tod writes :—Amara was conspicuous for his gallantry and in all his father's wars in the south was ever foremost id the battle.

(Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II P. 975.)

3. Col Tod writes:—"He absented himself for a forthight from court hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jahan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and three atened him with a fine. Amara proudly replied that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he obsved putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Salabat khan, was sent to Amar's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Sayyid not suiting the temper of Amra, He unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Amara's instantant appearance. He obeyed, and having reached the Amm-khas, or grand divan, beheld the king, "Whose eyes were red with anger with Salabat in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, He unceremoniously passed the omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed salabat to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartment.

(Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II, p. 976-977)

4. Col. Tod has written him as the brother-in-law of the Rao Amarsingh.

(Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II, p. 977).

Abhimanyu a young hero of Mahabharat was laid low.⁽¹⁾ This event took place on 25th July 1644 A. D.⁽²⁾

Hearing the death of their master fifteen brave Rajputs of the Rao, who were present in the fort at the time attacked the Emperor's servants and within a short time, after wounding to imperial officers and six mace bearers, were themselves killed.

When this news reaches the camp of the Rao and was known by the neighbours Champawat Ballu and Rathor Bihari Singh⁽³⁾ joined the retainers of Rao Amarsingh and got ready to kill Arjun Gaud. But before they could put their idea in to action they were surrounded by an Imperial detachment and shared the fate of their master after laying low a number of Imperial officers.⁴

Col. Tod writes :—

The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and hence forward known only as "Amarsingh's gate" and in proof of the strong impression made by this event it remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Cap. Goe Steell of the Bengal engineers.⁵

Sometime after the death of Rao Amarsingh the Emperor bestowed a Mansab of 1000 Zat and 700 horse on Rayasingh, the elder son of the Rao, ⁶ who gradually rose to rank in the Mughal Court.

In 1659 A.D. when Aurangzeb defeating Shuja near Khajwa made him to flee from the field, the former, to avenge himself on Maharaja Jaswant Singh, I, raised the Mansab of Rao Rayasingh to 4000 Zat and 4000 horse, honoured him

1. Badshah Nama Vol. II, pp. 380-381.

The Rao was cremated on the bank of the Jumna at Agra. Two of his Ranis became Satis with him there, three got themselves burnt afterwards at Nagaur and Udaipur.

The cenotaphs which were built to commemorate them or the Rao's descendants are still standing at Nagaur.

In some chronicles it is stated that the corpse of Rao Amarsingh was thrown in the Jumna.

Col. Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan writes:—and his wife, the princess of Bundi, came to person and carried away the dead body of Amar, with which she committed herself to the flames. (Vol. II, p. 978).

2. In 'Badshah Nama' the death of this event is given as H. S. 154, Solkha, Jamdi-ul-Avval, Thursday, (Vol. II, p. 380).

3. Previously both of them served Maharaja Gajsing (the father of the Rao) and Rao Amarsingh himself but at present were in the Emperor's service.

In the chronicles of Marwar we find the name of Kumapawat Bhavasingh in place of Bibari Singh.

Col. Tod writes:—To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Balu Champawat and Bhao Kumpawat, put on their saffron garments, and a fresh carnage ensued within the Lal-Kila.—The faithful band was cut to pieces.

(Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II p. 977-978)

4. Badshah Nama Vol. II, P. 383-384.

5. Annals & Antiquities Rajasthan Vol. II, p. 978.

Col. Tod further states:—

Since these remarks written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. while the work of demolition was proceeding captain Steell was urgently warned by the natives of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent - when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large cobra-de-capell rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Captain Steell fortunately escaped without injury.

(The south gate of the Agra Fort is known as that of Amar Singh).

(Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol II, pp. 978-979)

Badshah Nama Vol. II p. 403.

with the title of Raja and gave him the State of Jodhpur⁽¹⁾. But his plan was frustrated by the said Maharaja.

In 1676 A. D. when Rayasingh died the Emperor (Aurangzeb) bestowed and a Mansab on his son Rao Indrasingh.

When Maharaja Jaswantsingh I died in 1678 A. D. the Emperor to avenge himself on the deceased, granted Indrasingh the title of Raja and the administration of Jadpur State.⁽²⁾ But this time the loyal nobles of the late Maharaja did not allow him to succeed.

Indrasingh rose to a Mansab of 5000 Zat and 2000 horse. In 1716 A. D. Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar deprived him of Nagaur but in 1723 A.D. Emperor Mohammad Shah, being displeased with the Maharaja re-granted the Jagir of Nagaur to Indrasingh. At last in October 1726 A.D. Maharaja Abhaisingh snatched the Paragana of Nagaur from Indrasingh and awarded it to his younger brother Rajadhiraja Bakhat singh. At the time of Indrasingh's death at Delhi, in 1732 A. D. he held provinces of Sirsa, Bhatner, Poonia and Baihanival⁽³⁾ as a mark of imperial favour.

“SHA JAHAN'S CENTRAL ASIAN POLICY: WAS IT AGGRESSIVE?”

BY

Pareshnath Mukerjee, Lucknow.

Shah Jahan's Central Asian Policy has a peculiar interest of its own. In order to appreciate it we have to consider the conditions obtaining in Central Asia and in India and finally Shah Jahan's responsibility in his Central Asian Campaign.

Central Asia was in those days an unsettled region, consisting of a number of small principalities engaged in a state of perpetual warfare. There was no peace. Such a region was a danger to any neighbouring Power as most surely it was to the Moghuls in India. Any Central Asian war-lord would immensely increase his power by an Indian Invasion for he would get money in that case. And money was absolutely necessary for the success of any revolution in Central Asia. And it is also very true that Central Asia lacked money. This is perhaps the reason of Nazr Mohammad's invasion of Kabul (a part of India, then); which provoked Shah Jahan's campaigns. It is usually urged that Shah Jahan's Central Asian Policy was aggressive. But a critical study of the situation will throw doubts on that theory.

Even if we make no other consideration the fact that a petty ruler of Central Asia could venture to invade a part of India should offer enough justification for Shah Jahan's conduct.

In Central Asia situations were fast changing. Imam Quli the ruler Samarkhand was friendly terms with Shah Jahan, inspite of his brother, Nazar Mohammad's raid on Kabul. This was due to Sha Jahan's diplomacy. Dr. B. P. Saxena writes “By insisting upon the long standing friendship between the Moghals and the rulers of Trans-oxiana, and by writing politely to Imam Quli, Shah Jahan thought to make

1. Alamgir Nama p. 288.

2. Maasir-i-Alamgiri pp. 175-176.

3. These facts are corroborated by a letter, dated 4th october 1732 A.D. of the minister of Rajadhiraja Bakhtsingh addressed to the agent of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Marwar at the Imperial Court.

Nazr Mohammad appear reprehensible in the eyes of his own people, and thus deprive him of any sympathy or support at the Court of Bokhara." It seems that Shah Jahan's object was to keep a balance of the Central Asian Powers, and not to permit any one Power to become too powerful. This was his policy and not blind aggression as is usually suggested. He followed this policy for the security and defence of India. If the Central Asian situation had not changed, he would—we should suppose—not have felt the necessity of fighting a central Asian war. But unfortunately for India, this situation was altered. Imam Quli became blind and was driven out of Samarkhand by his brother Nazr Mohammad in 1641 A. D. This altered the political balance in Central Asia to which no neighbouring Power could be indifferent. Nazr Mohammad was a highly ambitious man, and a great warrior, and if he was allowed to be absolute in Central Asia then India would be in great danger. Even when Imam Quli was on the throne of Samarkhand, and Nazr Mohammad was himself just a petty chief and nothing more he had made himself bold enough to attack Kabul. So what was the guarantee ~~that~~ now that Nazr Mohammad had become absolute he would keep quiet and not prove a danger to India? How could there be such a guarantee when mighty war-lords of Central Asia, whenever there was opportunity, invaded India through Kabul?

Shah Jahan began his expedition in 1646 A. D. Nazr Mohammad fled and Balkh was occupied. It may be remembered that Shah Jahan invaded Central Asia when Nazr Mohammad and his son Abdul Aziz fell out and Nazr Mohammad asked for Shah Jahan's help. That Shah Jahan on the invitation of Nazr Mohammad to help him entered the war in which he actually took a violent part to curb Nazr Mohammad's power shows clearly that Shah Jahan's chief interest lay in restoring that political balance in Central Asia, which had been destroyed there at the fall of Imam Quli. Again the fact that Shah Jahan invaded Central Asia after and not before the fall of Imam Quli shows that so far as he could help a central Asian campaign he would not like to risk one. Had he been aggressive, as he is universally thought to be, he would not write a polite letter to Imam Quli, when Nazr Mohammad invaded India, but he would invade at once. These facts clearly prove that Shah Jahan was not aggressive; but in pure self-defence he had to fight Nazr Mohammad. It is usually suggested that Shah Jahan was aggressive and he exploited the occasion of the Kabul invasion to follow his aggressive policy. Nazr Mohammad invaded Kabul in 1628 A. D. and it must be clear to any one of average common sense that to exploit this occasion he would not invade Central Asia in 1646 A. D. That Shah Jahan had ample reason to move to action is clear from the fact that Kabul was not an independent buffer State then as it is now. So the danger was more real than it may seem today. So he had real justification to move to action.

It may be asked that if Shah Jahan's measure was defensive then why did he not take prompt action as soon as Imam Quli was driven out in 1641 A. D.? Why did he wait upto 1646 A. D.? What was he doing in that period? Of course so far as Imam Quli was in power the theoretical ruler of Central Asia, any campaign in that region would theoretically be against him and offend him, which might easily drive him and Nazr Mohammad to unity. That would totally defeat Shah Jahan's object. So he kept quiet upto October 31, 1641 A. D. when Imam Quli was deposed. Just in 1641 A. D. Shah Jahan was not in a position to make a foreign invasion, for India had internal troubles. Jagat Singh of Nurpur had rebelled and his rebellion lasted for the period 1637 to 42 A. D. The Bundella rebellion lasted for 1638 to 1642 A. D. and Khan Jahan's rebellion lasted for 1628 to 1631 A. D. So upto 1642 A. D. he was busy suppressing rebellions, so that even when he should have invaded Central Asia in 1641 A. D. just then he could not do it. Added to these there is further the reason that the country had not recovered from the effects of the severe famine of 1630 A. D. It was only in 1642 A. D. that Shah Jahan was free. We must realise that before undertaking a foreign invasion he would take some time to

consolidate his position and if he took four years only 1642 to 1646 A. D. It was not too much. More over by 1646 A. D. the Fort of Delhi had been practically completed and without it he would not feel safe.

Lastly, it may be asked that if Shah Jahan's policy was defensive and not aggressive then why did he not accept the offer of Abdul Aziz for making Shibani Quli the ruler? That he did not accept this offer is no proof of his aggressive policy; but it proves his wisdom and keen diplomatic sense. In the first place, the candidature of Shibani Quli was proposed by Abdul Aziz. So merely by concurring with this proposal Shah Jahan could not make Shibani Quli his ally. For he was the candidate of Abdul Aziz and he would support his patron under all circumstances. Next if Shah Jahan acknowledged Shibani Quli to be the ruler, the fight between Nazir Mohammad and Abdul Aziz might stop. And it was in the interest of Shah Jahan and of India that this fight should continue. Against for Shah Jahan to accept one man as the sole ruler of Central Asia would be to create one dictator, which would leave the danger to India intact. So that would not do either. So Shah Jahan very diplomatically acknowledged no one to be the ruler. And leaving the Central Asian tangle open he withdrew—apparently as a failure; but really a unique success; after gaining his object, which was to reduce Nazir Mohammad and then to keep him fighting for power in Central Asia.

So we find that Shah Jahan's Central Asian Policy was defensive and not offensive and in reality, he was a success, although superficially he seemed to be a failure. He was a military failure in Central Asia although in the Central Asian politics he was a unique success.

THE FIRST PLUNDER OF SURAT BY SHIVAJI

BY

Mr. B. G. Tamaskar, Jubbulpore.

Summary

1. *Surat on the eve of Shivaji's first attack:—*
2. *The first news of Shivaji's approach and the preparations of the English:—*

On the 5th January, there was an alarm of Shivaji's approach to Gundevi and he was expected to fall upon the town of Surat at any moment. The Surat Council of the English East India Company, therefore, proposed the following measures to ward off Shivaji's attack to protect the local merchants from their loss:—

- (1) The storage of Cojah Minar's broad cloth in the English factory at their own risk which was ready for transport.
- (2) The requisition of as many ships, men and arms as could be spread from Swally-hole.
- (3) The storage of cloth brought by dyers and beaters in the English Factory as the factors thought that their money was invested in it and the factory was in a better position to protect it from fire than they could.
- (4) Resolution for the fortification of the factory without delay and to engage in its defence till "the last life".

3. *A brief description of plunder:—*

Before his actual entry in to the town, Shivaji had sent two men and a letter requiring the Governor, and the wealthiest merchants Haji Zahid Beg, Virji Vora and Haji Kasim "to come to him in person immediately and conclude with him, else he immediately threatened the whole town with fire and sword." But they did not return any reply to Shivaji. At night on the 5th (6th) January, (Tuesday) he entered the town and opened fire upon the castle. Next day, in the afternoon, Shivaji's men broke open the 'undefended doors of Virji Vora's house and plundered it till the next and reconnoitred what preparations the English had made to safeguard their factory. On Thursday and Friday, fire broke in the town. "The smoke in the day time had almost turned day into night, rising so thick as it darkened the sun like a great cloud." On Friday, Virji Vora's house was dug up and Shivaji's men fired at the Dutch factory. It appears that Shivaji stayed in Surat for 12 days since his arrival. On the last day, Shivaji received news from his spies that a Moghul army was hastening to the rescue of the town. He triumphantly marched out of the town laden with rich booty via Bharoach on the River Nerbudda. While the town was being pillaged, Shivaji took Mr. Anthony Smith prisoner who was coming from Swallyhole.

The behaviour of the English on the occasion:—

According to the contemporary English version, Shivaji had demanded the English to pay him homage, and if they refused he threatened to raze the English "house to the ground and not spare a life." However, the English were not frightened into submission. Oxinden, the Chief of the factory put on a firm attitude to fight out till the last men and was prepared to face any emergency however extreme. Then Shivaji's men had raided and were engaged in plundering Haji Tahid Beg's house, the English offered their assistance to the defenceless merchants which resulted in short skirmishes between the Maratha soldiers and the English. The repeated offers of peace on payment of ransom were summarily rejected by the English. When Mr. Smith was sent on parole with an Armenian and a Dutch with an offer of peace he was detained by the factors and a reply was sent that, "Mr. Smith belonged to us and we would not part with him now he was in our custody, and there was neither faith or trust in him. From that time none of his party dared to come near us."

The Amount of Booty:—

"The town is utterly ruined, and very little left either of riches or habitation." He had carried away in gold, pearls, precious stones and other rich commodities to the value of many hundred thousand pounds, and burnt other goods and houses to the amount of as much more.

Rumours of Shivaji's return to Surat:—

Though Shivaji had returned to his own country, rumours of his return to Surat continued to be afloat for a long time. The plunder had done a great deal to destroy the town, and the threat of a second invasion for a long time gave not rest to it to recover from the loss for some years. Much of the damage was of a permanent kind.

THE SECOND PLUNDER OF SURAT BY SHIVAJI

BY

Mr. B. T. Tamaskar, Jubbulpur.

Summary

The second time Shivaji attacked Sursat in October 1670. This gave the town the respite of more than six years and therefore, times sufficient to recover from its first destruction in order to attract a second attack by him. In course of time people and trade came to settle there, though certainly not to the extent of its condition before its plunder. People and government become somewhat careless.

In the beginning of October, the English got news of Shivaji's approach and made preparations. They had learnt that he was marching at the head of 15,000 horses and foot against whom they had mobilised 300 men to defend the town. In the meanwhile the English emptied warehouses at Surat of what goods could easily be dispatched to Swally-hole. Thus, when large amount of goods was secured against attack, they thought it necessary to provide for the remaining goods at Surat and also "to maintain (your) honour and that of the Nation." Mr. Strenshaw Master took charge of defence at Surat and Mr. Gerald Aungier that at Swally Marine.

On the 3rd October, Shivaji's army approached the town of Surat. The English Records state that only a few houses stood on defence, namely, the English house, the Dutch and French houses, the two "serays", one maintained by Persian and Turkish merchants, and the other by "a Tartar King called the King of Cascar." The same day, part of Shivaji's army assaulted the Tartar Quarter and the English house. The French, however, made a peace with Shivaji, on what terms, the English had no knowledge of it. Shivaji's army having lost a few soldiers due to the fire opened from the English house, retired from there and few on the Tartar quarter which lay between the English and the French house. At first, the Tartars put up a stout resistance. But as the French had suffered the Marathas to seize the advantageous ground close to the French factory, and supplied ammunition, the Tartars could not any longer and escorted their king to the castle and left the house a prey to Shivaji. In the meanwhile, the invading army ransacked houses at leisure and found therein vast treasure and rich goods and set fire in several places, destroying nearly half the town.

On the third day, Shivaji's soldiers approached before the English factory. Shivaji sent some men to the English to demand a present of not great value and they conveyed the news that their master was angry with the English who had killed several of his men. The English readily responded to Shivaji's demand and sent a present consisting of scarlet, sword, blades, knives etc., Shivaji then asked the English why they had stopped their trade at Rajapore. "Mr. Master answered that it was Sevagys fault and not taken care to satisfy the English the losse they had sustained To which he answered that *Seragy did much derive our return to Rajapore and would do very much to give us satisfaction*".

Shivaji called off his army soon after and "sent a letter to the officers and chief merchants, the substance whereof was that of they did not pay him twelve lack of rupees yearly—tribute he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town". After the departure of Shivaji, the poorer classes began to plunder the rich at Surat.

Continued alarms of Shivaji's attack again.—

On account of rumours of Shivaji's attack upon Surat, the English of the place and Bombay remained all alert for a long time. The English went to the length of thinking out a "compact of Christian nations."

The ruin of Surat complete.—

In fact, now nobody need be told that the ruin of Surat was complete. "We need not use arguments to believe in you that the town of Surat after this great loss is in a sad destruction, none of the eminent merchants being as yet live into it and declare they will never except the king takes some course to defend them from future outrages of this nature, which we hope he will do if not we believe it will be ruined the inhabitants deserting it."

A CONUNDRUM IN MARATHA HISTORY

WHY SHIVAJI'S IDEALS WERE DEPARTED FROM BY THE MARATHAS?

BY

Wazirud-Dowlah Rao Bahadur Saradar M.V. Kibe, M. A., Indore.

One of the questions to which scholars of the Maratha History must find a solution is the cause of the change of ideals in the polity of the times of Shivaji and the Peshwas. Mr. Bhaskar Waman Bhat of Dhulia, a painstaking, deep and erudite scholar of the Maratha History, has written a remarkable book exhaustively showing how the ideals that governed Shivaji's movement closely followed the rules of political conduct laid down in ancient works, especially shukraniti. Every action done and step taken by Shivaji finds support in this and other works of the kind. Indeed he built up his kingdom on the lines laid down by them and when in difficult situations, or in getting out of a tight corner, he found guidance in their behests. It is remarkable that Mr. Bhat does not refer to Ramdas's Dasabodh, because after all owing to the exigencies of the times, it contains advice less specific than in the elder works, although it is not different from them in its expositions.

Whether the document describing the oath taken by Shivaji and his followers for the propagation of the Hindavi Swarajya, at the temple of Rohideshwar is genuine or not, the fact of his having crowned himself exactly as prescribed by the ritual in the ancient works, which he was at pains to find, as is evident from the trouble he took in bringing the greatest scholar of the age Gagabhat from Kashi, for the performance of the ceremony, shows what were his motives and objects in establishing or reviving a Hindu Kingdom or Empire in the Deccan. In the choice of his Capital at Raigarh even he, followed the precepts of the old books.

The principal aim of Shivaji was to found a Kingdom which will protect and give shelter to cows and Brehmins, and consequently preserve the Hindu Culture. Works in Marathi produced from the days of that remarkable book, the Guru Charitra, and the correspondence literature upto the advent of Shahu, bear ample evidence to the eclipse of the Hindu Culture and the replacement of the Hindu Civilisation by an alien one. With reference to this, the works of Shri Ramdas abound in their description and delineation. Steeped in vices, as he was, in this perhaps influenced by his short stay with the Mughals, Sambhaji died as a martyr or Hinduism. Himself without a fixed residence. Rajaram too had the aim of Shivaji before him. Tribute is paid by Ramdas to the result of Shivaji's labours as freeing the waters of the rivers of land for the performance of religious rites.

When Shahu was released from the Mughal Camp, returned to his mother-land and re-acquired his Kingdom, rather a greater part of it, he adhered to the policy of the protection of the Brahmins and Cows. Ample evidence is found for this by the correspondence of Sri Brahmendra Swami, a Yogi and Saint, inclined to strongly actively support the policy, which had been the distinctive feature of the Maratha Empire and which to anticipate events, one or two generations later, reached its zenith at the hands of Devi Shri Ahilyabai Holkar, who spared the holy Hindu Empire all over India, so much so that even alien potentials, like the King of Oudh, honoured her emissaries, who went about building temples, endowing charitable institutions, and building pilgrim roads, e.g. the one between Calcutta and Gaya, with the active sympathy of the East India Company, which held the Divani of Orissa, Bengal and Behar.

But apart from the above stated epoch, Shahu had a warm corner in his heart for the Mughal Empire. Even when the Maratha armies attacked Delhi, they looked upon it with almost reverential awe. There is the solitary instance of young general Sadashivrao Bhau, who, in the eyes of his contemporaries, and successors, deserved the throne of the Mughals by breaking the Silver ceiling of the Hall in which it was located and perhaps placing Vishwas Rao Beau on it.

Shahu's soft-heartedness for the Mughals could be accounted for by his having spent his boy-hood in the Mughal zanana and having contracted many friend-ships. The first Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath, who vore from a humble station, while his son and grand-son had responsibility, and the inheritance of war, thrown upon them in a very early age. Peshwa Madhavrao, the great, have evidence of following the ideal of the protection of the Cow and the Brahmins, and had himself received due training in the ancient ritual and learning, owing to his having been a second son. His Chief Justice Ramashastri, became famous as a stern judge. Probably Devi Shri Ahalyabai also drew her inspiration from him. But although the wise Nana Fadnis had made arrangements for imparting ancient learning, and especially the knowledge of polity to Sawai Madhavrao, during the later part of Nana's influence, he himself, had to yield to the pressure of Mahadji Scindhia and accept a subordinate position for the Peshwa at the hands of the effete Mughal Emperor, a creature and protege of Mahadji himself. This looks like the end of the Maratha ideal of Government.

It is true that individually any Maratha, who was anybody regarded as his duty to protect Brahmins and Cows, yet the national ideal disappeared with the rise of the Maratha Power to be the most powerful Government in India. Such was, however, their influence that even contemporary powers like the Nizam headed this doctrine of the protection of the Cows and Brahmins and not only continued ancient monuments, but made endowments for the purpose. In the 19th century A.D., the name of Diwan Chandu Lal of the Nizam's State became as famous as that of the Peshwas in this respect.

Evidently the protection of Cow and Brahmins is symbolical. One is that if meekness and fertility and the other of learning and tolerance. How the ideal helped the founding of the Maratha Empire and did its dis-placement from the first place led to the destruction of the Maratha Empire and why the latter event happened are question for the historians to answer.

BIHAR IN THE 1st QUARTER OF THE 18th CENTURY

BY

Prof. S. H. Askari, Patna.

Whatever may have been the extent and boundaries of Bihar, in the days of the Afghans, particularly the Surs, we can definitely say that it had been formed into a distinct Subah, under a separate Governor⁽¹⁾ by Akbar in 1576, and it remained so during the greater part of the Mughal period, governed more than once by such princes of royal blood as Parwez, Shuja, Azam, and Azim-us-Shan, till it was incorporated in the viceroyalty of Bengal. An authentic history of Bihar has yet to be re-written. Much can be gathered from the Persian histories about the important events in Bihar during the times of the greater Mughals, and there is no dearth of information, especially after the appointment of Alivardi Khan as the deputy governor of this province. The first quarter of the 18th century, however, forms a period about which we are comparatively in the dark. The following lines represent an attempt to throw some light on it with the help of materials found scattered in certain Persian historical and geographical work and the books of Wilson and Irvine, some biographical dictionaries of Persian poets and a manuscript⁽²⁾ of mixed contents, discovered by the present writer, sometime ago, in Mohalla Alamganj (Patna), and containing, among other things, a Yad Dasht (Memorandum) of the Subahdaris of the Subah of Bihar from the time of Imteyaz Khan, described as a Subadar, to that of the appointment, by the E. I. Co., "of Nawab Hushyar Jung (Mr. George Vansittart) for the regulation of the affairs of this Subah".

The governors of Bihar, at the beginning of the 18th century, were Muhammad Saleh, Fidai Khan, son of Azam Khan Koka, and Shamshir Khan Quraishi, a cousin of Daud Khan, the conqueror of Palamoo. Fidai Khan had been appointed Subadar of Patna in 1105/1673⁽³⁾, on the death of Buzurg Umed Khan, and we find the Foudari of Darbhanga being given to him as an appanage in 1111/1699. We do not know when exactly he was replaced by Shamsher Khan whom, nevertheless, we find installed on the Musnad of Bihar probably because of the part he played in suppressing⁽⁴⁾ the over-refractory Ujjainia Rajputs of South West Bihar. In the year 44th of Aurangzeb's reign⁽⁵⁾ i.e. 1114/1703 the subadari of Bihar was taken away from him and added to the Bengal viceroyalty of Prince Azim-us-Shan. Fortunately for Bihar, a quarrel⁽⁶⁾ cropped up between this Princely viceroy and the imperial Treasurer (Diwan), the famous Murshid Quli Khan, a favourite of Aurangzeb, whose sharp reprimand to his grandson proved so irritating and annoying to the latter that he decided to leave Bengal for good. He first removed himself from Dacca to Rajmahal and then, leaving his second son, Farukhseyar, and his brother-in-law, Sarbuland Khan, at Rajmahal to represent him in Bengal, he came up to Bihar. A letter of the English⁽⁷⁾, dated July 12, 1704, speaks of Azim-us-Shan's presence in Patna,

1. Reyaz-us-Salat, Eng. Ed., 162.

2. The ms. belongs to Babu Bhubhushvari Pd., son of late Munshi Kanheo Lal, a Karan Kayastha of Patna.

3. M. A. (Kujhwa Ms.); Maasir-ul-Umra (Printed).

4. A family Bayaz quoted by M. Abdur Rauf in Maarif, 1937.

5. Maasir-i-Alamgiri.

6. Wilson I.

7. Wilson I.

though he must have arrived⁽¹⁾ in the city sometime before it. It was, however, in 1704, that the Prince, with the permission of Aurangzeb is said to have changed the name of Patna into Azimabad after his own name.

None of the authorities, either contemporary or otherwise, tells us about the activities of Azim-us-Shan in Bihar. Traditions, relied upon by an old contributor of Calcutta Review say that the Prince improved the fortification of the city; divided it into a number of wards which were named after the various classes of people to whom he assigned separate quarters, as Diwan Mohalla (allotted to the Hindu clerks and officers), Hoot Katra, Mughalpura, and Kaiwan Shikoh (now known as Kawah Khoh and once having the residences of Princes and chiefs) and built palaces, sarais and alms houses. Many of the nobles of the West flocked to Patna which the Prince is said to have intended to make a second Delhi. There is no trace now of the buildings which the Prince is said to have erected in the city and literature presents very few names of the nobles and the scholars whom he might have patronised. A well-informed biographer of Persian poets, named Lala Brindaban Das⁽²⁾, Khusgo, however, informs us of a respectable Persian emigrant, named Syed Husain, poetically surnamed Khalis, and entitled Imteyaz Khan, who served the Prince as his Diwan, during the time he held the governorship of Bihar. Khusgo says that he had been married by the emperor with the daughter of Fazail Khan the imperial Munshi, later Khan-i-Saman. We are further told that Imteyaz Khan had built a big mansion, on the bank of the Ganges, which Khusgo saw standing in all its glory and strength, when he visited Patna, sometime before the death of Haibat Jung, in 1748. Now as already indicated above, the Alamganj Ms. speaks of one, Imteyaz Khan, who served as the subadar of Bihar before the arrival of Husain Ali Khan Barha in Patna. In the absence of any other information to the contrary, one may take this Syed Husain, Imteyaz Khan, Khalis, the grandfather⁽³⁾ of the more famous Nawab Mir Qasim Alijah, the future viceroy of B. B. & O., as the personage who helped Azim-us-Shan in improving the city and held temporary charge of the subah during the time that elapsed between the march of the Prince towards the west and the arrival of his permanent deputy, Husain Ali Khan Barha. He is said to have built a fortune which he attempted to carry to Persia but was murdered on his way to Persian Sewistan⁽⁴⁾, in 1122 A.H.

According to Khafi Khan⁽⁵⁾ it was the instance of Azam who had grown jealous of the rumoured wealth and influence of the second son of his elder brother and rival, that Azim ush Shan had been recalled from Patna towards the Deccan. The prince had reached Korah when he heard of the death of the emperor and changed his route towards Agra which he took and thus ruined the chances of his uncle's victory. The feats of prowess performed by Syed Husain Ali Khan at the battle of Jajau, on 3th June, 1707 were rewarded with an increase in his rank to 4000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar* and later led to his appointment, on 8th Moharram⁽⁶⁾,

1. Mufidul Insha (Vide writer's paper on P. H. R. C., Baroda, 1940).

2. Safina-i-Khusgo—O. P. L. Ms. Khalis was a very good Persian poet and has been noticed in many books. As regards his father-in-law, he has been mentioned in M. N. (O. P. L. Ms. 1796). He died—1114 A. H.

3. Seyar, Lucknow text, p. 691.

4. S. K., T. N. I., I. N.

5. M. L., O. P. L. Ms. (Muntakhabul-Lubab).

6. T. S. C. Kujhwa Ms. (Tuzkira-i-Salatin-i-Chaghataia).

1120/March 19, 1708, as the deputy of Prince Azim ush Shan in Bihar. He remained in charge of the province till September 1712 (Shaban 1124⁽¹⁾). On the other hand, the Alamganj Ms. says that his rule on Bihar lasted for 4 years and 1 Fasli, from the beginning of 1116 Fasli to the end of the rainy season of 1119 Fasli. Even if, on the strength of a contemporary document, seen by the writer, and containing the corresponding Hijri and Fasli dates, 5 is added to the Fasli year to yield the Hijri date, the years 1121 & 1124, which correspond roughly speaking, with 1709 and 1719 A. D. do not correctly represent the period of Husain Ali's subadari of Bihar. As regards his work in Bihar we get little from contemporary authorities till Farrukh-seyar arrived in the Bihar sometime in 1711.

Kanwar Khan tells us that Farrukhseyar was replaced in the subadari of Bengal⁽²⁾ in 1122/1710 by Md. Muhsin Azzad-dowla Khan Jahan Bahadur and recalled to the Court. As the latter arrived at Rajmahal on the 1st of June 1711,⁽³⁾ the Prince must have left the place at about that time. He obeyed his father's order with reluctance for, according to Khafi Khan, he was not held in the same esteem as his elder and younger brother, born of a different mother, and when he reached Patna, long before 7 Safar 1124=15 March 1712 (the wrong date given by even such a careful writer as Irvine)⁽⁴⁾ he decided to march no further, alleging, as we are told, his want of money,⁽⁵⁾ advanced pregnancy of his wife, and the approach of the rainy season in an Arzdasht which he sent to the imperial court. He was further strengthened in his resolve to prolong his stay at Patna by a number on Darwishes,⁽⁶⁾ mathematicians, and astrologers, notably by Muhammad Rafi, who predicted his own accession at Patna. It is not quite clear whether these prophecies, on which the credulous and superstitious Prince placed great reliance, were made before or after the news of the deaths of his grandfather and father reached him. Certain it is, however, that the Prince and his companions especially Ahmad Beg (later Ghazi-uddin, Ghalib Jung) were busy⁽⁷⁾ in collecting men and gathering followers. If the author of *Reyaz-us-Salatin* is to be believed in, long before this, a saint, Bayazid of Burdwan, had hailed him as "the emperor⁽⁸⁾ of Hindustan". During his stay in Bihar, one of his dismissed servants, Lachin Beg⁽⁹⁾ Qalmaq, risked his life in his clever and successful attempts to recapture the Rohtas Fort from the usuper, Md. Razi Rayayat Khan, as a reward of which he was recommended for a Mansab and the title of Bahadur Dil Khan, in an Arzdasht despatched by Farrukhseyar to the Court. This Arzdasht, was, we are told by Kanwar Khan,⁽¹⁰⁾ presented by Azim us Shan to, Bahadur Shah at Lahore, on 22 Zahirjja. 1123 (January 21, 1712), and a ferman of appreciation and congratulation, with other present, was sent to Patna.

Soon after this news of the emperor's death arrived at Patna and the Prince without waiting for later developments, proclaimed, on 27 March, 1712, his father as emperor in the garden of Jafar Khan,⁽¹¹⁾ to the east of the

1. T. S. C. Kujhwa Ms. (*Tuzkira-i-Salatin-i-chaghtria*).
2. T.S.C. Kujhwa Ms.
3. Wilson II, p. 15; XXII; see the footnote to the life of Khan Jahan.
4. *Later Mughals*, I.
5. M. L. ; S. M.
6. M. L. ; S. M.
7. *Ibrat-Nama* by Mirza Muhammed 14 L. (O.P.L. ms.
8. R.S. Eng. Ed. 246.
9. M. L., O.P.L. Ms.
10. T.S.C.
11. Irvine, L.M.O. (later Mughal I.

City, where he appears to have originally encamped. For a time the Prince thought of proceeding to the west with his followers but he was dissuaded from leaving Patna by some worldly-mined⁽¹⁾ Durweshes and Md. Shafi (Rafi ?) the astrologer. During the whole of this time Syed Husain Ali Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bihar had been away from the city, being engaged⁽²⁾ in regulating the affairs of the distant Parganahs and chastising the wicked and refractory chiefs of the province. Hearing, however, that the Khutba had been read and the coins were being struck in the name of Azim us Shan, he hastened to Patna. Although a letter apologizing⁽³⁾ for his stay in Patna and couched in endearing and beseeching terms had been despatched to him through trustworthy persons, the Syed felt very suspicious of, and was positively⁽⁴⁾ unfriendly towards the Prince.

The well reputed prowess of Syed Husain Ali, his great hold on Bihar, and the Prince's negligible following had at first made the latter so dissipated that he is reported to have contemplated suicide or flight, on the receipt of the news of his father's defeat and death on 29 Safar⁽⁵⁾ or April 6th 1712. But the spirited exhortation of his mother, Sahibun Nisa, a lion-hearted⁽⁶⁾ woman of whom Indian history may be proud, he plucked up courage, proclaimed himself emperor and was enthroned in Afzal Khan's⁽⁷⁾ garden, to the west of the city, near modern Purbahore where he had removed for himself to ask of the blessing of the saintly Mullah.⁽⁸⁾ Shadman Sahibun Nisa had already visited the Syed's mother, taking Farrukhseyar's little daughter with her and the Sayyida, overcome by their appeal and tears, had called her valiant and devoted son within the harem and bade him espouse Farrukhsyar's cause. Her final words "If you adhere to⁽⁹⁾ Jahandar Shah, you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claim upon you" proved decisive. The die was cast and the pledge was given, be the consequences what they might.

Once he had committed himself to the hazardous task, Husain Ali was not the man to let the grass grow under his feet. He won over his brother, the Nawab of Allahabad, ordered a new public⁽¹⁰⁾ prayer and the issue of a new coinage, drew up a list of the rich men of the city, borrowed loans on his own responsibility and took vigorous measures to ensure the success of his undertaking. "There was a great scarcity of money, necessitated by the rich men leaving Patna" because of the extortionate⁽¹¹⁾ demands of Farrukhseyar. The Dutch had to part with 2 lakhs and 22,000 was exacted from the English. Be it said to the credit of Husain Ali, however, that "it was through his inter-position⁽¹²⁾ that the English escaped further molestation" and the Prince "had to incur the displeasure of the Nawab more than once" by his intended plunder of the city. We get from

1. M.L.

2. M.L.; S.M.; T.M.

3. Do.

4. I. N.

5. Wilson II xxvii; Irvin L.M.O. K.

6. Wilson II. XXVIII.

7. Do.

8. Irvin. has given an account of the Mullah, on the authority of Ibrat Nama, in his *Later Mughals*

Vol. I.

9. Quoted in Irvine's L.M.I.

10. Willson II. XXIX.

11. Wilson II. 81. Sec. 29, pp. 64 52, 49, 88, 80.

12. Do XXIX. pp. 52-3, 64, 81, 86, 80,

the English records that "Husain Ali had exerted to preserve the town and had put his own forces at the gates with order to oppose any that shall molest or offer to plunder." The Dutch were also under the protection of the Nawab, and his brother Najmuddin Ali Khan, described by the English as 'a friend of our's', "was resolved to defend the city from being plundered which the King (Farrukhseyyar) had attempted several times. In fact, there were two parties, "one made up of the Nabob and⁽¹⁾ several others, and the others composed of a rascally crew" who had almost "continued to get the Nabob out of the way" by sending him to Bengal to "fetch Murshid Quli Khan, or treasure or his head" so that "they might plunder the town without any hindrance". But the suspicion that Husain Ali "might join with Khan Jahan Bahadur" or some other reason led Farrukhseyyar to send, another man against Murshid Quli Khan who, however, defeated the designs. In short it was to a large extent, due to Husain Ali that Farrukhseyyar started at the head of 25,000⁽²⁾ men from Patna at the end of September, 1712.

A few days after Husain Ali also marched out of the city, leaving Bihar in charge of Syed Ghairat Khan Baber, his sisters's son, by Syed Nusrullah⁽³⁾, Sadast Khan. The new subadar remained in Bihar till the end of April⁽⁴⁾, 1715, through as far back as October 7, 1714,⁽⁵⁾ the English heard the rumour of his displacement in favour of Ali Asghar Khan Mewati, entitled Khan Zaman. Ghairat had himself talked of his departure from Patna in less than 20 days, but he was actually present in the city⁽⁶⁾, on 19th March 1715, and we find him on his move and encamped at Sabarabad, 10 miles from Sasaram, in Bihar, on April 26, 1715. Thus the statement in the Alamganj Ms. that Ghairat Khan was the subadar of Bihar for 3 years 1 Fasl (1120-1123 F) can be taken as only partially correct. On the other hand, many of the informations, supplied by the English diarists, are corroborated by Kamwar Khan. For instance, the latter informs us of the nomination of Khan Zaman to the subadari of Bihar on 6 Shaban, Yr. III. He was also favoured with 1 lakh for the purpose from the imperial exchequer. The nomination was, however, cancelled on this occasion. Kamwar also writes about the letter of the Nazim of Bihar dated Rabi I, Yr. III⁽⁸⁾, communicating the arrival of the English Elchi (envoy) named John Surman from Hugli as Patna, whereupon Ghulam Husain Khan Wala Shahi was sent to Patna to escort the Elchi with his presents to the Court. The English Consultations, dated Oct. 30, 1714 mention the arrival of Ghulam Husain with "King's order to Nawab Ghairat Khan, Diwan Asghar Khan and Buyutati Mullah⁽⁹⁾ Nasir". "The two former not being present in the city, the Gurburdars were order to go and deliver His Majesty's order to Mullah Nasir, demanding a ready compliance". As soon as the Nawab returned from the Mufussil where he must have been engaged, like his uncle in regulating the affairs of the Paraganahs, and pushing the refractory people, "hastened the preparation for the departure" of the English, "promising them his protection against the Ujjainias" and "providing them with a

1. Wilson p. 50.

2. M. L.

3. Irvine, L.M. II.

4. Wilson II, III p.

5. Do.

6. Ibid.

7. T.S.C.

8. Do.

9. Wilson II p.195. Mullah Nasir was the Maternal uncle of the famous Poet administrator Nawa^b Ali Ibrahim Khan, the able and faithful friend of Hamir Kasim.

convoy⁽¹⁾ of 200 horse to Sasaram and 50 to Allahabad". Thirdly Kamwar Khan also informs us about the Bengal treasure (16 lakhs) which safely arrived at the imperial court on 27 Jamadi 1⁽²⁾, year III. The English records tell us that there was a dispute for sometime between the Nawab and his Diwan and Bukshi, (the latter being a brother of Mir Jumla, the governor-designate of Bihar when 1212) concerning the despatch of the Bengal Treasure. The Bukshi and the Diwan were against its despatch for fear of its being plundered by⁽³⁾ Siddhist Narayan and his Ujjainias who were grown desparate since Mir Jumla was coming with a large force to suppress them. They wanted the Nawab to permit the Treasure to be in the fort, but he refused to comply, sending his brother Haji Khan with 500 horse and 500 Baksaries to protect the Treasure. Apparently the Ujjainias felt some respect for Ghairat Khan for we hear of Siddhist Narayan's⁽⁴⁾ vakil coming to clear the Treasure through his master's jurisdiction and Suddhist Narayan giving assurance both to the Nawab and the English that he would not touch the king's presents etc.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to relate the circumstances leading to the appointment of Mir Jumla to the government of Bihar and Bengal. According to Wilson he received his last audience at Delhi on 16th Dec. 1714 but did not reach Sasaram till the end⁽⁵⁾ of April 1715. He was back in Delhi in the night of 6th January⁽⁶⁾, 1716. Thus he was in Bihar for less than a year. The Alamganj Ms. also says that Mir Jumla arrived in Bihar in 1123 F. and left it after some months, the province being during the whole year, in the very disturbed condition; specially on account of the Mughalia troops. This is borne out by other contemporary authorities, also. Mir Jumla had once acted as the Qazi⁽⁷⁾ in Bihar but he proved himself absolutely unfitted for the responsible post of a subadar. Because of his excessive hold on the mind of Farrukhseyar, the latter, according to Mirza Muhammad⁽⁸⁾, had given him the charge of both Bihar and Bengal and also ordered 7000 of his Mughal cavalry to accompany him to Bihar for he was entrusted with the task of destroying the power of Dhir(?) who had been in a state of rebellion for about 8 years in Bihar. Although Mir Jumla started with a force of 8 to 9 thousand veterans which swelled to about 20,000 when he actually reached Patna, yet he failed to chastise Dhir⁽⁸⁾. On the other hand, he felt so greatly afraid of the Ujjainies that he advanced very slowly and even requested Arburland⁽⁹⁾ Khan, the Governor of Allahabad, who had in all a force of only 3 to 4 thousand sherbandi troops to escort him beyond the dangerous regions. At last being urged by Bahadur Dil Khan, Inam Khan, Daulat Khan, Janish Khan, Arab Ali Khan etc., he reluctantly resumed his march. Fortunately news came that Dhir had evacuated Sasaram which lay on his way which emboldened him to advance to Patna. He was still in the vicinity of Arwal when, according to⁽¹⁰⁾ Sheddass, a number of villagers came complaining against certain marauders and plunders. A Mughal who was ordered to capture the evil-doers arbitrarily arrested 13 persons, mostly vegetable sellers and grass-cutters. They

1. Wilson, II 23,24.
2. T.S.C.
3. Wilson II, 20.
4. " p. 26.
5. Wilson 38.
6. Wilson 80.
7. M. U.
8. I. N.
9. I. N.
10. Iqbal-Nama.

were at once ordered to be beheaded. Fortunately Sanjar Khan, a notable of Oudh who had arrived with his 2 sons, Abdur Nabi and Dela Khan, and at the head of 2000 cavalry and the same number of infantry hastened on foot and secured the release of 7 innocent men, the remaining prisoners including an old grass cutter and his young son had already been killed, the old man pleading in vain with the Mughals to spare his son and behead him instead.

This was a foretaste of the virtual reign of terror which the people of Bihar had to experience under this incompetent subadar. He had seized a further instalment⁽¹⁾ of the Bengal treasure and distributed it amongst his turbulent soldiery, but this caused the emperor to deprive him of the charge of Bengal which was confirmed upon Murshid Quli Khan. Mir Jumla had to disband most of his newly recruited troops, especially the Hindustanis, but the body of 7000 Mughalia troops, headed by some Mansabdars, constituted a problem, now that the source of payment of their salaries in cash was cut off. He repeatedly wrote to the Court⁽²⁾ for permission to leave for Delhi but the emperor, much against his wishes, bade him remain where he was. When the Mughalia troops became despaired of getting their pay, they extended their hands of plunder and began to oppress the Patna populace, specially the poorer and weaker sections thereof. Whatever they could lay⁽³⁾ their hand on they considered as their own. Not to speak of wealth and property, even the family and children of may a Muslim gentleman had to suffer from then. The signs of the oppressed, says the contemporary⁽⁴⁾ writer, went up to the Heavens and a strange kind of lamentations arose in the city.

Sheo Das has given us a graphic description of the oppressive actions of the Mughalias which is well worth summarizing here. A Mughal entered a house whose only occupant, a young woman, saved her honour by plying him with his own wine and killing him with his own dagger. Another took advantage of the simpleton of a brewer to forcibly kidnap his daughter by making a show of going through the mockery of nikah ceremony with her. Mir Jumla had sent a force led by a Mughal, to regulate the affairs of certain regions. The Turanis plundered the villages and towns and a few of them approaching the house of a certain old blind man whose children were providing water to the thirsty wayfarers, caught hold of his little son and 4 daughters whom they carried on the horses to the river, on their return to Patna. They ended the cries and lamentation of the blind old father by finishing him off but when they were in the midst of the Ganges, the girls came to fatal decision by exchanging their glances and, catching hold of the hand of their young brother suddenly threw themselves into the holy Ganges were drowned. While his people were committing such violence, the subadar took pleasure in seeing the fight of wild beasts. A certain zamindar of Bihar had presented to him a tiger in an iron cage. The enclosures built by Prince Asim-us-Shan was set up in the courtyard of the mansion. First a wild she-buffalo was thrown into the enclosure and was immediately killed along with the keeper, by the tiger. Then an elephant was led inside, but being attacked turned tail and threw the whole audience in a state of disorder and panic. Then another buffalo was tried and it put

1. Sheodas.

2. I. N.

3. I. N.

4. Sheodas.

up a tough fight with the ferocious beast and ultimately worsted with its sharp horns. The only relieving feature of the whole show lies in the reward of a robe and 5000 rupees which the subadar bestowed on the heirs of the man who had been killed by the tiger.

The people of Bihar must have heaved a sigh of relief when Mir Jumla suddenly disappeared from the province, giving another proof of his utter incompetence in his attempt to chastise the marauders of Arwal.⁽¹⁾ His successor, Mir Md. Rafi, entitled Sarbuland Khan Muhariz-ul-mulk arrived, according to Alamganj Ms., in 1124, looked after the order and arrangement of the province, then crossed the river Son in the beginning of 1125 F. to chastise the rebellious Suddhist Narayan Ujjainia, son of the wicked Dhir, sent him to the hell, remained in the province, till the end of autumn season, and then left for Delhi. The historian, Kanwar, tells⁽²⁾ us that Sarbuland Khan and his son Khanazad Khan were appointed respectively to the subadarships of Bihar and the faujdari of Shahabad (Bihar) on 25 Ziqad, 1127 i. e. 21 Nov. 1715. and that on 1st Moharram 1129 i. e. 6 Dec. 1716 news came to the Court that Sarbuland Khan had fallen upon Suddhist Narayan, son of wicked Dhir, with a force of 20,000 horses and 30,000 foot, in Zihijja 1128/Novr. 1760 and after many engagements had succeeded in suppressing and defeating the powerful Ujjainia and capturing about 120 of their strongholds. Suddhist Narayan had managed to escape to inaccessible regions where he was reported to have died. Khafi Khan⁽³⁾ says they had grown so powerful as to usurp many fertile mohals of the jagirdars of the province and they had carried depredation even upto Patna. A more graphic description of this important expedition is available in the book of Murtaza Allahyar Khan⁽⁴⁾ whose father and his friend Sheikh Abdullah,⁽⁵⁾ took a leading part in it. These two had led the vanguard of the subadar's army. The rebel had a still a force 30,000 horses and foot, when he suffered his first defeat and loss of his forces and with it he retired to the jungles of Padrona (Gorakhpore Dt.). But he suddenly emerged, fell upon the forces of Allahyar and Sheikh Abdullah and defeated them. The forces of the subadar, however again rallied round their master and began to play their guns and cannon, which were charged with iron and lead pieces which proved very effective. The rebel Raja was wounded and fled, thus giving a victory to Sarbuland Khan who bestowed the elephants, horses and the spoils of the war with robes upon many jamaars. A firman⁽⁶⁾ of appreciation with robes and other presents was sent to Sarbuland Khan and his rank was raised to 6000 horse and 4000 do aspa on 8 Rabi, 1129/16 Feb. 1717.

This enter-prizing subadar did not rest content with this achievement alone. We get from Maharaja Shitab Rai's account of Bihar, quoted in Survey and Settlement Report of Palamoon, edited by T. W. Fringe, the valuable information that "after reducing Phojpur, Nawab Sarbuland Khan found it necessary to invade Palamoon". The invasion must have coincided with the death of Ranjit Rai, the great grandson of the famous Raja Medini Rai, and rise of the Babuans. Nagbundi Singh of Nagpur who is stated to have had at that time control over Palamoon and Hazaribagh as well as Ranchi (all in Chotanagpur), were forced to pay Sarbuland Khan a lakh of

1. Sheo Das.
2. T. S. C.
3. M. L.
4. Hodiqat-ul-Aqalim, O. P. L. Ms.
5. The future Naib Nazim of Ghazipur,
6. T. S. C.

rupees, 45,000 in cash and the balance in diamonds and thereby induced him to return with his troops to Patna. During the expedition Sarbuland Khan separated Sher (?) and Sherghati and the parts below the ghats and as far the remainder of the jagirs, he settled them with Mir Aziz Khan, a Rohilla⁽¹⁾ adventurer for Rs. 35,000.

After regulating the affairs of the distant regions, the powerful and capable subadar returned to Patna. John Surman writes that he managed everything himself,⁽²⁾ and the Diwan and all other officers had not the least authority under him. The European did not find him as pleasant and accommodating as many of⁽³⁾ his predecessors. "He had laid an imposition", we are told, "on all merchants here (Patna) under the name Badraqa (escort). From the Dutch he had taken instead of their former Peshkash of 10,000 rupees 13,200 rupees after imprisoning their servants 2 months and stopping their laden boats besides 50,000 which he had extorted from them with in these⁽⁴⁾ 12 month." "As for the English, he was decidedly on bad terms with them". He is described as "our⁽⁵⁾ entire enemy" who "refused when Mr. Surman was at Patna on his return from Court, to obey the king's order for their houses, grants" etc. "No man dared approach him in the matter of Patna house and factory" and the English failed to "find a servant or others⁽⁶⁾ in his whole Darbar who dared represent the matter to him, taking it as entirely impossible to be effected". Even "King's farman and most severe order are little minded by Surbuland Khan". Here we are reminded of what Slimullah⁽⁷⁾ says about a similar attitude of another strong and shrewd Mughal subadar, Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal, in the matter of giving effect to the farman of Farrukhseyyar, granted to the English.

Unfortunately for Bihar, Surbuland Khan was recalled to the Court and superseded by Khan Zaman Bahadur on 22⁽⁸⁾ Rabi I. 1120 i. e. 12 Feb., 1718. The Alamganj Ms. mentions that he ruled over Bihar for 4 years, from Rabi season 1125 Fasli to Kharif season 1129. At first Bihar had been offered to Nizam-ul-mulk⁽⁹⁾ on 18 Rabi I, i. e. 19 Feb. 1719, for the wazir. to quote Irvine, had hoped that the government of Bihar, then a difficult charge would fully employ, if not exhaust his strength". But before the Nizam could start for Patna, Farrukhseyyar had been dethroned, and Malwa being then vacant was offered to him. Khan Zaman does not appear to have left Patna before June, 1721.⁽¹⁰⁾ though earlier in Feb. 1721⁽¹¹⁾ the English had got the news of his dismissal. Though not so strong as his predecessor, Khan Zaman was neither inefficient nor inactive. To keep order and peace in the country he had spread his forces in several part of his government"

1. We are told further that the succeeding suladars were unenterprising and failed to realise the Nazrana from the hill tribes, until 1730.

2. Wilson II, II 236.

3. Wilson I, Ep. Azim-us-Shan & Kasim Ali Khan.

4. Ibid. 230, 236.

5. Wilson, I Ep. Azim-us-shan & Kasim Ali Khan.

6. Tarikh-i-Bangala, Tr. by Gladwin.

7. T. S. C.

8. T. S. C.

9. L. M. II.

10. Wilson, 352.

11. Wilson, 32.

and was homesick often engaged outside Patna. The English records dated Nov. 1769 also tell us of his having gone out of the city to fight the Ujjainia⁽¹⁾ clan "who had established themselves in the south-west and west of Patna, leaving a deputy behind" and we learn also about his proceeding to Bhagalpur in Oct. 1720. Perhaps his relation with the Syeds had grown somewhat uneasy for a letter of Patna, dated May 1719, speaks of the rumour about the Governor of Bihar⁽²⁾ having received an order of encouragement from the new king (?) Nekosiar "He had promised to keep order in the city but the event of the battle or any other turn might induce him to break his word". As regards the English he was at first favourable to them. They were allowed to take possession of the ground granted to us by the king's Royal firman". "They visited to subadar who received with the great courtesy and stated in the open Darbar that he had forgiven⁽³⁾ the English the usual yearly peshkash and they might buy and sell and go on with their business without the least molestation. At the same time, he expected a handsome present yearly, as in the time of Agent Charnock. "He was paid a large some by the English which they were anxious not to divulge. In course of time the English grew dissatisfied with him too and have used harsh words about him and his deputy "The Nabob⁽⁴⁾ who is himself a man of prey and more inclined to oppress than protect did for the space of 4 months from February demand Rs. 2000 for Mezban". "His deputy (during his absence) failed not to oppress the city as much as if he was himself". Certainly the Nawab could not root out the power of the piratical Chakwars⁽⁵⁾ of Begusarai and the neighbourhood who had grown powerful, looted the goods-laden boats and constantly troubled the English Merchants.

The English expected a "thorough revolution⁽⁶⁾ and a better government of the province" (from their point of view) when both Khanzan and his diwan, Asghar Khan, were turned out and replaced by Abdur Rahim and Abdul Fattah respectively. Abdur Rahim Khan was sent to Bihar as his deputy by Syed Nasrat Yar Khan Barha who had been rewarded with the subadari of Bihar for taking Mohammad Shah's side against his relation the king maker, in the rearrangement that was made in Dec. 1720. The new Deputy governor who must have arrived at Patna, sometime in July 1721 is described as "a just good man"⁽⁷⁾ and the English were in the hopes to manage their affairs under him with less charge and difficulty". A letter, dated 2 Dec., 1721 tells⁽⁸⁾ us that the Nabob, according to his promise has been very moderate with relation the peshkash, they having prevailed with him to accept of a secret bribe of 4000 himself and to agree to 3000 for the Nabob Nasrat Yar Khan which last is paid publicly and will stand upon record "They were also obliged to give the Nabob's brother 1000 and his son with many Motasaddis (clerks) more or less to stop their mouths and prevent them divalging what was paid to Khan Zaman Khan". "The Dutch and the French also visited the Nawab, the former agreeing to give upward of 20,000 and the latter paying a considerable present". We read about "the scarcity of money at Patna occasioned by the Nawab's extortion."

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1. Wilson, 340.
 2. The Rajput Zamindars of Bhojpur who lived between the Karamnasa and Son rivers.
 3. Wilson III, 123.
 4. N. U.
 5. Wilson, III, 181.
 6. Wilson, 153, 254.
 7. Wilson, Notes 320.
 8. Wilson, notes 365.

Abdur Rahim may have remained as the deputy governor of Bihar till 15 Zihijja 1124 i. e. 11 Sept. 1722 on which date, according to Kamwar Khan, Mirza Jafar entitled Aqidat Khan, son of Amir Khan Kabuli, secured the subadari of Bihar for himself by offering to the emperor a peshkash of 5 lakhs of rupees. He had, as the author or Massirul-Umara informs us, served us a Bukshi of Prince Azim-us-Shan and had, according to Khafi Khan, held the subadar of Thatha and should not be confused with Aqidat Mand Khan who was, on the same date (Sept 1721) appointed to the foudjari of Sasaram,⁽¹⁾ in Bihar. The Alamganj ms. is not very helpfull at this place. It says that Nawab Abdur Rehim Khan had been preceded by Aqidat Khan who came to Bihar in 1129, lived for some months, fell ill and went away, leaving the province in a disturbed condition, his subadari lasting for 1 year and 1 Fasl. It mentions further than Nawab Abdur Rahim Khan came in Bihar in 1131 and after managing its administration left for Murshidabad after about a year. Besides the inaccuracy of dates which we find here as elsewhere, the order of succession given in the ms. is palpably wrong even though Khafi Khan places the appointment of Aqidat Khan in Rabi I, 1133⁽²⁾ i.e. January 1721. The Patna letter of the English, dated December 1721 speak of the disturbances in the country and about skirmish at a town called Birpur. They were obliged to burn the town for their security "which, they apprehended, would occasion a complaint to the Nawab⁽³⁾ (Abdur Rahim Khan) and would be aggravated to highest degree".

But the Almganj ms. furnishes us with the very useful and new information about the various sons of Amir Khan holding the charge of the subah of Bihar till the appointment of Fakhrud-dowla. We learn from it that in 1731 (?) the subadari of Bihar was given to Mirza Ibrahim entitled Nawab Marhamat Khan who governed the province through his brothers who acted as his deputies. One of these was Baqar Ali Khan who took over the charge in Rabi season. Soon after, however, Nawab Abdur Rahim Khan finding the climate of Bengal very incongenial for his health returned from Murshidabad took his residences at Jethauli, within the jurisdiction of the pargana of Haveli Azimabad. Nawab Marahmat Khan would not accept him and the quarrel continued till the end of the autumn (Kharif). But Marahmat Khan died shortly after this. From Rabi 1132 till Kharif season of 1133 Fasli Hadi Ali Khan, the brother of Marhamat Khan managed the affairs of the subadari. He was replaced by Nawab Fakhrud-dowla⁽⁴⁾ who continued govern the province in his own right from Rabi 1132 till the end of Kharif 1140 Fasli i.e. for 7 years."

Excepting the dates which are hopelessly wrong much of the above is corroborated by other sources. Kanwar Khan tells us that Syed Nasrat Yar Khan Haft Hazari the subadar of Patna, died on 1st Zilhnjja⁽⁵⁾ 1134 i.e. 31st August 1722. The vacancy was filled up as has been already mentioned by Aqidat Khan. Now Irvine, relying on Musirul-umra and Tarkh-i-Muhammadi, tells us that Marhamat Khan, the third son of Amir Khan, Kabuli, did while he was governor of Patna, on 17th Mohurram 1138 i.e.

1. T.S.C., M.U. (Moh Amis Khan).

2. M. L. M. U. (O.P.L. Ms. 66.)

3. Wilson III, 383-4.

4. Vide footnote above, p. 16.

5. T.S.C. 2126. (O.P.L.M.)

24 Sept. 1725. He had been removed from the foudari of Delhi on 18 Rabi. yr. 9 i.e. 5th Dec. 1725⁽¹⁾. There is nothing improbable if he, an enemy of the Saye had been given permanent charge of Fihar after and in the place of his own brother, Aqidat Khan, but as allowed to rule over the province through his two brothers, Faqar Ali Khan and Hadi⁽²⁾ Ali Khan, the best of whom is mentioned in Masirul-Umra as well as in Tazkira-i Humesha Bahar of Kishunchand, Ikhlas. At any rate the statement in Tarikh-i⁽³⁾ Muzaffari that Fakhrud-dowla took over the subadari of Fihar from Aqidat Khan in the 9th yr Julus i.e. 1138-1725 is obviously incorrect. As for Abdur Rahim Khan who is described as a Syed and a grandee of Muhammad Shah in Tarikh-i-Muhammadi⁽⁴⁾ and is said to have died in Benares while he was on his way on Ziqad 11 7 i.e. 26th July. 1726, he may have had to relinquish the charge of the province of Fihar before 2nd Ramzan 1135 i.e. 26 May. 112, for on that date we find him in the court and presenting 18 gold mohur by way of nazar. Of course no corroborative evidence is aivable about his quarrel with Marhamat Khan.

THE OLD FEUDAL NOBILITY OF MAHARASHTRA.

(Its Place in the Socio-Political Life of the country in the Seventeenth Century.)

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Benares).

The Problem.

The problem of the origin and nature, strength and structure, place and functions of the feudal system in the Socio-political life of Maharashtra from the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom to the rise of Shivaji is of very great historical importance in understanding its political, social and economic life, during that period 1350-1650). No historian has as yet carefully and comprehensively dealt with it. Here I am merely stating the problem and the way of approaching it.

Contemporary Opinion.

In stating the main principles of Shivaji's policy towards watandars and Inamdars a contemporary writer and his own minister says in his book called *Ajnapatra* or *Rajni*. It is merely a language of common Convention that *Desamukhs* and *Desakulkarnis*, *Patils* and other hereditary right-holders are to be called *watandars*. They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories But they are not to be considered as ordinary persons. These people are really sharers in the Kingdom. They are not inclined to live on whatever *watan* they possess, or to act always loyally towards the King who is the lord of the whole country and to abstain from committing wrong against any one. All the time they want to acquire new possessions bit by bit and to become strong, and after becoming strong to seize (land and power) forcibly from some, and to create enmities and depredations against others.....when a foreign invasion comes they make peace with the invader with a desire for gaining or protecting their watans, meet personally the enemy, allow him to enter the Kingdom by divulging Secrets and then they becoming harmful to the Kingdom get difficult to be controlled."

1. The author of M.U. says that Hady Khan has gone to patna as a Nail of the both Marahmat Khan; Seyar-ul-mutekherin.

2. T.M. (O.P.L.Ms.) 1951.

3. For this information the writer is indebted to Mr. Qazi Abdul Wadud who procured it from Munshi Imteyaz Ali Arshi of Rampur State Library.

4. T.S.C. (O.P.L. Ms. 216.)

This extract gives us some aspects of the rise and character, strength and danger of this class of feudal nobles and officers who held great privileges and powers during this period. It was Sivaji's policy to control them and to deprive them of their political power which was at great danger to a unified and centralised State that he was founding.

We shall first describe the historical origin and nature of the new political authority that was established in the Deccan in the 14th century.

Political Background.

Alauddin Khilji started the invasion of Maharashtra in 1294 A. D. and forced the Yadava King Ramchandra to surrender and to pay indemnity and tribute. He took enormous booty. Similarly Malik Kafur in 1307 again invaded Deogiri and reduced Ramchandra to submission and to pay tribute. also carried away enormous booty from the whole of the South. Thus from 1294 to 1317 the first phase was of invasion, loot and destruction. Only suzerainty and annual tributes were demanded. The old administration was left more or less untouched. No new officers and nobles were created.

The Second phase began in 1318 when the Yadava dynasty was cruelly ended by Mubarak Shah and Maharashtra was annexed by Delhi Sultans. Tughlaqs established their sovereignty, rule and administration over the country. They introduced their own officers and methods of administration at the centre to a certain extent. This led to the growth of a new official nobility and they also maintained some old official nobility. The local or provincial system of administration was however hardly changed. This Tughluq period of the second phase lasted till 1347 when the Bahmani Kingdom was founded. The third new phase of the Bahmani period led to further changes in the control and supervision of the central and local administration. They created and developed the new central official nobility and also partly maintained the old local official nobility. The fourth phase began in the 15th and 16th centuries when the Bahmani Kingdom was split into five Sultanates. It also further strengthened the feudal tendencies and system in Maharashtra.

In the beginning of the 17th century came the fifth phase when the Mughals began to absorb parts of Maharashtra by ousting some Deccan Sultanates and imposing their rule and system of administration on the country. The sixth phase began when the Marathas under Shivaji began to overthrow the power of both the Mughals and Deccan Shahis in the politics of the Deccan.

Thus the period from 1294 to 1647 has passed in the politics of Maharashtra through six political phase and consequent administrative changes.

Feudal Forces.

The Muslim invasions and conquests, their internecine quarrels, rebellions and slits, and their new invasions on the one hand, and the Hindu defeats and surrenders, their survivals and revivals, their rebellions and revolts and their consequent liberation and independence on the other were largely responsible for the rise and growth of a feudal system and nobility in the country, during the pre-Shivaji period of Maratha history.

During this process a great number of confiscations of land and power took place, many conversions and impositions were made, and some new system of control and administration were created. But along with them survived many old customs

and institutions, old ideas and beliefs, and old office holders and servants. The new governments did not and could not sweep away all the old. They had to compromise with the existing situation in their own interests. The changes were therefore few and not many, and these primarily at the centre.

Theories of Conquest.

The Muslim theory of invasion, war and conquest was that the Conqueror was not only the political Sovereign of the country but also the owner of the soil or land conquered. "The conquered lands are *ghuneeemut* or plunder and are to be divided amongst the *ghanimeen* or soldiers. If restored to the original inhabitants it is subject to *Khirus* (land-tax) as a provision for the future warlike contingencies of the Conquerors. It is not for protection that the land tax is taken but for the maintenance of religion and army. The life and property of the subjects were at the mercy of the conqueror. He was the proprietor of every acre of land in the Kingdom". (Futawa Alamgiri).

Those territories which were conquered by force or treaty but were not left in the possession of their original proprietors were made the property of the public treasury. The occupiers of such lands were regarded as mere tenants and paid tithe on produce to the conquerors.

Under the early Arab rule the conquest of a foreign country as in Iraq or Spain lands were considered the property of the Arab Muslim State or Community. One fifth of it was made the *Crownland* to be cultivated by the original owners in return for the third of the produce as revenue to the State. The remaining was divided among the troops. Lands obtained by capitulation remained in the possession of their former owners as against the payment of the Capitation-tax. One fifth of the war-booty always went to the State treasury.

The subject races had to cultivate the land and do other menial labour. But the Muslims gathered and enjoyed the harvest and attended only to military duties. They subject races had to pay Capitation and land taxes. Omar absolutely forbade the Arabs to acquire lands outside Arabia or to engage themselves in agricultural pursuits in conquered lands. In the conquest of Sawad or Iraq under Omar the land was declared to be the conqueror's property. It was to be treated as a war-booty and was to be subject to the rule of equal division among the troops after the exclusion of the fifth which belonged to the State. The inhabitants were to be treated as slaves. But in the case of Sawad it was decided to declare it as an inalienable Crown land, for all time, the revenue of which was to be employed for the benefit of the Muslim State. With this decision, regarding the conquered land the Caliph appears to have excluded Muslim warriors from holding lands, for all time, in conquered countries. But their ownership legally belonged to the Muslim State which had conquered them from non-Muslims or infidels.

Von Kremer in his 'Orient under the Caliphs' says "The Muslim state of the patriarchal epoch was but a great religious and political association of the Arab tribes for booty and conquest under the banner of Islam-having for its watch-word 'No God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet.'"

The whole revenue of the State was divided among the members of the Muslim community. It was a commonwealth and army of the Faithful. The Turks, Afghans and Mughals were originally a nomadic people and observed a number of their tribal laws and customs - After their conversion they observed them along with the Muslim laws and practices created by Arabs who were also a nomadic people.

Nomadic theory of conquest gives ownership of the land to the conquerors and also a right to plunder and slavery of the conquered. It does not recognise private property or private rights of the conquerors or the conquered. The tribe or clan is the owner and the Sovereign. All conquests are the property of the tribe. Therefore all acquisitions of property legally lapsed to the government which is that of the tribes. This practice and tradition continued under the Turks and Mughals in India. The Empire was communal property and the Amir or Sultan who was the Commander of the tribe and of the faithful also was the trustee of the rights of the ownership of the Sovereign congregation (Jamait) of the true believers. Thus two traditions or forces one patriarchal of the Nomadic society and another theocratic of Islamic society made property communal. Under Islam everything belonged to God, and on His behalf it was held and managed by the Commander of the faithful as a trustee of God for the good the community of the faithful. Its system of taxation is based on the two conceptions involved in the expression the *Community* of the *Faithful*. In the Community was the conception of Common ownership, and in the Faithful was the belief of the rule and ownership of the elect of the God.

The Hindu theory of war and conquest on the contrary did not take away the rights of private owners in property. By conquest only Kingly power was obtained and not the ownership in the landed property of the enemy. The Kingly power or authority was only for the correction of the wicked and the protection of the good. King's right was generally limited to that of collecting revenue from landholders for the purpose of protection and punishment. Conquest did not sweep away all private rights. Its only effect was to invest the victorious King with the rights and obligations of the vanquished King. A King bringing under his control a foreign territory become subject to the very same duties as were cast upon him in protecting his own state.

Practice after conquests and the rise of feudalism.

In spite of the religious or nomadic theory of conquest brought in by Turks and Mughals the actual nature of the conquest and administration of India had to be a compromise between the Conqueror's theories and needs on one side, and the resistance, position and strength of the conquered on the other. It was not possible for small groups of tribal conquerors though militarily strong to sweep away all the traditions, customs and possession of the conquered who were large in numbers in an extended country and who were also stubbornly resisting the piecemeal conquest of the country. It took one hundred years to conquer the North, and another half a century to conquer the country between the Vindhya and the Krishna. Below the Krishna the conquest was never complete because of the new Vijayanagar Kingdom.

The main problem before the Conquerors was that of establishing immediate allegiance and loyalty to secure their power and providing peace and security to people's life and property in order to gain their attachment. They needed the cooperation of the conquered and therefore disturbed as little as possible the existing laws and customs, and administrative arrangements and political institutions of the country. The exigencies of the political situation became thus the limitations of the theory of conquest and its legal rights. The new conquerors, need of help and cooperation from the conquered in the consolidation of their made led to the survival of old officials and servants of the State and their powers and of old laws and administrative institutions and their working. This led to the sharing and association in political power and administration of the old and new elements in the establishment and maintenance of the new rule. No doubt there were more changes in the Central government, and less in the local government. New feudal nobility arose largely for and in the Central government and old feudal nobility survived for

and in the local government. There came also large innovations in the official language and terminology, in army composition, in Civil and revenue superintending staff. But the normal government and business of administration were carried by old officers and servants, according to old laws rules and regulations of revenue assessment and collection, of civil and criminal justice and procedure with the help of the old codes and language of the country.

In this *post-conquest* arrangement survived and strengthened the *preconquest* feudal official nobility of Maharashtra of *Watan-dars*, of *Desamukhs* and *Desa-kulkarnis* and of *Patels* and *Kulkarnis*. Their old functions and rights, status and estates were acknowledged and maintained by renewed grants. They continued to do their work which they did hereditarily in the past. The new nobility of *Jagirdars* and *Inamdars* was granted lands or rights of revenue conditionally or unconditionally, temporarily or permanently to render other public services required by the rulers in the central and local administration. They were either military, civil political or religious services or those pertaining to the royal household and domain.

This grant and recognition of political rights and status given to meritorious individuals and public officials for their various public services they rendered or were rendering made the feudal nobility a part and parcel of the system of government as it then prevailed without them the government could not have been worked. It was a political necessity to adopt and maintain the feudal system especially after the conquest of the country by foreigners who were different in race, religion and culture.

The Feudal System of Government and the place and Status of the Post-conquest feudal nobles.

Now we have to find out the rights and duties, place and status of the old feudal nobility in the Socio-political life of the country during this period. It played a great part in the political, social and economic life and prosperity or decline of the country. On its character and work, aims and policies depended the political future and greatness of Maharashtra.

Turks did not and could not annex and confiscate all the Kingdoms, principalities, fiefs and local and provincial officers of the conquered people. They recognised and maintained many of them and their old rights and privileges. They associated them in their own rule and administration. They only made them acknowledge loyalty to themselves, and then recognised their feudal status and power. They also created new official nobility of their own to control and supervise these old officers in order to maintain their own power and sovereignty. This prevented sedition and rebellions in the country. The Bahmani Kings followed the same policy. They had to rely upon old officers more in the south than was necessary for rulers in the Northern India. They employed them largely in the army and civil administration. They maintained many of their powers and privileges in tact and with their cooperation they were able to rule for long.

The Bahmanis divided the country into four divisions (Tarafs) - Gulburga, Daulatabad, Berar and Bedar. Each division was under a divisional officer (Tarafdar). He enjoyed large powers. He controlled both the army and civil administration. He made all appointments. He was controlled by the Sultan who toured round the country and inspected the administration. The central government was not however able to control fully the local government. It had to leave a large number of powers and functions to local officers because of long distances and wants of means of rapid

communication. These officers had to be given for their services lands for maintenance as Jagirs or watans on certain conditions. They used to get the revenue from those lands and did suit and service to their rulers in return.

Muhammad the son of Alauddin Bahmani, reorganised the central and local government. His system was followed to the end of his dynasty. Still these Turki and Bahmani Kingdoms lasted as long as the provincial and local officers were loyal and contented.

The central administration was more or less modelled on the Abbaside system of administration at Bagdad. The Bahmani Kings did not destroy or interfere in the laws, customs, procedure, judges and Courts of the Maratha country. The old Dharmasastra system and Panchayat system of *Gota*, *Desaka* and *guilds*, and *Jati* prevailed for the Hindus. The Kaji, the Kuran, the Muslim law and Courts came in where Muslims were concerned or involved.

The judicial decisions of 1475 and 1610 relating to Paleki watans clearly that the royal officers got the disputes decided with the help of the Sabha of Desamukhs, Desakulkarnis and Patils and Kulkarnis of the Pargana. The old system of ordeal even was not changed or abandoned.

Village panchayats were called Gota-Sabhas or Maya Sabhas or Thala Sabhas. Their decisions were called Gota decisions or Thala decisions. They consisted of Patils, Kulkarnis, Balutedars, Shetas, Mahajans (Bankers, merchants, tradesmen) and landholders of the villages. Their number was not fixed. Desaka Sabhas or Pargana Panchayats consisted of Watandars, Desamukhs, Desa-Kulkarnis of Parganas, Watandar Patils of villages, and Shetes and Mahajans. Their number was not fixed. Their decisions were called Desaka decisions.

Sabhas of learned Pandits dealt with cases of Brahmans for breach of religious rites and duties* and also those cases in a reference was made to them regarding Dharma matters. The number of their members was also not fixed.

There were also other Jati and guild Sabhas for social and economic disputes. There was sometime a Chief-Justice at the centre who was the highest judicial officer and who exercised the royal right of appellate, revisionary, supervisory or prerogative jurisdiction inherent in royal sovereignty. Thus we find that the Bahmani system of government and administration was a composite structure based upon the needs of expediency and necessity. The rulers had to adjust their religious aims and racial traditions with practices and customs of the country. There was however no fusion of the conquerors and the conquered in the Deccan. Only political expediency compelled some adjustment and association, cooperation and toleration.

The foreign central government was organised on the Persian model, and its army on the Turkish pattern. There was a royal Council and Court of the Sultan. In the matter of assessment and collection of revenue the help of local officials was taken. The central ministers and provincial and royal officers received, audited and examined their accounts. The central government had no trained independent local staff to do the work of assessment and collection. Therefore it was done through localrajās and sardars and the Pargana officers and Mokaddams who were watanders. Desamukhs and Desakulkarnis, Patils and Kulkarnis.

Thus the central government was largely qaasi-bureaucratic, but the local government remained feudal and communal. No doubt Turks and Afghans considered their Kingdoms as tribal property and Leading Kinsmen of the tribe shared in the Kingdom by holding jagirs or fiefs. But they could not wipe out the numerous chiefs and officers of the old who surrendered and survived were willing to pay suit and service to the foreign power.

After the conquest and the establishment of the Tughluk and Bahmani rule in Maharastra we do not find any claim made by the conquerors to the ownership of land. They seem to have continued the old principles and traditions in respect of it. The conquerors however succeeded to the crownlands of the old rulers, and to their rights to public lands, waste lands, escheated, surrendered and confiscated lands. It is these lands out of which grants of lands as jagirs or inams were mostly made. But the grants of revenue due to the state from all lands for giving peace and protection were often granted as Jagirs or Inams by the State to its officers for public services, to individuals for meritorious or beneficial services, and to institutions for religious and other services.

Land Tenures and tenurial conditions.

Thus we get the division of lands under the new Muslim terminology into Khalsa and Khas (State or public ownership), Inam, Watan and Jagir (feudal ownership), and Mirasi and Thalkari (private ownership) and Upari (tenant) tenures. We have seen how the land owned directly by the State arose. The land owned by feudal ownership arose under old or new grants. If the old feudal nobles were recognised and allowed to do either military, fiscal, judicial or other private services, and the lands which were originally granted for these public purposes were continued as before, then their hereditary ownership of those lands remained with them, and they continued to perform those services as before.

The new grants were given (1) for old services where no old officers or servants were recognised or where they were dead or had disappeared and their estates had been confiscated, and (2) for new services and meritorious deeds on liberal or restricted conditions. They were given temporarily or for life or hereditarily on condition of continuous service, lands or revenues of land free from either taxes or otherwise. They were granted for continuous military, religious, or civil (fiscal, judicial, administrative) services or only for individual acts of heroism, devotion, loyalty and merit without any condition of further service in future.

The main necessity however was political the maintenance of peace and security of life and property, and the general avocations of the life and activities of the people. To achieve this army, police, justice, revenue and their administration local, provincial and central, were necessary. It was provided for in this way with the help of the old and new nobility either hereditary or temporary. They were given certain rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, political, social and economic. They got power and status and performed functions accordingly for the State and Society.

A large extent of land was however under private ownership. No doubt it had to pay a land-tax in the shape of revenue to the government for the political services of protection and justice and economic services of security and welfare it rendered. There was private land (Khas) of the King and of his relatives, of the nobles higher and lower, and of private persons. It could escheat to the government for want of an heir, or be confiscated by the government for sedition or treason, or sold in default of payment of revenue. Otherwise it was in the full ownership of the landholder, be he a peasant or a land-lord. It was cultivated either personally by

tenants or by hired labour and slaves or let out on lease to tenants by big land-lords. This created economic tenures which may be called (1) free tenures and (2) servile tenures. There would be slaves, serfs, hired laborers, permanent tenants and occupants doing the work of production and cultivation on these free and servile tenures.

RECORDS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY 1600-77. AS A SOURCE OF INDIAN HISTORY.

BY

Mr. Vijaya Chandra Joshi, Lahore.

The original material for the study of the Mughal period of Indian History is vast and varied. The early records of the East India Company from a valuable source of knowledge of some of its important aspects. These documents remained neglected and unexploited until the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century, when Sir George Birdwood first brought them to the attention of scholars. We are fortunate to possess most of these in published form, under the able editorship of Birdwood, Danvers, Foster, Sainsbury and Fawcett. Among the records of the Company are the Minutes of the Court of Directors and the General Courts which have proved to be an important source for the home history of the Company, especially under the Stuarts, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. To other records include letters sent by the Directors of the Company, the despatches from factors in India to the Company and communications from factory to factory in the East. In writing the history of India we are mainly concerned with this latter class of documents, i. e. the letters written by the factors and their reports.

History of the Company's Settlements.

The general history of the Company's settlements, the expansion of its trade and its struggle for the attainment of commercial supremacy form an important and interesting chapter of Indian History, for which these records are a veritable mine of information. The internal organization and administration of the factories, and the life of the English in seventeenth century India are vividly described in the correspondence. Another important topic to which frequent references are made is the relation of the Company with other European powers trading in the East, viz., the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French. However, in this case, we must be cautious of the exclusive use of these records, as they frequently need verification. The parties to a cause can seldom be regarded as impartial witnesses.

Relations with Indian Powers.

For a study of the relations of the English factors with Indian Princes and their Officers, about which the factors wrote frequently, a thorough and critical examination of these documents is necessary. Again and again they complained that Indian rulers and governors hindered their commercial activities and abused their powers in order to put English merchants to trouble. It is true that some of the Indian Officers misused their authority in order to satisfy their caprice and greed.⁽¹⁾ Still, most of the charges of the English against them cannot be substantiated. They worked under a strange delusion. Being strong at sea, the English felt that they could force the Indian authorities to accept their demand for full freedom of trade,

1. L.R. 78-81. Zulfiqar Ali Khan, governor of Surat forcibly appropriated the goods of the English and extorted bribes.

to the exclusion of other European merchants. The least restrictions, though necessitated by the exigencies of the administration and legitimate interests of the Indian merchants, seemed intolerable to them. Such an attitude brought them into conflict with the Mughals and other Indian authorities who allowed the foreigners to trade in India only as a favour. Their position depended solely on the *firmans* granted by the rulers. These were revocable and alterable as the situation required. The Indian powers, particularly the Mughals, attached little importance to the commercial missions of the English, during the early period. The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe which is rightly regarded as a landmark in the history of the Company, is not even mentioned in the Memoirs of Jahangir.

The servants of the Company sometimes committed breaches of the law, especially in evading payment of customs duties at Surat.⁽¹⁾ Some of them were guilty of unruly behaviour in the territories of Indian rulers⁽²⁾. Such incidents brought about ruptures with the authorities, and it is not strange that the factors always blamed the officer of the administration. The dealings of the English with the Mughal authorities at Surat, during 1623-24, will serve as an instance. The relations of the factors with Nawab Mir Jumla who was also a great commercial magnate can be viewed in the same light. They often speak ill of him; but their accounts are prejudiced, especially after they had provoked his resentment by seizing one of his junks in 1656.⁽³⁾ Their relations with most other Indian powers were similar.

References to Political Events.

Information of a historical nature abounds in the correspondence of the factors. The affairs of the Mughal empire in the reign of Jahangir figure prominently. We find references to the submission of Rama Amar Singh of Mewar, the Mughal-Portuguese War of 1613-14, the influence of Nur Jahan over the Emperor and court intrigues, Khusrav's tragic death, Khurram's rebellion and the campaigns undertaken for its suppression, Muhalat Khan's *coup d'état* the death of Parwiz and of Jahangir. Nur Jahan's unsuccessful attempts to place Shahriyar on the throne and Shah Jahan's accession. We do not learn much about the reign of the new emperor from a study of these documents. After 1650, there are a few incidental references to the relations among Shah Jahan's sons and to the death of Diwan Sadullah Khan.

Of the events of the War of Succession the factors give us only meagre information and that too, based on hearsay, as the Agra factory was closed in 1656.⁽⁴⁾ Still, there are references to Murad's activities in Gujarat, Dara Shikoh's defeat at Deori and his presence in Gujarat for some time, the accession of Aurangzeb and the imprisonment of Shah Jahan. The campaigns against Shah Shuja in Bengal, led by Prince Muhammad Shah and Mir Jumla are described in detail by the factors at Balasore, Patna and Mir Jumla's camp, where they had gone to see him, in connection with the trouble over his junk. The vivid account of the siege and capture of Rajmahal is very interesting.⁽⁵⁾ Mir Jumla's expedition against Arakan, his death and the conquest of Arakan by Shaista Khan are also referred to by the factors.

Events in Southern India and the Deccan also attracted their attention. There are numerous allusions to political disintegration after the collapse of the Vijayanagar

1. Even Roe was guilty of such an offence.
L.R.VI, 120, 141; Roe, 405; E.F.II, 11-12.
2. L.R. III, 271; L.R.V, 348; Roe, 327.
3. E.F.X, 94.
4. E.F.X, 73.
5. E.F.X, 283-84.

Empire and the attempts of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to put an end to the independence of the Hindu chieftains. There are references to the growth in importance of Golconda, under the leadership of Mir Jumla; to the war between Bijapur and Golconda in 1651-52 and to the subsequent desertion of the Golconda general and his reception by the Mughal emperor. The relations of the Mughal rulers Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb with the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan are mentioned from time to time. Upon the death of Mohd. Adil Shah in 1558, followed by the dissensions among the nobles and misgovernment in Bijapur State there is also much interesting material for study.

The rise of the Maratha power under Shivaji occupied the greater part of attention of the factors in the Deccan and Western India, in their accounts of political events. They have left us references to Afzal Khan's murder, the capture and loss of Panhala, Sidi Johar's campaign against Shivaji, the assault on Shaista Khan at Poona, the sack of Surat in 1664, a meditated attack on Goa, Mirza Raja Jai Singh's campaign, the treaty of Purandhar, Shivaji's visit to the Mughal Court, his captivity and escape, Diler Khan's campaign against him, his coronation, attacks on various places on the Western Coast and in the Deccan, the Carnatic expedition and to Anglo-Maratha treaty of 1674. The accounts of Shivaji's lightning raids and incursions are perfectly in keeping with what we learn from other sources. The detailed description of his attack on and sack of Surat, in 1664, is of great value.⁽¹⁾ The energetic measures taken by the English at Surat under the guidance of Sir George Oxenden figure prominently in the records of the consultations and correspondence. Interesting light is also thrown on the person and character of the Maratha hero.⁽²⁾ However, we must bear in mind that these accounts about Shivaji are written by men with an inveterate hostility towards him, particularly after the sack of Surat.⁽³⁾

Another important topic that occupied the attention of the factors from time to time was the relation between the Mughals and Persia, and the repeated attempts to recapture Kandahar, during the reign of Shah Jahan.

In general, the English factors did not have much interest in the political affairs of the country during this period. They only troubled to write about such events only when they happened to be near the place of occurrence or when those affairs affected their commercial fortunes. Occasionally their reports were but current bazar gossip which was entirely unfounded and as such have to be accepted with great caution and after being subjected to thorough examination. Roe's description of Rana Amar Singh as a descendant of Poros⁽⁴⁾ can thus be regarded as nothing more than an interesting traveller's tale. The rumour reported from Surat on November, 13, 1628, regarding the serious illness of Jahangir, agreement between Prince Khurram and Prince Parwiz and Khurram's marriages with the daughter of a Raja and Malik Amber was entirely unfounded.⁽⁵⁾

In some cases the accounts of the factors are vitiated by partiality and prejudice attributable to their being roughly handled during the course of events which they describe, for mishtance, Shivaji's activities. On the other hand, these records tell us true stories of some unpleasant happenings which the Persian Chroniclers of the period generally did not put into black and white. During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, we find that an English factor generally lived

1. E.F.XI, 296-316.
2. E.F.XI, 307
3. E.F.XII, 171-72
4. Roe, 82, 90.
5. E. F. II, 319.

near the Mughal Court and even followed the royal camp. Their accounts of contemporary events which did not concern them are often impartial and possess the virtue of detachment. Of many of these scenes in the drama they were merely interested spectators. The account of Mahabat Khan's *Coup d'état*⁽¹⁾ is based on information supplied by John Banghan who accompanied the royal camp, in order to realize certain bills.

Economic Conditions

Regarding the economic condition of India during the seventeenth century these records tell us a good deal. By weaving together numberless scattered references we can get an exhaustive account of Indian products, industries, imports and exports, commercial codes and practices, methods of purchase and sale, banking and exchange, currency weights, measures, custom duties, tolls and transportation, etc. The recurring famines are also occasionally mentioned: a careful collection of the information scattered in the correspondence would enable one to form a detailed account of the Gujarat famine of 1630-32.⁽²⁾

Political Institutions and Administration.

Only a few references to political institutions, the nature of administration and social life and customs, are to be gleaned in the records of the Company. They mostly corroborate the accounts of the contemporary Europeans travellers which are often fuller the factors did not enjoy the position and did not possess the capacity to understand fully these aspects of Indian life. However, we can learn something from them about the government of the places where the English factories were established. From one letter we learn that after the expiry of the covenanted period of Mir Musa's governorship of Surat, in 1641, the farming system was abolished.⁽³⁾ From the reports of certain judicial cases we can derive some information regarding administration of justice and forms of punishments. A man was hanged at Surat, in 1620, for robbing a washerman;⁽⁴⁾ whipping was used for extorting confession⁽⁵⁾ and judges could often be bribed⁽⁶⁾. The absence of proper arrangement for investigation of crime, at Surat is referred to in Methwold's diary, dated October 11, 1636.⁽⁷⁾

Social Life and Customs.

There are a few references to the celebration of Diwali,⁽⁸⁾ Holi,⁽⁹⁾ Ramzan⁽¹⁰⁾ and Nauroz⁽¹¹⁾. The factors sometime wrote about the life, the merchants and the nobles led. The employing of dancing girls is mentioned in certain places.⁽¹²⁾ Numerous references to superstitions entertained by the people, and the general belief in sorcery, witchcraft and devils, etc., which were also shared by the factors are to be found. The flying of kites over the camp of Mir Jumla at Maksudabad was regarded as a bad omen.⁽¹³⁾ The English dismissed their broken at Agra, named Dhanji, for "endeavouring to destroy Mr. Turner (an English factor) by the sorcery."⁽¹⁴⁾ A house at Baroda was said to be inhabited by devils.⁽¹⁵⁾

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| 1. E. F. III, 151-53, 171-72. | |
| 2. E. F. IV, 20, 79, 122, 146, 166, 178, 180-81, 218, 268, etc. | |
| 3. E. F. VII, 23-24 | 4. E. F. I, 188. |
| 5. E. F. II, 219-20. | 6. E. F. V, 54, 64. |
| 7. E. F. V, 304-05. | 8. E. F. V, 54, 63. |
| 9. E. F. II, 75; VI, 13. | 10. E. F. VIII, 156. |
| 11. E. F. VIII, 299. | 12. E. F. (new Series) I, 251-52, 258, 259. |
| 13. E. F. X, 293. | 14. E. F. VII, 215. |
| 15. E. F. V, 285. | |

Religious Conditions.

The religious condition of the period is reflected in some of the records It was reported, in 1517, that Jahangir was not circumcised and that he treated Muslims, Christians and Hindus alike. (1) In contrast with his policy of tolerance Aurangzeb's acts of persecution of Hindus, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, etc., at Surat figure prominently in the correspondence for 1668 and 1669. (2)

The Hindus were believed to be stamah in their faith and there was littele hope of success for the Christian missionaries. (3) The treditonal reverence for cows among the Hindus was in vogue during the period. (4)

Evidence of caste civalries can also be found, especially at Madras where the Right Hand and Lift Hand castes quarrelled and claimed superioity over each other. (5)

Conclusion

From the foregoing account the importance of the study of the East India Company's records for writing the history of the Mughal period can be appreciated up to the present, these documents have been mainly utilized in tracing the history of the growth of the Company's trade. It is hoped that writers on Indian History will fully exploit the scattered information supplied by the Original letters of the factors about contemporary events and conditions.

Note : -

The documentation of the paper is merely illustrative. It has been generally omitted in the enumeration of references to political events. For a detailed study of this aspect, with exhaustive documentation, may be made to the writer's paper on "Incidental References to Political Events in the Published Records of the East India Company, in the Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939. (pp. 950-78).

THE LUSO-MARATHIA CAMPAIGN OF BASSEIN

BY

Chavalier P. Pissurlencar, Goa.

Introduction

On May 23, 1739, Chinnaji Appa, after a struggle which lasted twenty-five and a half months and was signolised by feats of valour on either side, captured from the fortress of Bysssein and with it nearly the whole of the Northern province. Chinnaji himself was liberal in his praise of the valour of his enemies, who in turn were highly appreciative of their adversarie's heroic conduct; and once peace was concerted by the treaty of March 16, 1739, the victors faithfully fulfilled every one of its terms, to the surprise of Portugal.

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1. L. R. VI, 185.
 2. E.F. XIII, 13, 191 192.
 3. E.F. IX, 18.
 4. E.F. VI, 256.
 5. E.F. IX, 155, 253.

The Portuguese had acquired Bassein and its territory from Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, who had ceded it in 1534 as the price of aid promised, and given, against his Mughal adversary, Humayun; and Governor Francisco Barreto had extended this gift by the capture, in 1556, of the fortress of Asseri and Manora.

Conversion

In pursuance of their policy, the Portuguese proceeded forthwith to convert the Northern province to Christianity, using to this end their customary methods, "to put an end to the idolworship and mosques that might be there by the best possible ways and means."

The Governor Jorge Cabral, after instructions from King Joao III, decreed in 1549 that "no person, of whatever quality, should any more build a temple or mosque" and that "no one should dare to prevent anybody from becoming Christian."

The Bishop of Goa, in his turn, issued, on March 15, 1550, orders to Father Belchior Goncalves and to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus as well as to the Vicar Simao Travassos, and the Franciscan Fathers, that wherever they should find temples either already built or begun or under repairs, they should destroy and demolish them."

Likewise, the Viceroy, Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas, ordered, in 1555, that in Bassein and its territory "there be no pagodas (idols) of the Gentiles, whether public or private, by any means whatever, and that no workman of any trade make them of wood or any other (*sic*) metal; and also that they have no festivity or heathen rites, whether public or private, by no means whatever, nor be there Brahmin preachers...and that all the houses of the said Gentiles suspected of keeping the said pagodas and idols, be searched "

The Marathi chronicle, *Sastichi Bakhar*, gives at the very outset a vivid account of the religious persecution launched against the Bassein Hindus by the Portuguese, which account is in absolute agreement with the Portuguese sources, however the persecution itself is justified by the latter.

The Inquisition itself, which was established in Goa with quite a different aim, meddled with the Hindus and was dreaded by them. In accordance with the *Law for the Conversion of Orphans*, all children below 14 who had neither father nor mother were forcibly converted to the State religion; so that Khafi Khan calls this "their greatest act of tyranny."

These laws, however, were not always strictly carried out, and there were governors and bishops who condemned the use of force and exempted from the operation of the law those who were not subjects of Portugal. This accounts for the presence of a Hindu population in Portuguese territory despite the fact that the so-called *laws in favour of Christendom* were in force all the time.

Indeed, there was made on the one hand every effort, however oppressive to eradicate Hinduism from the State territory, and on the other, every possible favour and advantage was offered to the converts. Hence the mass conversions, as well as the exodus of a great part of the Hindu population of Bassein to Muhammadan territory, and particularly to Bombay after the latter came into the possession of the English.

This flight gave the Portuguese authorities food for thought, and the Viceroy Dom Luis de Athaide and Matias d'Albuquerque, with a view to arresting this exodus, published, in 1578 and 1596 respectively, laws characterised by the broadest tolerance, giving royal assurance to the self-exiled Hindus in case they would return to their homes. Nevertheless, it was the practice, in the 17th and 18th centuries, to insert a clause in the lease deeds, binding the lessees to produce every year certificates from the Commissioners of the Holy Office, showing "how they aid the propagation of the Faith and work for the eradication of heathenism."

It goes without saying that the lease was not renewed whenever the lessee did not show sufficient zeal for the spread of Catholicism and the extermination of Hinduism in his own village. But the lessees being generally Portuguese hidalgos, all means within reach were employed to this end, so that persons were found to prefer "losing the village rather than there should be in it the least trace of heathenism."

Administration

Dom Joao de Castro, after the victorious campaign of Diu, distributed the Bassein territory among his officers. Simao Botelho says that the captains and factors gave away, so far, many lands which had belonged to the Muhammadans who had revolted against the Portuguese sovereignty, and which were of no use to the Portuguese and Brahmins of Goa territory who went to live there. The number of Brahmins (Saraswat), however, must have been very small, as by the middle of the 16th century all the lessees of the Bassein lands were Portuguese, as can be inferred from the *Tombo da India*, drawn up by the same Botelho between 1546 and 1554. For in this book there is mention of only seven Hindus, with regard to Bassein, all the other lessees being Catholics.

Also, from a Ms. in the Goa Archives, called *Tombo de Bacaim* and drawn up between 1727 and 1730, it is apparent that about this time the lessees of Bassein were almost all Portuguese, there being in the name of the Hindus barely five or six villages.

The villages of nearly all the Hindus lessees of Bassein and Salsette, then, were confiscated—and these lessees were no small number. Among these, from their intimate relations with Maharattas, a few obtained notoriety—several members of the Naik family of Anjor, and Antaji Ragghunath Kavle, lessee (*vatandar*) of Malad, whose lease was renewed for the last time in 1725, during the administration of the Viceroy Joao Saldanha da Gama.

The leases of the Naiks must have been confiscated in the 16th century, at the time of conversion of Bandra, where they then had their residence, on the ground that they had abandoned their homes, as the lessees were bound to reside in Bassein and keep horses for the defence of that Fort.

Revolt of the Hindus against the Portuguese Conversion Policy

Not always did the Bassein Hindus submit without resistance to the coercive measures of the Portuguese authorities. In addition to numerous petitions they were wont to address to the Portuguese Viceroys and Governors, begging to be permitted the free practice of their religion, after the concessions made to the merchants of Din, they, however seldom, used violent means in defence of their faith, to the extent of conspiring against the Government.

Sir George Oxenden, in one of his letters addressed to Lord Arlington on March 6, 1665, writes:—"When Sir Abraham Shipman first arrived to Bombay, being informed that the Viceroy would be no means deliver up the island according to the articles, they (i.e. the inhabitants) sent hither a Brahmin (or one of their priests, unto whom they entrust their greatest secrets), who came in the name of all the inhabitants, both of Salsett and Bombaim, to acquaint mee that, if we would be appeare there, they would deliver up the island in spite of the Portugalls, and likewise contrive it in that manner that there should not bee the losse of one mann, desiring as a gratuity for this peace of service, onely that they and their children might bee free, and they would be His Majesties most faithful subjects, for that which most afflicts them is the tyranny of the Jesuites, who have brought them to the subjection that, when the father of a family dieth, what children hee hath are taken from their parents and brought up in the Jesuites colledges, never suffering them to returne again to their relations; which is a bondage very grievous to them."

William Foster does not name the Bassein priest who went, in the name of the inhabitants of Salsette and Bassein, to offer his cooperation to the English for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bombay. History, however, records the name of another priest, residing in the Portuguese territory of Malad, who, being in communication with Bajirao, was of great help to the Maharattas in the capture of Bassein. This was Antaji Raghunath Kavle.

About 1729, this priest offered his services to the Peshwas, and henceforward conspired with them against the Portuguese and even participated in the battle of Kamba, in May, 1730. His chief aim was not to spare any effort to regain his grants, which had lapsed to the State in 1726, as well as those of the other Dessais of Bassein. Pillaji Jadhav Rao wrote of him to the Viceroy:—"He is a mischief-monger who lives in Portuguese territory practising medicine, and when there, he was mischievously promising the Portuguese authorities the surrender of Kalyan and the Fort of Coje." Also Bajirao intervened, in 1734, on behalf of Kavle's grants (*watan*) for, according to a letter from the General of Bombay, the Peshwa asked the latter to use his good offices for their restoration. It goes without saying that the General of Bombay excused himself by declaring that his Government could not meddle in such affairs.

But before Antaji Raghunath Kavle, several members of the Naik family of Anjar had intrigued with Marathas, that, with their aid they might deliver Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese yoke. According to the *Sashtichi Bakhar*, towards the end of the 16th century, on the occasion of

the conversion of Bandra. Bal Naik and two of his brothers abandoned this village and he took themselves to Kelve and thence, later, to Anjor, where they settled down. Bal Naik's grandson, Nimb Naik by name, sought Sambhaji's aid in the conquest of Salsette, but without success. This Nimb Naik had six sons, of whom Gangaji Naik played an important role in the Bassein Campaign, having deserted from Portuguese territory to Kalyan on the occasion of Pilagi Jadhav Rao's invasion, between the 26 and 29th of November, 1723.

In a *Sanad* one read that "Gangaji Naik, Bubaji Naik and Janardana Naik.....came to Satara in A.D. 1722-23 to visit Peshwa Bajirao and his brother Chimnajipant Appa. They informed the Peshwa that the Portuguese had *desecrated temples and sacred places*, and put down the Maratha religion and had polluted the Hindus and that owing to the discontinuance of their watans, (Gangaji and others) had left the province, and were at that time residing in the province of Kalyan. They further represented that they knew the accesses to the forts of Bassein, Thana and others, the points where the channels were fordable, and the roads in the country, and requested the Peshwa to lead a campaign against the province, to conquer it, and establish the Hindu Religion. Gangaji Naik and others were then told to collect their friends and to take steps for facilitating entry into the Post of Thana and Salsette. They came every year to Peshwa and reported their progress. In 1736-37 Sankraji Keshav and Chimnaji Bhivrao with their army were sent with Gangaji and Shivaji and reached Bassein. The army of Khandoji Mankar and Ramachandra Hari was sent with Bubaji, Murarji and Narayanji. It crossed the channel at Salsette and was able with the help of Gangaji's friends to capture the fort of Thana."

The contents of this *sanad* are borne out by *Sashtichi Bakhar*. The official Portuguese documents also affirm that various Hindus of Salsette, who had been punished by the Inquisition, had leagued themselves with the Maharatta invader.

In fact, the Viceroy Count of Sandomil wrote to the Board of the Holy Office (Inquisition) on April 19, 1737 :—"From the enclosed copy of what writes to me the Governor (Capitao-mor) of the Island of Salsette, Joao de Souza Ferraz, regarding his impression that the Hindus residing in that island helped towards the entry therein of the Maharatta enemy, and intended to help towards their continuance, the Board will see that the *chief motive* said to underly their rebellion, is their grievance that the Holy Office has interfered with their rites (sects), even though practised in their homes; and if the Holy Office would exempt them from the interference, not only would they not help towards the continuance of the enemy, but would themselves dislodge him, to which it seems to me the Board ought to give due thought, for I, besides the information of the said Governor (Capitao-mor), have the intelligence agreeing therewith, and am advised that the Hindus of the whole of the Northern Province deem it exceeding oppressive to be summoned to this Court for faults which they erroneously regard as virtues, as the sectaries of a false religion, which they regard as true; and as I see that His Majesty has granted the Hindus of Diu full liberty to worship their idols and practise their rites publicly in their temples merely in order to keep that place which depends on the trade of the said Hindus residing therein, it seems to me, in this case too, worth considering whether the prohibition laid upon the Hindus of the North regarding the practice of

their rites be not restricted to public worship, and that the punishment of the transgressors pertain to secular Justice, for being punished in their districts, they would suffer less severe tosses than they do when summoned outside them; upon which I hope the Board will take prudent thought and communicate to me its decision."

It goes without saying that the decision of the Inquisition was unfavourable, and all the Viceroy could do, as to write to the Governor of the island of the Salsette, Joao de Souza Ferraz, that nothing could be done "seeing that this matter pertains to the Holy Office, which acts as it best befits the purity of our holy and true faith".

But religious persecution was not the only reason for many Hindus leaguering themselves with the Maharatta invaders. Another reason was the imposition of taxes in connection with the building of the Fort of Thana, besides which numerous workmen were compelled to free labour, with the result that these, despairing of the Portuguese administration, persuaded themselves that under the Maharattas they would "live with greater freedom and less oppression."

Maharatta Incursions into Bassein

After the Maharattas drew near the Portuguese territory of Bassein from the side of *subha* of Kalyan, taken in 1719 by Bajirao's brother-in-law, Ramachandra Pant Chaskar, the Maharattas made many attempts to levy tribute from the Portuguese territory of Bassein. To Ramachandra Pant is ascribed, in the Portuguese documents, the authorship of various hostile movements towards the Portuguese in Bassein, and the *Chronicle of Salsette* is in accord with the Portuguese documents.

On November 26, 1723, Pilaji Jadhav invaded the Bassein territory on the ground that they belonged to Shahu. On January 10 of the following year the Portuguese concluded peace, being unable, from lack of an adequate force, to resist the Maharatta invasion. Notwithstanding this treaty, the Governor of Bassein (Capitao Geral) received, on October 13, 1724, the news that, by the 15th of that month, the Maharatta was moving his troops to the Bassein territory with a view to levy tribute.

Early in May, 1728, Pilaji Jadhav invaded the territory of Damaun. By way of reprisal, the General of the North stormed the fortress of Kalyan at the beginning of August, sacking and reducing it to ashes. Ramachandra Pant occupied, soon after, the hill of Takmak.

These movements began to take a more violent character in the year 1730, in which the Marathas entered the Northern province with a large army. In this crisis, the General Francisco da Guerra de Mesquita had recourse to the General of Bombay for help, who made no delay to send him a force of seven hundred men; and the General of the North was able with their help to prevent the Maharattas occupying the Island of Salsette. But the Maharattas remained this time within the Portuguese territory till the conclusion of peace, on January 30, 1732, at the instance of the Governor of Kalyan, Krishna Rao Mahadev who had, in September 1730 replaced his

brother Ramachandra Pant in this office and was a great friend of the Portuguese. Shortly after this treaty, Krishna Rao was replaced, as Governor of Kalyan, by Sardar Vasudeva Joshi Murudkar's brother.

Towards the end of November, 1734, a disagreement arose between Manaji Angria and Sambhaji Angria, in great part fomented by the Captain of the Fort of Chaul, Caitano de Souza Pereira. The Portuguese demanded that Manaji Angria, who in December had retired to Chaul, should surrender to them the *raj-kot* of Chaul, that this might be restored to the diwan of that place. Half-way between the fort and the Royal Fort (*raj-kot*), was a mosque which the Portuguese occupied while Manaji was in Chaul, where-with being angered, he left the camp at Chaul, where he was stationed, and advancing to the Fort on February 2, 1735, attacked from this point the mosque occupied by the Portuguese. Manaji was aided in this attempt by Khandoji Mankar, Shankaraji Keshav and some other Sardars of the Peshwa.

A few days before the occupation of the mosque by the Portuguese, Bajirao had demanded of the General of the North a site for the construction of a factory for the merchants of Kalyan and Bhinvti, in accordance with the treaty of January 30, 1731. The General of the North, however, far from acceding to the Peshwa's request, replied in discourteous terms. Vasudeva Joshi, referring to this incident, suggests that Bajirao should teach the Portuguese a lesson, invading the territory of Bassein. The Peshwa, however, was loth to begin a struggle with the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Viceroy, fearing that this friction with the Peshwa might bring serious consequences to his country, issued orders to the General of the North that this contest might cease honourably and avoid the breach that might ensue therefrom.

Meanwhile, in April 1735, Lakshmibai Angria warned the commandant of the fortress of Chaul, Caitano de Souza Pereira that the Peshwa contemplated an attack on Bassein; while Sidi Yakut Khan wrote from Janjira to the Viceroy on September 18, 1735 that Shahu intended to send his army for the conquest of the Portuguese territory of the North, and that several *shenvis*, *prabhus* and others had been bribed by the enemy; and a year later, in September 1736, the English general in Bombay informed the Viceroy that Bajirao was making preparations for the campaign of Bassein, which was indeed invaded on the night of April 6, 1737.

The General of the North, Dom Luis Botelho, who was at this time at Thana, retreated to the island of Uran (Karanjia), going thence to Bassein territory and thus leaving to the Marathas nearly the whole of the Bassein territory except the Bassein fort, the fortress of Bandra, which was recused by the English of Bombay, and that Varsova, besides the island of Uran (Karanjia). Before reaching this island, the General stopped at the Fort of Kings (Thana) and suggested to its captain the method of its defence, for he thought that this fort was essential to the unrestricted entry into Thana. The fort was, nevertheless, abandoned on the following night.

The news of the invasion and occupation of the territory of Bassein by the Marathas reached Goa on April 12. On the same day, the Viceroy wrote to the General of the North as follows:—".....it seems to advantageous to make a great effort to seize the height of the river-mouth in the village of Dongrim, as it may serve as a door for dislodging the enemy from

Thana as soon as there are adequate forces ; and it will secure the exit and entry of the Bassein river, and the same fort, from harm which will certainly suffer if the enemy occupies the heights of that village which commands the Fort, which is the reason why I think the occupation of the said island of the greatest necessity."

For this passage one infers the strategic importance of the Dongri hill—the Dharavi of Marathi documents—that being they very reason why this position was so coveted both by the Portuguese and the army of Chimnagi Appa.

The Viceroy sent the first reinforcement from Goa under the command of the Quartermaster (Mestre do Campo) Pedro de Melo, who left Goa on April by the frigate "Nazareth."

In Goa, the bulk of opinion was hostile to Dom Luise de Botelho for neglecting to take the necessary defensive measures in spite of previous warning that the enemy army was marching on Thana. The Government even ordered an inquiry, and appointed for the purpose one of Botelho's bitterest enemies—the Chief judge (ouvidor geral) of the North. Dom Luis Botelho was dismissed from his charge and replaced by Antonio Cardim Froes, who left Goa on May 8, arriving in Bombay on 20th. From Bombay he went to Bassein on 23rd and take charge on the next day ; two days later (May 26) he had justified his appointment by the storming of the Dongri (Dharavi) hill, where the Marathas had fortified themselves and were harassing the road of Bassein.

However, this success was not followed up throughout the whole of the summer campaign, while the Marathas, on the other hand, had a within a brief period of two months annexed the new fortress of Thana with the six forts which protected its headquarters, and obtained the capitulation of the forts of Parcica, Frangipara and Arnalla, as well as the fortresses of Belapur, Saibana, Manora, Santa Cruz Hill (or Chandavaady) sacking and controlling the whole island of Salsette and the perghanas and domain of the mainland.

At dawn, on June 9, 1737, the Marathas assaulted the Bassein fort by the curtain which stood between the bastions of Reis-Magos and Sam Gonsalo, having detached from the Madrapur camp four thousand picked men ; but after half an hour's engagement gave up and retired, leaving many dead and wounded behind. But undeterred by this reverse, they again assaulted Bassein on the night of September 15 with more than 8,000 men, and after one and a half hour's obstinate attack withdrew with the loss of 2000 men.

Meanwhile, there arrived some reinforcements from Portugal, with which among others the Viceroy got up a rescue party of 600 sepoy and lashkars, besides more than 200 white troops. With their aid the General Cardim Froes was ready to rescue the fortress of Mahim, closely besieged by the Maharathas. Accordingly, a Portuguese force left Bassein on December 28, 1737 under the command of Colonel Pedro d'Mello and reached Mahim 5 days later. Colonel Mello attacked then the enemy with such vigour that on the next day they raised the siege, leaving the fortress in peace.

On the following day, De Mello went to the aid of the Fort of Sirgaum which was being attacked by the Marathas and drove them away after little resistance, alarmed as they probably were by the news from Mahim.

The Portuguese Colonel then proceeded to recue the Fortress of Asseri on January 27, 1738, and the Marathas abandoned the siege. The Colonel de Mello, was received in Bassein with all the demonstration of joy due to a hero; while the Marathas depressed by the Portuguese success at Mahim, Sirgaum and Asseri, also gave up the siege of Manora. But the brave officer did not rest on his laurels; for he performed a feat even more honourable to the Portuguese arm. The enemy had again fortified themselves on the Dongri hill, whence they had been expelled in May of the previous year by Antonio Cardim. This time, however, they had mounted their guns, rendering a new assault much more difficult than in the previous year. But the General of the North, Antonio Cardim, decided nevertheless to attack Dongri hill a second time, and so marched upon it with Colonel Pedro de Melo leading the vanguard. An assault was launched on February 28, and the enemy dislodged.

Thus the government of General Antonio Cardim Froes was relatively happy. But having asked for more troops for the successful termination of the campaign, the Viceroy could not grant his requests; whereupon the General resigned his post, and was succeeded by Colonel Pedro de Melo, who took charge in April 1738.

Early in November, there arrived in Bassein a stronger reinforcement, consisting of 480 picked men, who had landed in Goa in the previous October. Along with this force came an order from the Viceroy that the recovery of the Fort of Reis-Magos should be undertaken. To this end, De Melo left Bassein on December 4 with a force of 400 Portuguese and 600 sepoy's disposed in 16 ships and hove beve before the Fort Reis-Magos two days later. On the 7th, the engagement began and lasted into the next day, when the Portuguese commander received a fatal shot from the fort then in command of Mallar Rao Holkar. But the Commandant of the Fort of Bassein, Joao Xavier Pereira Pinto, took temporary charge of the investing force; and so the struggle went on till the Viceroy appointed de Mello's successor, Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, who assumed office on January 8, 1739.

At the beginning of this year, Chimnaji took up the chief command of the Maratha army, and concentrated his numerous troops around Bassein with a view to the complete conquest of that province. He was joined about this time by a contingent of eight thousand horses, who, under the command of Shankaraji Pant, had been occupying a large part of the province of Damaun since November last. On January 20, Mahim fell into the hands of the Marathas, and as an inevitable consequence, there followed the surrender of the petty forts of Quelroe and Sirgaum. Then the Maratha army proceeded on January 22, to the camp at Tarapur, whose fort they occupied on the *seventh day* of the siege (though the Maratha documents put it at February 4), sustaining the loss, in one of the assaults, of their officer, Bhaji Bhiv Rao.

From Tarapur the Marathas despatched four thousand feet and five hundred horse, under the command of Hari Pant, to capture the fortress of Asseri, which surrendered on the 13th or 14th of the month.

Having achieved these successes, Chimnaji Appa returned to the camp at Bhadrapur on February 17, "estimating the number of his army at 25 thousand horse, 40 thousand foot, 4 thousand sappers, 5 thousand baggage camels, and 50 elephants." At 5 in the evening of the same day, he detailed a corps straight to the Fort of Bassein which entranced itself under fire of musketry from the walls, to the great wonder of the engineer Dom Adriano de Gavela and others of the besieged.

About this time, General Martinho da Silveira received orders from the Viceroy to abandon all the fortifications of the Northern Province except the forts of Bassein, Damaun, Diu and Chaul, as well as the island of Uran. In fulfilment of this order, the garrison of Parari, in the Damaun district and the forts of Bandra, Versova and Dongri—the only ones that the Marathas had not succeeded in taking—were abandoned. On February 20, 1739, the Marathas took possession of Versova. On April 5, 1739 the English in Bombay demolished the Bandra fort to prevent its falling into the hands of Marathas. The latter, however, received the submission of the Dongri fort on April 25, while the island of Uran had been, with the connivance of its Hindu inhabitants, taken by Manaji Angria.

Meanwhile, the Marathas, not content with their successes in the North, were attacking Goa, under the Command of Vankat Rao Ghorpade and Dadaji Rao Bhawe; they entered Salsette and Bardez on January 23 and March 5 respectively, occupying in a short while both these provinces and threatening the Island of Goa itself, which after the fall of Phonda to the Marathas on March 2, was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Goa Hindus gave unreserved co-operation to the Portuguese in this war. Nonetheless being suspect of the Inquisitor, who proposed they should be exterminated with the loss of their property, the Viceroy thought fit to order the arrest of the chief Hindu leaders on March 19, 1739, and keep them in safe custody in the fort of Marmagoa! And, as a finishing touch, the Fathers of the city of Goa attacked and sacked the house of a wealthy Hindu merchant of Panelim, Fongu Kamat.

On May, 6, the Viceroy signed at Raia a deed of capitulation to the Marathas, with the surrender of the Bassein fort, with all its fortress and domains, to the great Bajirao. However, before the news of this agreement had reached Bassein, the Governor at arms, Caetano de Souza Pereira who had succeeded Martinho da Silveira, after the latter's death on April 15, had already stipulated with the Marathas the surrender of the Bassein fort.

The capitulation was signed in the Bassein camp on May 16, 1739. The Portuguese evacuated Bassein fort on the 23rd, before dawn, and the enemy took possession of it on morning of the same day, which was Saturday

Aim of the War

The Maratha historians believe that the aim of Baji Rao's Bassein campaign was to restore the Mahrassashtra Dharma in the Portuguese territory. The Chronicle of Salsette is their main source for this belief, which is confirmed by other contemporary Marathi documents, which are still extant. This is what Damaji Gaekwad Shamsheerbahadar writes to congratulate the Peshwa on Chimnaji Appa's Victory;— "The Portuguese began to persecute the Hindu religion. Therefore did Appa invade the Portuguese, territory and conquer one or two places" (P.D., Vol. 16, pg. 57) Similarly, Malhar Rao congratulates Chimnaji Appa on his successes in the following terms:—"From letters received by Shrimant (Baji Rao) I learnt in detail that you conquered Bassein. You were born to establish the gods and the Brahmana" (P. D., Vol. 16, pg. 135.) Likewise, Amritrao Shankar Dinkarrao offers his congratulations to Chimnaji on the capture of Bassein as follows:—"With the capture of Bassein, the Hindu Raj shall be established (there) by your means" (P. D., Vol. 34).

The Portuguese sources, on the other hand, attach less importance to the religious motive in the Maratha invasion of Bassein.

And yet, one of the conditions laid down by Bajirao for the acceptance of peace offered by the Portuguese through Captain Inchbird in January 1740, was that the latter should grant the Hindus absolute freedom in the practice of their religion throughout Salsete, Bardez and the Island of Goa. The Viceroy, however, thought the Marathas would not insist on this point; for, says he, I have observed in various talks and interview that they do not put great emphasis on it. "In the agreements drawn up here last year by Venkat Rao", he adds, "he inserted no condition pertaining to this. In the deed of capitulation which Bajirao sent me, with a letter of his, on November 22 by Santu Sinay Dangui, who had been sent from here to Satara, he wrote no word on this same subject. In the interviews held here with Naro Rama, in which various means were discussed for the establishment of deace, neither did he ever touch on the same topic. In the agreement made with the Bhousles, in which they embraced a variety of subjects, the intents and purposes of Baji Rao and Chimnaji Appa did not involve the said point, and they easily put it aside when reminded of it; so with all this experience I convince myself that the Marathas do not deem this a sufficient reason for neglecting an profitable bargain." And indeed, in respective treaty, the terms referring to the granting of freedom of worship to the Hindus by the Portuguese, were dropped.

According to Portuguese sources, the chief cause of the war between the Portuguese and the Marathas was the desire of territorial expansion on the part of the Peshwas; and Bassein was certainly an important addition. The valuable ports of Versova, for example, helped the power of the Marathas over the sea. This is mentioned in a contemporary Portuguese report called *Relacao da Guerra* (Account of the War) "The design which (the enemy) had of establishing themselves on the island of Salsette, not only to enjoy the fertility of its lands, but perhaps with a view to establish piracy in the port of Versova, having seen the rapid rise of the famous Angria to wealth and power"

The Viceroy Count of Sandomai held the same view ; for he said in his letter of October 20, 1798 :- " I have for some time had an impression that the chief intention of this enemy is to take possession of a port with a view to gain mastery of the sea." The same Viceroy proposed to write to Shahu Chatrapati on January 27, 1799 :- " As I suppose the chief reason why you started this war is to gain possession of a seaport that shall facilitate your trade and the profit of your possession, I would not hesitate to cede to you one of the principal forts in the North....."

This makes it clear why Bajirao had laid down the condition that, whenever the Peshwa fought with the Angria, the Portuguese, with the English, should aid him with their navies ! Besides, this aspiration of Bajirao is expressly declared in a letter of Essaji Raghunath to this Peshwa.

One circumstance, however, may be noted: that the Peshwa's alleged reason in justification of his incursions into Portuguese territory was that he represented the lord of this territory though his alliance with the Mughal, and could therefore demand from this territory the customary tribute called *sardeshmukhi* i. e., a share in the revenue of that province, and the *Firman* on which the Marathas based their rights were the imperial Mughal grants of *Sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan Province, given to Raja Shahu in the year 1719.

NAWAB DUNDE KHAN

BY

Mr. Altaf Ali Brelvi, Aligarh.

Izzatuddoula Dilawarul Mulk Nawab Dundé Khan Bahadur Behram Jung was born in the year 1704 at Tur-Shahamatpur in Roh⁽¹⁾, a long stretch of mountainous territory on the N. W. frontier of India, which is bounded by the Pamirs in the north, in the south by Bhakkar and Bluchistan, in the east by Kashmir and in the west by the river Helmand. He was a Yousuf-zai Rohilla Pathan, a cousin of the great Rohilla Chief Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and, father-in-law of Nawab Najibuddoula. The names of his ancestors are given as follows:- Dundé Khan son of Hasan Khan, son of Mohmud Khan, son of Shahabuddin Khan, alias 'Kota Baba.' The ancestor of Dundé Khan like most of the Afghans is said to have been Qais Abdurrashid; who died in 41 Hijra or 661 A.D., who had the privilege of seeing the Holy Prophet.⁽²⁾

Dundé Khan's boyhood and early youth was passed in his native place Tur-Shahamatpur, where according to his family traditions and the customs of that time he attained to considerable mastery of Islamic theology and the Arabic and Persian languages. Expert teachers trained him in horse-riding and the art of war. Then his irresistible spiritable spirit, his bravery and his self-respect prompted him to move about in the world and do something worthy of a man.

In India the sun of the Mughal Empire was fast setting in. Daud Khan, a slave of Dundé's uncle, Shah Alam Khan, had gone to India during the reign of Bahadur Shah son of Aurangzeb and had earned a great name for himself; and finally, after capturing a vast tract of land in 'Kathere' (Rohailkhand), Daud had laid

1. Guli-Rahmat.

2. Nasab-i-Afaghina by Nawab Abdussalam Khan; Ilayat-i-Afghani, by Sardar Hidayat Khan, and Khulasat-ul-Ansab by Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

the foundation of his own principality. Hundreds of Afghans began migrating from 'Roh' to 'Kathere' and flocking round Daud⁽¹⁾. Along with a party of these Afghans, Dunde Khan also moved on to India and, after reaching Kathere, became a companion of Daud Khan.

Due to the less control of the Mughal Government, big Hindu *jagirdars* and *zamindars* were at this time constantly fighting each other. Daud Khan, Dunde and their companions were bold and daring men; they threw themselves — heart and soul, into the continued brawls and battles—so much so that right from the valleys of the Himalayas to the banks of the Ganges, they trampled the whole of Kathere under their feet. One by one, as the *zamindars* and *jagirdars* became weak, they brought their lands into their own possession. In the loot and plunder also so much wealth and valuable property fell in their hands that they were able to keep an organized army in their service and thereby laid the foundation of a systematic state. But Daud Khan had not firmly established himself when Devi Chand, the Raja of Kumaon, invited him to visit Kumaon and treacherously killed him there.⁽²⁾

This calamity befell the Rohillas so suddenly that all Afghans became nervous and most of them decided to return home with such booty as they had. At this critical and juncture Dunde Khan rose to the occasion. He was second in command after Daud Khan and his bold speech to his men was to the following effect:— "We should not retrace our steps from the field of action. In the present revolutionary and transitional condition of India, we should firmly determine to stay in 'Kathere' and increase the influence of the Mussalmans of this land." This bold and spirited speech created a new life among the Afghans, who were not lacking in bravery or high ambition. They decided to give up the idea of going back to Roh.

The second serious problem for the Afghans was the appointment of a successor to Daud Khan. In this case also Dunde Khan showed statesmanship and personal sacrifice. In order to eliminate mutual jealousies he presented to his men for leadership Ali Mohd Khan, (founder of the Rampur State), the adopted son of Daud Khan, who was at that time only fourteen years of age. All Afghans, following the example set by Dunde Khan, agreed to the chieftainship of Ali Mohd. Khan.

Having settled all these matters, the Afghan army proceeded from the valley of Kumaon towards Moradabad, which was in those days the seat of the governor of Khatair on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. On reaching Moradabad, Dunde Khan requested Nowab Azmatullah Khan, the Governor, to permit Ali Mohd Khan to take possession of his father's property. The Nawab gladly gave the permission as the Afghan party was giving considerable help in crushing the power of the turbulent *zamindars* and *jagirdars* of the region.⁽³⁾

Ali Mohd Khan was born under a lucky star. Under the brave, daring and prudent Dunde Khan, he very soon began to extend his possessions, among which the *parganas* of Manoua and Aonla deserve to be mentioned. The capture of Aonla increased the power and wealth of the Rohillas by leaps and bounds. The external paraphernalia of a regular Nawabship was established and a representative was sent to the Prime Minister, Qamruddin Khan, at Delhi who granted a direct and bona-fide certificate of the possession of Aonla. Another opportunity of close contact with the Delhi Durbar also soon came into their way. In those days the royal army had attacked the Saiyed rulers of Jansat. Ali Mohd Khan joined hands with the royal army, and after the Imperialists were victorious. Ali Mohd Khan, in recognition of

1. Jami Jehan-Nama, Takmilai-Zikri-Muluk and Tarikh Akbar-i-Hasan.

2. Gul-i-Rahmat.

3. Gul-i-Rahmat.

his services was granted some remission in the annual revenue, the title of Nawab and the right to maintain his own drum and flag.

At this stage Dundee Khan thought it advisable to increase the influence of his countrymen by inviting his cousin Hafiz Rahmat Khan from Roh. Ali Mohd Khan, acting on Dundee's extended a cordial invitation to the Hafiz Sahib.

His arrival more than doubled the power of Dundee Khan while his presence among the comrades of Ali Mohd Khan proved the harbinger of the bright future of the Rohilla power in India. Though the extortions of Hafiz Rahmat Khan the brave Rohillas were infused with a new spirit of bravery; and by 1735 A. D. three-fourth of Bareilly also came under their domination⁽¹⁾.

These conquests of the Rohillas were at last disapproved by the Delhi Durbar owing to the constant complaints of the *jagirdars* and Imperial officers of 'Kathere' and in 1742 the Emperor Mahammad Shah appointed Raja Harnand Khatari to set right the affairs of 'Kathere' by suppressing the turbulent Rohillas. Raja Harnand entered Moradabad via Sambhal with fifty thousand troops equipped with the necessary war material. On coming to know of their great danger, the Rohilla chiefs tried their level best to obtain an amicable settlement and represented that all their action had been so far done in the best interest of the Imperial power, for their chief aim had always been to strengthen the central government. But at that time the 'Turani' party, which used to support the Rohillas was becoming weaker and weaker in the Delhi Durbar and the 'Irani' party, which was deadly against the Rohillas, had come to occupy a dominating position. It was at the instigation of the Irani clique that Mohd. Shah decided to exterminate the Rohillas from Kathere.

As the Rohilla chiefs thought themselves justified in what they had so far done, they decided to take up arms in self defence. At the bank of the river Aral the twenty thousand Rohillas and fifty thousand Imperial troops came face to face. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the leader of the advance guard while Dundee Khan had charge of the right wing.

In the fierce battle which followed, Dundee Khan performed unparalleled feats of bravery; Raja Harnand and his son Moti Lal were defeated and killed. The victory of the Rohillas was indeed remarkable. Apart from the political considerations, a very large quantity of the war material and other booty fell into their hands; this enabled them to gather the paraphernalia of a well established, independent state. The towns of Shahabad, Sambhal, the remaining *parganas* of Bareilly and the whole districts of Pilibhit and Moradabad were added to the Rohilla State. Nawab Ali Mohd. Khan rewarded his gallant commanders. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was given Pilibhit, while Moradabad was given to Dundee Khan.

The defeat of the royal army opened the eyes of the Delhi Durbar. Owing to the intervention of the Prime Minister, Qamruddin Khan, the Emperor granted the *sanad* of the Governorship of Kathere to Nawab Ali Mohd Khan. The Rohillas changed the name of Kathere into Rohaikhanda. The Kingdom, so well known to history, was thus brought into existence.⁽²⁾

Nawab Ali Mohd Khan died in 1749. The Rohillas had won many important battles under his leadership. Their conquests reached as far as Sarhind

1. 'History of Rohilkhand'—by Nawab Niaz Ahmed Khan Hassli.
2. "Hayat-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khan" by Syed Altaf Ali, "Moradabad Gazetteer."

in the west and Patna in the east. In all affairs of war and peace Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dunde Khan were the right and left hands of their ruler.

After the death of Ali Mohd Khan the two Rohilla commanders remained loyal to his family. Ali Mohd Khan's youngest son, Sadullah Khan, was made Nawab of Rohilkhand. The choice of the youngest brother was due to the fact that the elder brothers, Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, had been in the captivity of Ahmed Shah Durrani since his invasion in 1748.⁽¹⁾

The first important event of the rule of Sadullah Khan was invasion of Rohilkhand by Kutbuddin Khan, whom the new Irani Prime Minister of Delhi, Abul Mansoor Khan Safder Jung, had appointed to subdue the Rohillas. A battle between the two forces took place near the Ram Ganga in Moradabad District. Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Nawab Sadullah Khan could not take part in the battle; Dunde Khan was the sole Rohilla Commander and fought with remarkable courage. Kutbuddin Khan was killed, a number of his men slain, and considerable booty fell into the hands of the Rohilla commander.

Safder Jung was a better enemy of the Rohillas and could not in any case tolerate the strengthening of the Rohilla power in the immediate vicinity of his own State of Oudh. The interests of the central government were to him a secondary matter. Defeated in battle, Safder Jung resorted to diplomacy and intrigue.

The powerful dynasty of the Bangash Pathans was then ruling in the east of Rohilkhand; it had a territory of $7\frac{1}{2}$ thousand square miles with its capital at Farrukhabad. The founder of this State was Nawab Mohd. Khan Bangash, who had been a notable warrior and ruler in the first half of the 18th century. His son, Kaim Khan Bangash was also a strong man. Safder Jung issued a *firman* granting the ownership of the whole of Rohilkhand to Qaim Khan, the Nawab of Farrukhabad and induced him to attack Rohilkhand in 1750 A.D. The Bangash army consisted of fifty thousand well equipped soldiers and four hundred field-guns placed on the backs of fighting elephants. The battle took place at Donnri Rasoolpur, two miles from the city of Badaun. It is one of the biggest battles in the history of Rohilkhand. Dunde Khan was the commander of the left wing of the Rohilla army and had to withstand the brunt of the enemy's attack. Owing to his unique strategy as well as his courage in a hand to hand scuffle, most of the credit of the success was given to him. Qaim Khan was killed and the district of Badaun was also incorporated in the Rohilkhand principality. As a result of this addition to the Rohilla State, the town of Bisouli in Badaun District was given to Dunde Khan in 1750 A.D. He made it his capital and established himself there with a standing force of twelve thousand cavalry and infantry, till the time of his death.⁽²⁾ He was nevertheless ready to serve the Rohilla State whenever it required his services. We find him helping in the conquest of the hilly tracts of the north and in a dozen of bloody wars with the Marhattas, who used to invade Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad owing to the direct or indirect instigation of Safder Jung. There was not a single campaign or battle in which he failed to participate; and like his cousin, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, his place was always in the front line.

The part played by the brave Rohillas in the third battle of Panipat is well known. Dunde Khan also participated in it along with Hafizul Mulk Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Nawab Najibuddoula and other Rohilla sardars. Ahmad Shah Durrani had

1. Gulistan-i Rahmat.

2. Hastings and the Rohilla War: "Rohilkhand Gazetteer"; "Gul-i-Rahmat"; History of Farrukhabad by William Irvine; "Kutub-i-Tarikh"; "Badaun Gazetteer."

specially posted his contingent just opposite the cannon brigade of Ibrahim Gardi. When the battle began, Ibrahim Khan Gardi moved towards the Rohilla army, and at once discharged his cannons.

Dunde Khan's plan was to allow him to advance. He waited and waited while a large number of men were killed around him. Dunde Khan waited with great patience and fortitude. Ibrahim Khan Gardi was a master of the art of artillery. Ruthlessly he moved forward his guns and gave no respite to the Rohillas. Thousands of Afghans were killed and wounded under his fire. It appeared as if the tactics of Dunde Khan were about to fail for the Rohilla army began to retreat. At that moment Dunde Khan called to his men with harsh and biting words and with a party of his personal bodyguard, with great speed and daring took the offensive and attacked the enemy. The surviving men of his contingent, whom the shots of the enemy had spared, rushed forward sword in hand and displayed such undaunted courage that the opposing army had to surrender its cannons and fly for life. In this terrific battle, Inyat Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Faizullah Khan son of Ali Mohd Khan, Nawab Ahmed Khan Bangash and in particular Nawab Najibuddoula also distinguished themselves by their feats of valour.

The battle-front under the command of Najibuddoula was also hard-pressed. The Marhattas under Mahadaji Sindhiya and Malhar Rao Hulkar Rao attacked it jointly. The army of Najibuddoula showed great power of resistance and forced Malhar Rao to turn back at the outset of the battle. Mahadaji Sindhiya also had to withdraw after some hard fighting. Maulana Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi in his history of Najibabad states:—"Nawab Najibuddoula, sword in hand and relying on God, along with his faithful and trustworthy soldiers made a hurricane detour round the Marhatta army and suddenly attacked it with great ferocity. The Marhatta generalissimo, Bhao and Bishwas Rao, the son of Ballaji Peshwa, seeing defeat at this side of the battle sent a fresh contingent of twenty thousand troops and ordered them to counter-attack the enemy. This new attack Nawab Najibuddoula and his army resisted with great tenacity and persistence and fought with renewed vigour and energy. The whole of the battle-field, the earth beneath and the sky above—were blackened; and so much dust had arisen that the sun was completely out of sight. Rivers of blood were flowing on the ground and it appeared as if the clouds of dust were raining blood, in which swords were shone like lightening. After great bloodshed the Marhatta army was completely routed and the Pathans chased it up to ten 'Kos' from the battle-field."⁽¹⁾

Nawab Najibuddoula a remarkable personality in the history of India rose to the high rank of Prime Ministership of the Mughal Empire from the post of a *Jamadar* of Dunde Khan's army. Only a summary of his early life can be attempted here.

Najib Khan son of Asabat Khan Umar Khel, came to India with eleven companions and his uncle Bisharat Khan from 'Manazai', a place 25 miles from Peshawar on the western side of river Attack. At first, like Daud Khan, he took to the profession of looting and plundering and gradually collected a force of hundred followers. In the course of his plundering and looting career, he once visited Bisouli, the stronghold of Nawab Dunde Khan. Dunde Khan persuaded him to give up this profession, took him into his service and, after having appointed him a commander of a hundred men, gave Daranagar as *jagir*. Dunde Khan also gave him his daughter in marriage and appointed him *Jamadar* of one of the battalions of his army.

1. History of Najibabad by Maulana Akbar Shahi Khan.

Before plunging into the Imperial politics of Delhi and the establishment of his separate state, Najib Khan fought in many battles of the Rohillas under Nawab Dunde Khan⁽¹⁾. It was due to this intimate contact and relation with Nawab Dunde Khan that inspite of having reached the highest summit of office and power, Nawab Najibuddoula till the last days of his life remained faithful and loyal to his old master who had such effective hand in his career. The moral and reformatory influence of Dunde Khan had turned a bandit into a statesman.

While rewarding the services of other Indian chiefs by granting titles and high official ranks Ahmad Shah also fully recognised the valuable part played by Nawab Dunde Khan in the battle of Panipat. He was honoured by the Durrani Monarch on his own behalf and on behalf of the Mughal Emperor of India, the titles of 'Izzat-ul-Doula, Dilawarul Mulk, Behram Jung', a distinctive dress of honour, a caparisoned horse and the *jagir* of Shikohabad⁽²⁾. At that time the grant of a *jagir* by the Emperor did not give actual possession of the place; it was only a permission to the grantee to conquer the place assigned to him by force of arms. Dunde Khan availing himself of the grant, conquered the city of Shikohabad from Bala Pandit and Govind Pant after a hard and bloody battle in 1762. His possession of it continued till 1771 A. D. when the Marhattas invaded the Rohilla territory by way of revenge of the defeat of Panipat. The Government of Delhi gave him absolutely no help against the Marhattas and he was compelled to give up Shikohabad.

In this very year, i.e. 1771 A.D. Dunde Khan fell seriously ill of epilepsy and died at Bisouli after a protracted illness. He was 67 years at the time of his death.

The death of Dunde Khan was not an ordinary calamity to the Rohilla power. The right hand of the Rohilla strength was broken by his death, and it only survived for three years. His presence among the Rohillas may have warded off that terrible calamity. Hafizul Mulk Rahmat Khan the Nawab of Rohilkhand personally paid a condolence visit to Bisouli, when he heard of the great loss sustained by the Rohilla community and stayed there for forty days up to the *Chehelnam* ceremony. According to his advice the property of Dunde Khan was divided into four equal parts among his four sons.

Nawab Dunde Khan was a man of strict manners, great patience, of character and a devotee of truthfulness. In generosity and bravery he was second to none. His powerful personality increased the influence of the Rohillas in every nook and corner of the country. He was bold and daring on the battle-field and his presence used to be considered an auspicious omen of victory. He was on very intimate terms with Hafizul Mulk Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Nawab Najibuddoula, Nawab Ahmed Khan Bangash and other leading contemporaries. Like other Rohilla chieftains, he was staunchly religious and led a pious and austere life. He was a great patron of the theologians and learned men of his time to whom he gave liberal state-grants and for the diffusion of knowledge and learning among his subjects. Hundreds of learned men from all parts of India flocked to Bisouli, when Nawab Dunde Khan provided them with board, lodgings and monthly allowances. He started many *madrassas* in which thousands of students received instructions free of charge. The students were given free board, lodging, pocket money, clothes and even books. When they completed their education, they were taken either in the State-service or appointed to new *madrassas* to which liberal grants were given. The was, consequently, a great increase of literacy among the people.

1. *Sarguzasht* Nawab Najibuddoula by Abdul Salam Khan and Hayat-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khan by Syed Altaf Ali.

2. For the battle of Panipat see, Hayat-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Gulistan-i-Rahmat, Sairul Muta'kkharin, Tarikh Ahmed, Imadul-Sa'dat, History of India by Zakauallah Khan, History of the Marhattas by Grant Duff.

The system of government and administration, was based on the feudal system of the Middle Age, and was benevolent and autocratic. Justice was administered with strength and promptitude. The whole state was divided into small *taluqas* and the *jagirdari* system prevailed. Every *jagirdar* had to supply a certain number of soldiers and horses at the time of war and was also bound to maintain peace and order in his *jagir* and *taluqas*. If he failed in his duties and complaints were received by Dunde Khan, whose Durbar was open at all hours of the day for his subjects, the *jagirdar* or *amil* was punished or dismissed. As all his subjects, whatever their social status or religion, were equal in the eye of the ruler, complete peace, harmony, and social amity existed between the ruler and the ruled. It is an admitted and proved fact that the Rohilla rule in the districts of Rohilkhand was the golden period in the history of that land. One fourth of the earning of the *Rajot* was charged as the State revenue through the *jagirdars*; trade was free, and home industries of all kinds were greatly encouraged. In short all efforts of the ruler and his state officials were directed to the improvement of the moral, religious and material condition of the people. Prosperity and contentment was the chief feature of the period.

In Moradabad, where Nawab Dunde Khan held sway, the remains of many important buildings of his time are still to be found. The palace of Nawab Dunde Khan, a very famous building, and his *Shish Mahal* after which a mohalla has been named, no longer exists. Katra Dunde Khan, now a mohalla of Moradabad named after him, was a famous place in his time. Many palatial buildings of his *sardars* were there but only a few are still standing, very much transformed. Mohalla Moti Bagh had a beautiful garden in those days, but only a few graves are to be found there now; one of them is the grave of a holy saint where annual *Urs* is held. Near Moti Bagh is a beautiful mosque built by Nawab Dunde Khan, which is still in a very good condition. In the old fort there is now a Government Intermediate College, near it there is also a very big mosque. The Jumma Mosque of Moradabad on the bank of the river Ram Ganga is also a very imposing monument of historical importance. These three buildings, though surviving from older days, they were well maintained and improved in the time of Dunde Khan. A few families from among the direct descendants of Nawab Dunde Khan still live in Moradabad, Rampur, and Hathra, Tahsil Bisouli.

I will venture to add a few words about Bisouli, the capital and resting place of Nawab Dunde Khan. Bisouli is a Tahsil of Badaun, 23 miles from the city proper; the town consists of three mohallas, called Katra, Qazitola, and Gadapur. The first is the market and was built by Kanh-Mal, the Diwan of Nawab Dunde Khan, who had also built a market at Moradabad now called, "Diwan Ka Bazar." The second mohalla, Gadapur, derives its name from some religious mendicants who inhabited it in the time of Dunde Khan.

Tradition says that Bisouli was founded by Firoz Shah Tughluq. But the town does not seem to have assumed any importance till the days of Dunde Khan who occupied it in 1750 A. D., along with the old fort of Firoz Shah.

The importance of the place was due to its strategic position between Oudh and Rohilkhand, the two rival states of the eighteenth century. The boundries of the districts of Moradabad, Badaun, Barielly and the Rampur State also met here.

Nawab Dunde Khan invited hundreds of noble families, Pathans as well as others, to take up their residence at Bisouli. He built pucca roads, markets and many beautiful buildings. He also constructed the bridge of the river Sot in the vicinity of the fort. The fort itself was built anew and in it Dunde Khan kept his standing army of 12 thousand soldiers. Up to 1907 and even for a few years

later, two fine gates and imposing bastions were still standing as well as some portions of the wall. The walls were so thick that two cannon carts used to be driven together on the top of them. This fort is also remembered as the scene of the indignities that were inflicted on the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dunde Khan by the Nawab Vizir of Oudh and his allies, the British, in 1774. The family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan after his death and the capture of Rohilkhand was brought to the fort after being made to march scores of miles on foot, tied up with ropes in the hot month of May. The punishments given to them were so barbarous that they figured prominently afterwards in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The houses and movable properties of Nawab Dunde Khan's sons were also plundered, in spite of previous treaties with Shujauddoula, and they too were imprisoned in the Allahabad fort along with the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. After the Indian Mutiny in 1857, in which the grand sons of Nawab Dunde Khan and their followers took part both at Bisouli and Moradabad, the royal building of Bisouli were razed to the ground by way of reprisal for rebellion, and almost all their movable and immoveable property was confiscated and auctioned. A few buildings, however, are still in existence. The present cattle-pound is the same house in which Nawab Dunde Khan breathed his last. The famous Shish Mahal of Dunde Khan has disappeared, the very bricks having been sold by the impoverished decents of the famous leader. Nawab Dunde Khan had also erected a mosque for his *chaukidars* and an *Imam Bara* which no longer exists. The small but beautiful mosque near the palace in which Nawab Dunde Khan used to offer his prayers five times a day, now stands in the centre of the town market.

The Jumma Mosque, which at once time occupied the central position in the old market place, is now outside the populated area. In the time of Dunde Khan, students of the Arabic *madrasas* and their teachers used to squat in the evening on its wide walls.

The tomb of Dunde Khan stands to the south of the town on a commanding spot over-looking the broad valley of the river Sot. It is a grand building with a vast open court-yard in the centre of which there are two big pucca graves, one on the eastern side of Dunde Khan and the other on the western side of his *Pir* or spiritual guide. The building is a desolated mass, far away from the population of the town, owned at present by a Hindu and a Muslim gentleman.

If the Government does not take immediate possession of the tomb, it will not be left standing for long. Already this historic building is in the last stage of decrecence.

There is also a similar heart-rending story about the fort. After the conquest of Rohilkhand, it was sold by the British to Mr. Donald of Bilsa in 1839 and ultimately became the property of Sahibzada Hyder Ali Khan of Rampur, who resided at Bilsa. For many years it contained an indigo factory but this has lately been abandoned. By the passing of the time, the barracks, other residential quarters, *Diwani Am* and *Diwani Khas* and the underground buildings have crumbled down. The garden also has disappeared. The whole area is overgrown with bushes in which snakes abound.

**A FARMAN GRANTED TO THE SAYYIDS OF BATWAH
(NEAR AHMADABAD)**

BY

Prof. B. D. Verma, Poona.

This *farman*⁽¹⁾ belongs to the reign of Muhammad Shah who reigned from 1719 to 1748 A. D. The seals of the local authorities give us a clue to the year when it was issued. The name of the officer in the seal, number one, is Ali Muhammad Khan who was in charge of the Octroi department in the subah of Gujarat at that time.

In the seal, number two, the name of the officer is not legible, but this seal gives the year of accession as *ahad* (i.e. one) and so we can safely conclude that the *farman* was issued in the year 1719-20.

The importance of this *farman* lies in this that it contains the seals of the Mughal officers who were in charge of the Subah of Gujarat in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah. As no other *farman*s of that period are forthcoming this *farman* has a special value of its own.

At the top of the *farman* the words "Qutb-ul-Alam, may his secrets be scantified" are given which means that the saint was held in great honour even in those days.

Prof. M. S. Commissariat has given a *farman* which was granted by Sultan Mahmud Shah III, son of Muzaffar Shah, to the Sayyids of Batwah in the year 1549 A. D.⁽²⁾ The *farman* shows that the house of the saint was held in great esteem by the Sultans⁽³⁾ of Gujarat.

1. I found this *farman* with the *gadi-nashin* the *Rausah* at Batwah to whom I am obliged for allowing me to take its photo. I am sorry the *farman* is incomplete, still it is of some interest to the students of history. Batwah is situated six miles to the south of Ahmadabad and is an important place of pilgrimage because saint Burhan-ud-Din (alias Qutb-ul-Alam) had settled there in the days of the Kings of Gujarat. The *Rausah* is now in ruins, still it is of interest to the persons of religious bent of mind and for those who are interested in the Muslim architecture and epigraphy.

2. M. S. Commissariat "A History of Gujarat" PP. 428-209.

3. The genealogy of the House of Qutb-ul-Alam is as follows:-

Sayyid Burhan-ud-Din Bukhari, (*alias* Qutb-ul-Alam)
died in 1453 A.D.

Sayyid Nasir-ud-Din (*alias* Shah Bade), died in 1479-80 A.D.

Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din (*alias* Shah Shaikhji), forth son,
died in 1524-25 A.D.

Sayyid Bade

Sayyid Muhammed
(*alias* Shah Manjhale)

Sayyid Salih Muhammad

TRANSLATION OF THE FARMAN

Qutb-ul-Alam, May his secrets be scantified

Seal at the top in the right corner:-

Ali Muhammad Khan, a slave of Badshah Ghazi Muhammed Shah Bahadur.

*Seal at the top in the left corner:-*Muhammad Khan slave of Badshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah Bahadur, year of accession, *Ahad* (i. e. one).

(Line 1) The present and the future officials in charge of the affairs of the *parganah* Haveli Ahmadabad, Sarkar and Subah of Gujarat, should know that (line 2) in accordance with the *purwanahs* bearing the seal of Jamdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-Mulk, Vazir-ul-Mamalik, Burhan-ul-Mulk, Bahadur Mansur Jung (line 3) and in accordance with the *purwanah* bearing the seal of the Prime Minister Abdullah Khan possessor of the rank of lordship and noble-ship, and the high position of glory and pomp (line 4) the amount of one lac and forty five thousand and two hundred and fifty eight *dirams* from the village of Muhammad of the above-mentioned *parganah* on account of the death of Amanatdar Khan (?) etc. (line 5) by way of the expenses of the sacred *Rauzah* of the Qutb-ul-Aqtab His Holiness, refuge of greatness and nobility Sayyadi Sajjadeh Nashin (Spiritual Superior) and Mutawilli of has been fixed.

Seal at the bottom in the right corner:-

Same as the seal in the top left corner, given above. Seal in the middle is illegible..

My reading of the text is as follows :—

قطب العالم قدس سره

محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازی
محمد... خان فدوی

محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازی
علی محمد خان فدوی

سطر ۱ - متصدیان مهمات حال واستقبال پرگنہ حویلی احمد آباد سرکار و صوبہ گجرات بدانند کہ

سطر ۲ - بموجب پروانجات بمهر جدۃ الملک مدارالمہام وزیرالمالک برہان الملک..... بہادر منصور جنگ

سطر ۳ - و بر طبق پروانہ بمہر امارت و ایالت مرتبت حشمت و شوکت منزلت صدر الصدور عبداللہ خان.....

سطر ۴ - مبلغ یک لک و چہل و پنجہزار و دو صد و پنجاہ و ہشت درم از موضع..... محمد پرگنہ مذکور از انتقال امانت دارخان (?) وغیرہ

سطر ۵ - در وجہ اخراجات روضہ متبرکہ قطب الاقطاب حضرت سیدات و نجابت پناہ سیدی..... سجاد نشین و متوالے..... مقرر گشتہ.....

.....
.....

محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازی
محمد خان فدوی

THE FINDING OF THE SITE OF DUPELIX-FATHABAD

BY

M. A. Lehuraux, Chandernagore

Preliminary Remarks:—

The site of the city that was to commemorate the French triumph in India has long remained a mystery. Its rediscovery forms the subject of this paper.

Considering the importance of the event that Dupleix-Fathabad was to commemorate - nothing less than a turning point in the history of the Carnatic - and the influence that the policy of its founder exercised on the ultimate destiny of this country, it is interesting to study the stage set for that triumph, and the chief actors in the drama. The stage is the Carnatic in A. D. 1750 - the chief actors are the French Gouverneur, Dupleix, the Nizam Nasir Jung and the rival English Company of Merchants.

The Stage.

It is generally held that what has been styled the "Great Anarchy" was due entirely to the rapid disintegration of the Moghul Empire after the death of Aurungzebe (1707 A. D.), but this is only a half-truth. In India, disorder, if not positive anarchy, has always followed the demise of the Crown - it has even followed the death of a prominent minister. No doubt the process of disintegration of the over-centralised authority had within it the seeds of a powerful centrifugal force. Once the terror of the aged Emperor's name disappeared at the centre, it was succeeded by another terror. The "Great Anarchy" was deepened and increased by the presence in India of two powers, France and England, whose appearance in the political arena portended nothing but disaster to the Native States, struggling into independent existence. The method of warfare of the foreigners had clearly demonstrated its superiority to any military effort that the native armies could put forward. The smaller powers greedily longed to utilise the martial skill of the *farangis* to extend their domains. The greater ones scented danger, trembled and conspired.

Another common error is the statement that the British did not 'conquer' India: the contention does not hold water. We can estimate the process in two stages:—(1) when Clive, emulating the successful methods of Dupleix in the Deccan, had placed his nominee on the Musnad of Murshidabad, he was nothing but a rebel and an adventurer in the eyes of constituted Authority, viz: the Padishah at Delhi, who, weak and despoiled, was still the recognised fountain of legality and honour.

When Clive solicited and obtained the grant of the *dewani* in 1765, the position of the English Company became legalised.

1. Lord Brougham in an important Privy Council Judgment, delivered in December 1836, has admirably traced the legal status:—

"The settlement of the Company in Bengal was effected by leave of a regularly established Government in possession of the Country, invested with the rights of sovereignty and exercising its powers; by permission

1. The Mayor of Lyons Vs. The East India Company (The English Reports Vol. XII P. C. 1.)

of that Government Calcutta was founded and the factory fortified, in a district purchased from the owners of the soil, by permission of that Government, and held under it by the Company as subjects owing obedience, as tenants rendering rent, and (subsequent to the *Dewani*) even as officers exercising by delegation a part of its administrative authority.

The grant from the Emperor Shah Alam states "It is therefore requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year for our revenue and regularly remit the same."

The time now approaches "wrote Clive to the Company in 1765, when we may be able to determine whether our remaining as merchants, subjected to the jurisdiction, encroachments and insults of the Country Government, or the supporting your privileges and possessions by the sword, are likely to prove more beneficial to the Company." (1).

When he left India in 1785 the Company had become the real rulers. (2).

In 1785 when the same Shah Alam, now virtually a prisoner of Sindia's, applied for his tribute, it was categorically refused. The Calcutta Gazette of 12th May 1785 announced:—

"Mr. Anderson (British Resident in Sindia's camp) was immediately instructed to inform Sindhia that his interference would be considered in the light of direct hostility, and a breach our treaty with the Mahrattas: and Shah Alam was to be informed that the justice of the English to his illustrious house could never admit the interference or recommendation of other powers and could alone flow from their voluntary liberality."

The candid Keene (3) states:—

"..... That a change began to come over the policy of the British in India about this time is well known, however the English might strive to hide it from others --- or even from themselves; see for instance the following passage from the *Calcutta Gazette* for March 8th 1787:

"Though the Mussulmanas dwindle into insignificance we have nothing to apprehend from the Hindus. Many have urged the necessity of upholding the influence of Moghuls to counterbalance the power of Hindus; but this should seem bad policy, as we would causelessly become obnoxious and involve ourselves in the interests of a declining State, who are at the same time our secret enemy and rivals."

This is not armed conquest: it is, in the political language of today, *peaceful penetration*.

As we shall see later the technique of peaceful penetration was greatly improved and extended by Wellesley. His policy was based on "ensuring tranquillity, not more by the predominance of our power than by the moderation manifested in

(1) Quoted by Sir Alfred Lyall in "The Rise and Expansion of the Br. Dominion in India." 1914. J. Murray.

(2) Sir Alfred Lyall. *op. cit.*

(3) 'The Fall of the Moghul Empire,'

using it for the sole purpose of obtaining permanent security"(1) The success of this policy presupposed the tame acquiescence of the great Indian Powers — Tippu, the Nizam, the Peshwa, Sindia, the Nawab-Wazir of Oude — in Wellesley's new order of subsidiary alliances, under which the other contracting party would admit a subsidised British force within its dominions (and of course pay for its upkeep) as well as a Resident to watch the rulers' movements: and would further bind itself to accept the arbitration of the British Government in all disputes with other powers — in short the surrender of its independent sovereignty. Tippu "the most formidable enemy of the British Power in India", stoutly resisted and was crushed; the Nizam and the Nawab Wazir accepted and survived, the Peshwa signed the Treaty of Bassein and his Kingdom, like Balthazar "passed away"; Scindia and Holkar, notwithstanding their admission of what Wellesley calls the inoffensive nature of our arrangements with the Peshwa, "made a last desperate bid for independence by what the Governor-General called" a public and insulting menace of war against the British Government" and were suitably punished and shorn of their possessions. Was all this spoliation? No, it was the logical outcome of a long series of events, fortuitous or planned, of treaties and alliances, of patience, watchfulness and steadfast purpose, leading up to an inevitable climax, the consolidation and paramourcy of the British power in India.

Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) wrote:

".....There should be one power which, either by the superiority of its strength, its military system, or its resources shall preponderate, and be able to protect all.....The Company has been the preponderating power."

Shorn of euphemism this is surely conquest?

The application of force to attain a political end and which resulted in the superposition of an alien rule over a native one; and, as in Tippu's case, the total extinction of native sovereignty by resort to arms, however altruistic the motive, can only be described as conquest.

The two great achievements of Wellesley's successful policy were:—

- (1) The elimination of all fear of the return of French influence.
- (2) The possession of the person, family and nominal authority of the Emperor Shah Alam.

The position of the Emperor is thus defined by the Governor General:—

"Notwithstanding his Majesty's total deprivation of real power, dominion and authority, almost every state and every class of people in India continue to acknowledge his nominal sovereignty. The current coin of every established power is struck in the name of Shah Aulum. Princes and persons of the highest rank and family still bear the titles, and display the insignia of rank, which they or their ancestors derived from the throne of Delhi, under the acknowledged authority of Shah Aulum, and His Majesty is still considered to be the only legitimate fountain of similar honours."

1. Wellesley's Despatches—Owen's Selections.
 2. Wellesley's despatches—Owen's Selections.
 3. Wellesley's despatches op. cit.

'A dangerous instrument' in the hands of a designing rival such as the French in India: the aged Monarch, old, blind and helpless, a fraction of whose domains had been wrested from the Mahrattas, was replaced on the tattered throne in the Dewan-i-Khas, not as a restored Emperor, as in the case of Haile Selassie, whose realm was wrested from the Italians, but maintained "in honourable repose" as a pensioner of the British and under the supervision of a Resident.

There was no need for keeping up the farce of a shadowy paramount power at Delhi. Henceforward the "Honourable Company of Merchants" was the paramount power. Such action is now called 'protective custody'. There is nothing new in the ancient game of politics. Peaceful penetration, protective custody, and the employment of force to gain a desired political end—all have been seen in our own days, and will be seen again." *Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose.*" It is only the method that has nowadays been given a Machiavellian twist by the Dictators of today.

The Actors:—

1 Dupleix:—

Widely divergent views have been expressed about the policy and the ambitions of Dupleix. Did he plan and attempt to carry out a policy of conquest with a view to creating a French Empire in India? According to Cultru, who is a leading authority:—

"Prior to 1749 Dupleix had no policy of conquest such as legend has attributed to him. We have not found a single word in his writings, nor a single act in his conduct justifying the attribution to him of a plan founded on the special knowledge of the country and having for its purpose to render France sovereign in India as England afterwards became."

Martineau agrees with this view, so far that he finds all change of plan subsequent to 1748 'chance-directed'. Neither of these opinions does justice to the genius of Dupleix, who must at least have foreseen whither his actions were leading him. It was left to his latest biographer, Professor Jonveau-Dubreuil⁽¹⁾ to formulate the surprising theory that, as early as 1749 while yet a factor at Chandernagor, Dupleix had conceived a "new system" for dealing with the country powers⁽²⁾. This consisted in nothing less than acquiring the dignity of a *Mansabdar* of the Empire for the Governor of Pondichery (that is, by reversion for himself as he was nominated governor in 1741.) Writing to Dumas⁽³⁾ in 1740 (10. Jan.) Dupleix says:—

"The title of Mansabdar of 5000 will obviate, especially in Bengal many an affront; it is the highest mark of distinction and of protection obtainable from the Great Mughul, and which in most cases, will restrain the cupidity of the miserable government with which we have to deal,"

Engineered through de Volton, physician-in-ordinary to the Emperor (an old French deserter.) the acquisition of the new dignity was officially advised to the Directors at Paris by the Superior Council at Pondichery on 14 Jan. 1742. ^{*(4)} The Abbe Guyon gives the text of the Imperial Farman issued on the 14th of Zilhijja in the 28rd regnal year of Mohamed Shah (19 February 1741.) granting to the Governor-General and Director of the French Nation at the City of Pondichery and

1. Historian of the Pallavas (*Soc. de l'Hist. de l'Inde Française.*)
2. 'Dupleix' - Mission Press Pondichery 1941 Price R. 2.
3. Bib. Nat. Paris F. 2. 8982-202.
- * Correspondence of the Sup. Council V. III. p. 393.
4. History of the Indies Vol. III p. 357.

Jemadar (Chief Justice) in the said city, in the territories of the Carnatic and Dependency of Haiderabad—a mansab of 2000 *dhat* (i.e. personal⁽¹⁾) and of 2500 *sawar*, the *Nagari*, and the Standard. The Governor of Pondichery was thus appointed a General of the Moghul Empire, the equal of his fellow nobles, a Nabab with all the rights and privileges appertaining to that dignity and the superior of such petty officials as the *Foujdar* of a district. Who inspired the change? Readers of Madame Robert Gaeble's interesting book "*Creole et Grande Dame*,"⁽²⁾ will have no hesitation in saying it was the one person who dominated his life, whom Dupleix loved with a love as great as that of Warren Hastings for his "Beloved Marion", of whom Malleson said: "Her wise counsel and her energy sustained her husband in all his trials." Johanna Begum, Marquise Dupleix. Her mixed descent gave her a mastery of many tongues; Portuguese, her habitual speech, learned from her mother, French acquired from her father, Persian from her maternal grandmother, a pure Indian, Tamil and English acquired in her youth. Gifted with a remarkable intelligence and what Madame Gaeble calls "a subtlety in intrigue" with a passion for display, for gems, for splendid raiment and ceremonials, she knew the native character and especially the undercurrents of native diplomacy as Dupleix could not know them. He never took pains to learn either English or any other Indian tongue. She was his interpreter, and adviser. She had her own *Dubash* (Uravu Narayanan), her own office and her own guards, and she corresponded habitually with the native princes (e.g. the Raja of Mysore). She was, in short, Dupleix's *Nur Jehan*. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, to whom the credit of the discovery is due that has puzzled historians, gives us the technique of Dupleix's 'system' that he matured for 10 years before putting it in practice.

"A Dupleixian troop comprises four arms—Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry and Intrigue. The wonderful procedure was the simultaneous employment of Intrigue and Caunon, the former preparing the ground for the latter to speak."

When the French Governor now spoke it was with a tone of authority, and not of supplication.

But it is one thing to say that Dupleix, Nawab Zaffar Jung, acted, spoke and intrigued with all the assurance, *flair* and confidence of a Nabab, it is quite another thing to say, with Mahan, that⁽³⁾ "he aimed at bringing India under the power of France."

Dupleix was the Agent of a Commercial Company at Lorient, bent on extending his principles commerce and above all of making it self-supporting and independent of the precarious financial help received from home. He is entitled to be judged by the declaration of his own policy made in his celebrated Memoir to the French Company of 16 October 1753.⁽⁴⁾ In a luminous thesis he has developed the two points of his theory, which Martineau says forms in part, the principle of modern colonisation.

(1) That no Commercial Company, whatever it be, can hope to maintain itself upon the bare profits of its commerce; that it is necessary to have a fixed constant abundant revenue, particularly where there are heavy establishment charges.

1. The original *Mansab* which granted the personal allowances was known as the *dhat* rank (*dhat* - person, self.) and the additional men were designated by the word *Sawar*, horsemen (C.S. Srinivasa Chari's note in the translation of the *Tuzuk-i-Wakjahi*. Part I. p. 36)
2. A publication of the *Societe de l'histoire de l'Inde Francaise*.
"The influence of Sea Power upon History" by Captain A. T. Mahan D. C. L., I. L. D., U. S. Navy.
3. "The Policy of Dupleix from his letter to Saunders of 16 Feb. 1752 and his Memoir of 16 Oct. 1753 (*Soc. de l'Inde Fran. Pondichery*.)
- 4.

(2) That every Company should avoid as far as possible the export of bullion from home.

He instances the example of Portugal and Holland whose colonial decadence in one case and colonial prosperity in the other have been brought about by the neglect of or the adherence to these vital principles. This memoir merits attentive study. In his peroration Dupleix adds:—

“It is indispensable that Our Company should enjoy a revenue calculated to indemnify her for the immense charges she has already incurred and will have to incur and to ensure a surplus which for years to come will yield the shareholders a good return, without having recourse to means that have too often proved vain.” “It is for the attainment of these objects that I have made a sacrifice, even to the privation of rest to which my long public services entitled me, and the moment I have found occasion to render such an essential service to the State, I have devoted myself to its performance with all the earnestness it called for, so as not to render the work abortive; it would have been pushed to perfection had I been better supported not only here but by my country who looked with indifference at the advantages I had gained for her.”

Even at this stage, 1753, and despite all disappointments he is able to say:—

“I have succeeded in procuring my nation a revenue of at least five million (French pounds), my design was to carry it to a total of ten millions; it would have attained that figure if I had only been seconded here, while our forces were still equal to enforcing our will and laying down the law, but to my sorrow I was not seconded and the succours I received from Europe by reason of their bad quality, only served to dishonour us and increase the difficulties in perfecting so noble an edifice.”

The “Noble Edifice” he had in view was not an illusory dominion “ruling over multitude of vassal native princes⁽¹⁾” but an independent Colony, ruled by the Governor of Pondichery as a Nawab of the highest rank, and capable of giving to the commerce of his country the stability it lacked. He was defeated by what Mahan calls “the profound determining influence of maritime strength upon great issues.” Commenting upon Dupleix’s surrender at Madras he says:—

“How injurious to the personality of Dupleix and the influence he had gained among the native princes, to see him in the very hour of victory, forced by a power they could not understand to relinquish his spoil! They were quite right; the mysterious power which they recognised by its working, though they saw it not, was not in this or that man, King or Statesman, but in that control of the sea which the French government knew farbade the hope of maintaining that distant dependency against the fleets of England.”

Dupleix strove for sovereignty in the interest of commerce and as its surest safe-guard and mainstay. The “Memoir for the Company of the Indies against M. Dupleix (1763)⁽²⁾” might accuse him of having thereby lost totally “the spirit of Commerce,” the statesman-like view of the great Governor was strikingly justified fifty years later by one who followed in his footsteps—Marquis Wellesley. Writing in 1808 to Lord Castlereagh against the apprehension caused by his policy of conquest and its repercussion on the Company’s commercial investment, he says:—

1. Mahan. op. cit.

2. The author was probably Godechy,

"My apprehensions of the approaching crisis would be much more serious if I were not confident that Your Lordship will oppose the generosity, vigour and firmness of your mind to the progress of any system of compromise between the conflicting characters of Merchant and Sovereign which compose the constitution of the East India Company. While that Company shall represent the sovereign executive authority of the realm in so great, populous and flourishing a portion of the British Empire, its duties of sovereignty must be deemed paramount to its mercantile interests, prejudices and profits.....The sovereignty of the Company is the basis and strength of its Commerce....."

No one who studied the policy of the great English proconsul can fail to be struck by its resemblance to that of Dupleix. "Wellesley's policy" says Colonel George Chesney, "was worked out not under the guidance of, but in direct opposition to, the wishes of his masters in England(1)." Sir Alfred Lyall(2) speaks of his contempt for the Board of Directors whom he calls "a pack of narrow-minded old women." Like Dupleix he reported important acts to the Directors (who were constitutionally his superiors) many months after the whole business was ended(3). But above all the resemblance lies in the clear conception by both these great men of the national interest of their respective countries. Wellesley in fact is a finished Dupleix—and a successful one.

2. *The Schemes of the English.*

Dupleix's grievance against the English, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) is well known. It was based on the fact that, while ostensibly at peace, the English Company had actively and surreptitiously helped his enemies (the old Nawab Anwar-ud-Din Khan and his sons.) and had incited the Nizam to invade the Carnatic under specious promises of help. The sting lay in the fact that that when Floyer had attacked the Raja of Tanjore (1749) and that unfortunate ruler had invoked the aid of Dupleix under a definite treaty of mutual assistance, the French Governor had refused his aid on the ground that the crowns of France and England were at peace. No such scruple restrained the English Company. Their actions were overt acts of war. "Could any one" indignantly asks Dupleix "act with greater vigour against a declared enemy?" The charges are summarised, with great elaboration of detail, in a celebrated letter addressed to Saunders on 18th Feb. 1752, which is remarkable on more than one ground. Irrefutable facts, logical reasoning, and a characteristically tenacious adherence to his own point of view, once he honestly believed it to be based on right and justice. Martineau thus presents his thesis:—That the Great Moghul is the absolute overlord of India, who in his recognised right had devolved the Government of the Deccan first on Mozuffer Jung and, since his death, on Salabat Jung, who were therefore constitutional rulers. Secondly that two Subadars of the Deccan viz., Mozuffer Jung and Salabat Jung had severally nominated Chanda Sahib to the rulership of Arcot. It was not germane to the question whether Chanda Sahib was a friend of the French. The only thing that mattered was whether the nomination was valid. It was uncontested so and therefore Mahomed Ali was a rebel, and Saunders who supported him was an abettor of rebellion and as such, should be censured by the Crown of England that itself exists by the principle of legitimacy. This letter is an indictment before the bar of History and was naively intended for the edification of the Board of Directors to whom Dupleix

1. Wellesley's Despatches op. cit. Appendix No. 21.

2. "Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India" op. cit.

3. In reporting his declaration of War against Holkar (1805), four months after its inception, the ship carrying Wellesley's despatch was captured at sea by the French and the first intimation the Directors had of this war was by the publication of Wellesley's despatch in the *Moniteur* at Paris.

requested the French Company to send a copy. The Board of Directors, far from censuring Saunders, patted him on the back.

3. *Nasir Jung.*

When Nizam-ud Dowla Mir Ahmad Nasir Jung, second son of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, succeeded his father in the Deccan Subaship, he came into a very onerous charge. In Moghul India the succession to a vacant throne was generally accomplished by the sword. His eldest brother Sayyid Ghazi-ud-Din Khan was already provided with a good post at Delhi. Nasir Jung, who was on the spot, secured himself in authority by getting hold of⁽¹⁾ the Nizam's treasure and squaring the army. Once a rebel, he had been pardoned and during the last years of Nizam-ul-Mulk he was authorised to sign state documents. He was summoned to the dying Nizam's bedside to hear his will read. This remarkable document⁽²⁾ contains no testamentary directions regarding a successor; and after committing the younger brthers (still in the harem) to his hearersc, are, it goes on :—

“And Hidayat Mohiu'ddin Khan is, after all, our progeny and also a pillar of strength to us. You must win him over with kindness and favour and not be after him with a view to crush him.”

Nasir Jung had not the abilities or the masterful character of his father. The French regarded him as a voluptuary; Kerjean, the Governor's nephew, openly writes of him as *Troque* (drunkard). But it is only fair to say the Ma'athir-ul-Umara-i-Timuriyya of Shah Nawaz Khan, by no means a partisan, says he was an able administrator. It served Dupleix's purpose to represent him (on the testimony of Hidayat-Mohiyyud-Din's mother.) as the son of a washerwoman; but this has never been proved. The *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* says he had received a *Farman* from Delhi, but Hidayat Mohiyu'd-Din, his nephew (son of the old Nizam's favourite daughter Sayyud-un-Nissa Begum) raised the standard of revolt. His first objective was apparently to⁽³⁾ subdue the Payanghat, which with his own fiefs of Adoni and Bijapur, south of the Tangabadra, would have constituted an imposing domain, leaving to his uncle the five northern Subahs with their capital Aurangabad. Hidayat Mohiyyu'd-Din met Chanda Sahib in the Chittaldrug district, just after the latters release from captivity. Chanda Sahib coveted Arcot for himself and, says the *Tuzuk*, he quickly became the young Pretender's evil genius. He pledged the adventurous prince the aid of his own (Nait) party as well as that of the French. Chanda Sahib and Dupleix were old friends since the former's Trichinopoly adventure when Dupleix had lent him (privately) Rs. 10,000. Chanda Sahib's wife and son, Riza Sahib, (known as the French Nabab.) were residents of Pondichery all through his captivity, and his assiduous partisans.

On the 4th May 1745 the Council at Pondichery had voted a subsidy of Rs one lakt to enable Cnanda Sahib to obtain his liberation. On January 31 1747 the subsidy was still unpaid. In a despatch to the Syndics and Directors at Paris, the Council wrote, strongly supporting the subsidy and stressing the great advantage of having him at the head of the Government of the Carnatic “being a true friend of the Nation and grateful for the services which it has rendered him and his family.”

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1. Estimated by Ranga Pillai at two *Kuror* of Rupees, chests of diamonds, jewels and precious stones, 64 elephants, and 1200 horses (V. 107)
 2. Vide ‘Nizam-ul-Mulk’ by Dr. Yusuf Hussian Khan B.A. Doc. Litt. (Paris.) Osmania University Hyderabad. The original Sand is in the Record Office. Hyderabad.
 3. The Payanghat of the Carnatic comprised all the coastal districts from Guntur to Cape Comorin.

‘Had he been in command’ they pointed out” in this Province, the Moors would never have harassed and attacked us wherever they could on the occasion of our capture of Madras, as they have done since October last (1746) and still continue to do on the instigation of the English.”

To this the Directors signified (20. Nov. 1747 — No 147) their full approval.

What caused Dupleix to espouse the cause of this dashing adventurer and of the rebellious Hidayat Mohiyyu'd Din instead of conciliating Nasir Jung and the *defacto* Nawab. Cultren writes:—

“All contemporary evidence goes to prove that he had conceived a strong resentment against the Nabab in 1747 — 1748. The war the Nabab had made in 1746, his attempted diversion at the first attack on Cuddalore; but chiefly the despatch of 3000 horse commanded by his son-in-law (Abd-ul-Jalil) to second the English before Pondichery, despite the fact that peace had been settled with him very shortly before were sufficient motives for hostility.”

All French accounts concur on this point⁽¹⁾.

Dupleix himself wrote to the Controller General Orry (2)

“It is desirable that Chanda Sahib, brother-in-law of Safdar Ali be the Nabab; we should obtain from him far different protection from that received from these new-comers, who only think of filling their pockets and who owe us no particular obligations.”

In short Navayat rule was associated with friendship and favours: the people themselves regarded ‘the good old days’ of Sa’adatullah Khan’s rule as the best of the past. Nas’r Jung had tried the impossible game of conciliating both the English and the French but his sympathies were plainly and definitely in favour of the former. Ranga Pillai tells us — *Oct. 25. 1747* — of the agreement between the Nizam and the English that the former would recover Madras for 10 lakhs of pagodas (3), with 8000 pa. for each day the army marched and 2000 pa. for each day it halted. The pages of pages of Country Correspondence 1747/48 testify to the successful efforts made by Floyer and the English Agent at “Cunnole” (Kurnul) (Boonda Mootlal) to bribe the Souba and the Nabab. Floyer had first agreed to pay the former 3 lakhs “for bringing 1000 troops of His Highness” but had not enough ready money, nor could he prevail on the Shroffs to give him credit for that sum. The Agent pointed out that Nasir Jung was a hard nut to crack. He would “never do any favour or business to anybody before he receives ready money.” However the agent had already made a fresh contract with H. H. “and likewise with Nabab Abdulla Nubbee Cawn, in order to bring 1000 troops within the cost of the sum of 200 thousand rupees, and save 100 thousand for the Company.”

Something tangible had been accomplished: “I had got”, writes the Agent “his Pharmaunds to all the Killedars, Pollygars etc.”

1. Cultren - “Dupleix ses plans politiques, sa disgrâce.” Paris Hachette 1901.

2. Colonial Archives, Paris, 5 Oct. 1745.

3. Dodwell corrects this to 3 lakhs on the strength of the Letter 5 in “Country Correspondence.”

* Tuzuk-i-Wallajah.

“particularly his positive orders to Nabab Anarvedi Cawn and Mahomedally Cawn to stop everything going into Pondichery by land and assist us in everything we desire.”

The Pharmands in short which he now brings “are very strong to us and we can thereby make all Country Governors to be on our side.” (1)

In the following March (1748) the diarist reports the payment of 100,000 pa: to Nasir Jung by the English Agent.

On the following April the wily Prince thanks Dupleix for some gifts sent him (a handsome telescope and 2 books on anatomy), and, to show his appreciation says “he had received the English Ambassador (Mutyalu.) with coldness and had hampered his Mission”. He is so pleased with the French nation that he sends a dress of honour. Dupleix received the dress, as customary, with full Nababian ceremonial, at the Valludavur gate of Pondichery escorted by troops, musicians and dancing girls and to the firing of salutes from the Fort.

On July 10 1749 news of the utmost importance is conveyed by the diarist from Raza Sahib (Chunda Sahib's son) to Dupleix, nothing less than the reception on the 3rd day after the New Moon (June 14 or 15.) by Hidayat Mohiyyuddin of a “Parwana from the Emperor for the 6 soubahs of the Deccan this side of the Narbadda and a dress of honour.” He is saluted with the title of Sa'adatullah Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Jung. Chanda Sahib had been granted a Sanad as Nawab of Arcot, Gingee, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura with their territories and the forts therein. Were these fictitious ?

Dupleix's own emissaries to Nasir Jung — Messrs de Bausset and Delarche (April 1750) themselves report:

“With regard to the orders of the King (Emperor) of which Mozuffer Jung alleges to be the bearer, it appears that this is not true, we have learnt from trustworthy sources, who are frankly interested in his affairs, that he has decided on the course you know merely on the strength of a letter from Mansur Ali Khan, the Padisha's Vizier, who promised to do him a service in the circumstances.....The evident proof that Muzaffer Jung was not the bearer of a Parwana from the Emperor is that none of the Nawabs who have now followed Nasir Jung with their forces, have accompanied Muzaffer Jung in his expedition, whereas if he had a genuine order from the Padisha, all these omrahs would have received definite orders from the Court to join him and Nasir Jung could never have opposed their doing so.”

Dupleix's demands, in fact, amounted to asking for a condonation by the Nizam of high treason and were incompatible with his dignity, the security of his person and the integrity of his state.

The French ambassadors were constrained to add that their insistence was due to the fact that “their nation made it a point of honour always to help those who trusted in them and that on the present, occasion, it was solely on this point of honour that they acted.. XX.

1. See Country Correspondence No. 5. Letter from Bunda Mootlal of Cannole, Jany. 8, 1747/8.
XX. Bib. Nat. N.A. 9153 p. 306.

The Revolution

Revolution was now rife and Nasir Jung was surrounded by malcontents. Chief among them was the Pathan Jagirdahar of Kurnul, Himmatt Bahadur Khan, a descendent of Dawood Khan the Pathan General and favourite of Aurungzebe. These Pathans were an unruly and turbulent lot, the best soldiers in the Nizam's army. Himmatt had incurred the anger of Nasir Jung by his refusal to join his feudal over-lord with his levies in the Civil War that was preparing; and Nizam had retaliated by refusing him leave to return to Kurnool and provide for the safety of his family in the sever floods that had washed away portions of his fort wall. Nasir Jung had added insult to injury and had even abused the Pathan prince. Such is the story related in the *Turikh-i-Adilkhani*, an account written by the family chronicler Ghulam Haider Shah Sawar AH 1291, at the request of the Nawab Daud Khan III of Kurnool, obviously intended to disculpate his ancestor. Dupleix was cognisant of the revolution hatched by Chunda Sahib and Mozuffer Jang and he was the last man not to profit by it; even while he lulled Nasir Jung with negotiations for peace. D'Auteuil joined the confederates with 420 Europeans, 100 Topas and Coffins 2000 sepoys. The first round of the revolution ended in the battle of Ambur, which was essentially a French victory, which Rai Sahib Srinivasa Chari M. A., in an interesting paper read before the Historical Records Commission, has shown us was due to the treachery of the Nait Husain Khan Tahir who lured the Nabob to take up his position before fort and turned his own guns upon him. It cost the life of the gallant Anwarud'din who had tried his best to bring the rebel prince to reason, and the capture of Mafuz Khan — Mahammad Ali escaped to Trichinopoly.

The events following the decisive battle of Ambur will be read in minute detail in the interesting paper contributed by Rao Shib C. S. Srinivas Chari M. A. to the Indian History Congress Allahabad 1937.

Leaving Arcot the Souba marched southward accompanied by 22 Amirs and a vast army computed by Orme at 60,000 foot, 45,000 Horse, 700 elephants and 360 guns.

Nasir Jung advanced via Arni, Chetupet, Wandewash, Ilagandu, (Blankadu); his heterogeneous following ——— combatants, horses, elephants, guns, his harem, musicians and dancing girls, attendants, a vast bazaar, and a guard conducting the great treasure chest — moved leisurely and cumbrously over the land submerged by a vast inundation, for the winter rains had been particularly heavy — fodder was scarce and the cattle were dying by thousands. Orme says:—

"This great body employed 15 days in marching 30 miles and when at the distance of 16 miles from Gingy was prevented from getting any further by the rains. In two or three days his army was enclosed between two rivers which were rendered almost impassable by the inundation." (Orme Vol. I.).

It is to be remembered that the Mughal Army was probably split up into various bodies, large and small, who took up their quarters wherever they found high ground to pitch their tents. The land round Velimedupet is lowland, well cultivated and wooded, studded with innumerable palms. It is cut up by a multitude of tanks then overflowing with the winter rains. The highest part of the stony ground, interspersed with cultivation, rises to a height of 307 feet and forms a diminutive plateau of about 700 yards. The Royal tent may well have occupied this elevated position, about a mile westward of Velimedupet, say at Attipakam.

A description by an eye witness has come down to us : (1)

"The camp had a circumference of more than leagues six (2) divided by roads along all its length, well laid out for the markets that occupied a great space, the other tents not so well disposed in the same order; generally speaking those of the great lords are very well arranged, with inner and outer courts and a multitude of apartments for their ladies and domestics. That of Nas'r Jung was of extraordinary size and magnificence; his household, his guards all in the same enclosure, his personal tent being lined with velvet with golden fringes, the tent poles of massive silver and you trod on sumptuous carpets; and, as usual, with Orientals, there were no chairs or other seats except cushions."

The troops were divided into 6 divisions as follows :—

" Muhammad Ali in command of the right, the Nawab of Vellore on the left and the Mahrattas in the centre, a little in advance."

Behind this first line was a second made up of Nawabs of Kurnool, Cuddapa and Savanur each leading his own contingent. Nas'r Jung with his household troops occupied the centre between these two lines — an outpost of artillery (Topkhana.) protected the front.

We know that messengers had been passing to and fro between the conspirators in Nas'r Jung's camp and Dupleix. The chief emissary was the Turk Haji Abdalla (Bib. Nat. F. F. 12087 104.) and negotiations were conducted by Chanda Sahib through his Hindu Agents in Pondichery. It was he who negotiated the treachery of the Pathan Nawabs (3). Dupleix confirms this in a letter to d'Auteuil 7 Oct. 1750.

"I have the oath and the signatures of all those about whom the man with the flag will speak to you. The plot comes from them and not from me."

D'Auteuil received from Dupleix, via Abdalla, a flag of white silk bearing in the centre a golden sun surrounded by rays which the insurgents were to display as soon as d'Auteuil commenced the attack so that he *should not fall upon their people*. On their part the plotters agreed to hold Nas'r Jung a prisoner. A stipulation was made not to touch the treasure which belonged to the Padishah, nor the wives of Nas'r Jung. The messenger was to take definite orders from d'Auteuil. Dupleix adds that for himself "he wanted neither women nor money, but peace" (4).

Battle of Velimedupet

I have called this engagement the Battle of *Velimedupet* - it has no name in history. It is dismissed as an incident; in reality it was an event fraught with great consequences, and a turning point in the history of India.

The little French detachment under Captain Provost de la Touche comprised 800 Europeans and 3000 Sepoys of whom 1500 were cavalry with 20 field pieces, of which 10 were the famous "minute guns", firing 20 rounds per minute (5) The best account that has come down to us is in the form of a letter from Kerjean, Dupleix's nephew, who led the left wing :—

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1. Bib. Nat. N.A. F.F. 12087. p. 108.
 2. One French league is about 3 English miles.
 3. Colon. Arch. C 284 211 quoted by Cultru.
 4. Arch. of Versailles E. 3745 95 Dupleix to d'Auteuil, 7 Oct. 1750, quoted by Cultru.
 5. Bibl. Nat. F. F. 12087 - 103.

Camp of Nas'r Jung. 16 Dec. 1750.

at 10 h. in the morning.

Dear Uncle,

We left Fathpet (1) yesterday at 5 hours of evening and at 3 hours of daylight we were before the camp of the Moors, who were sleeping profoundly; we gave them a cruel awakening by breaking into their camp in battle array; all fled, and we pursued them right and left; front and rear without ceasing till 7 o' clock, when we perceived your standard as well as several French flags appearing on the rocks (2); but we dared not give complete credence to these signs of friendship; when the head munshi (*grand écrivain*) of, Muzaffer Jung came to announce the death (sic) of Nas'r Jung whose head had been cut off; the same writer made us understand that Muzaffer Jung wished to come and thank us. We are masters of the entire camp, which is at least three leagues in circumference, all are in flight to right and left... ..I can scarce describe by joy, Dear Uncle, you alone have been the soul of this adventure which will cause India to tremble, and you alone are capable of conceiving such great deeds.....Messrs Bussy and Very are slightly wounded.....and we had only 6 or 7 soldiers wounded....."

Thanks to Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, we have also the narrative of an eye-witness, Sergeant-Major Very, who took a part in the fight, and whose account related to Duplex, forms a portion of the missing pages of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, recovered by Professor Dubreuil from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris, through the kind offices of Mr. J. Filiozat. It generally corroborates the familiar incidents; Muzaffer Jung placed on an elephant between two executioners with naked swords ready at a signal to cut off his head. The Nizam's visit to the Pathan quarters in the dim morning - light - the short sharp colloquy with Himmat Bahadur Khan - the salutation by the Prince who stood up on his elephant to make himself known - his appeal to the Pathan to come out and fight - the traitor's insolent reply and a carbine shot. The conspirators flock round the bewildered Muzaffer Jung, already half - dead with terror, and salute him as Nizam, the very executioners falling at his feet. The Arabian Nights never furnished a more dramatic change from fear of instant death to the very pinnacle of power.

By 9 O'clock in the morning the new Subadhar was every where proclaimed and the kettledrum of victory was sounded.

How we found the city of Duplex - Fatheabad.

Monsieur Jouveau - Dubreuil, Frere L. Fauchaux, a well-known savant of the French Foreign Missions Pondicherry, and myself have for months roamed over the battle-fields surrounding Gingy. Our attention was directed to several likely spots as being the one where Nas'r Jung fell, and where a "very fine Choultry" was found by Clive to have been erected to his memory. This is mentioned in his letter (7 May O. S. 1752) to the Council of Fort St. David on his return from the Siege of Arcot when he passed over the spot where Nas'r Jung had been "done to death," and where he destroyed the rising city of Duplex-Fatheabad which he called a "Monument of Infamy." Two texts definitely concur in fixing the exact locality:

Firstly, the Mackenzie Manuscript Restored (*Carnatakka Rajakal*) Vol. 1 P. 434.

1. The French Camp resting on the fortress of Gingy which was one league (3. m.) to the rear,
2. There are rocks round Velimedupet.

"The Nawab then left that place (Ilagandu) and fixed his camp over the Maidan of Vellimettupettai, (1), 10 Nagis N. E. (isaniya) of Senji (Gingy.) while the French army had encamped near Senji."

The Tamil text says "pattou najis". Now, one Naji is equivalent to 1.38 M. Therefore 10 najis is 13.8 miles. In a letter from La Touche to Dupleix (2) the writer says "the two armies were 4 leagues from each other separated by an unfordable river." Four French leagues is exactly 13.8 miles, but the French camp at Fathpet, it is to be remembered, was one league (3 miles) in advance of their base at Gingy. Orme's estimate was that the Nizam was at 16 miles from Gingy, Velimedupet is exactly 14 miles from Gangy (3)

Secondly in Anananda Ranga Pillai's diary (VII 420) Khrishnaji, an envoy returning from Nasir Jung's camp, and bearing a - letter from Kazi Dyem, informs Dupleix:—

"Nas'r Jung is encamped about 4 miles N. E. of Velimettu - pettai and our troops are at Gingy, so that the two armies are a league or a league and-a-half apart." Further, we learn from the diarist (VIII 236 - 238) that the route taken by Mahomed Ali in his flight was via Wandiwash, Katteri, (Villumpuram,) Tiruviti, and that he was believed by Dupleix to have passed by the village of Sarasangapettai, which he identified with "the village where Nasir Jung was killed". Dodwell gave this village a fantastic etymology. It is really only a mutilation of Zafarasangapettai i.e. the village of Zafar Jung (i. e. Dupleix.) — in other words Dupleix Fathabad. In addition to these clear texts which definitely fix the site we have the valuable corroborative evidence of the "Journal de l' Armee (1) of Bussy's force accompanying - Mozaffer Jung on his victorious march from Perimby to Aurungabad. The first stage of 7 kos (19.32 m) brought them to Mailam. In course of the next stage of 8 kos (22 m.) they "traversed the camp where Nasir Jung had his head cut off". On the morrow they reached (Wandiwash.) Now Mailam is some 28 m S of Wandiwash. So that, in proceeding northward from Mailam to a point some 5 miles S of Wandiwash you traverse the spot where Nasir Jung was cut off."

Lastly, when Clive proceeded from Arcot to Cuddalore (May 1752) he went by Timiri "Pedrapolour and thence to the environs of Villupuram." This is stated in a letter (4) from Dupleix to Very (2 March 1752) who was in command at Gingy. Dupleix - Fathabad was the point on Clive's route where he diverted from the direct route to make a detour via Pedrapolour. All these texts concur in showing that the City of Victory that Clive destroyed was on each of these routes:—

Mahomed Ali's from Wandewash to Villupuram, Bussy's from Perimby to Wandiwash Clive's from Timiri to Pedrapolour.

The physical land-marks we followed were a very fine Choultry (or the ruins of one), a burial ground with Mohammedan graves, and local tradition of a great battle in which the Nizam or Subadhar of the Deccan had lost his life. We soon found that local tradition was a weak reed to lean upon. It is truly astonishing that no recollections or traditions have survived in S. or N. Arcot of Nizam or Subadhar, or even of the Nawab of Arcot. Popular history centres mainly round Desing,

1. The expression "maidan of V——" is a figure of speech equivalent to 'The field of V.' or in plain English "At Vellimedupet."

2. Bib. Nat. F. F. 12087. 103.

3. Jouveau - Dubreuil.

4. It is a voluminous document of 170 p. p. at the Bib. Nat. Paris under No N. A. 9858 and comprising 7 parts or "Cahiers" of which Cahier 3 and one or two pages between cahiers 1 and 2 are missing. The Author may be de St. Paul, Madam Dupleix's brother-in-law who accompanied Bussy's expedition in command of the Germans. It was he, says Anquetil Du Perron, who prepared "The Marches of Mr de Bussy."

5. Archives of Versailles E. 3750 Fb. 73.

Raja of Gingy, his gallant companion-in-arms Mohabat Khan, and his horse. Our goal was the old Choultry at Velimedoupet in semi-ruins, and threatened with demolition but now, fortunately, saved from destruction owing to a vigorous protest.

The solution of the longstanding riddle was at hand. At four O'clock on a bright morning in May 1939 we motored from Pondicherry to Velimedupett. There was the Choultry, already half-demolished and just saved from destruction in the nick of time. It stands in Puttanandal village, north of Velimedoupet, (Tindivanam taluq, S. Arcot.) a little below milestone 35 on the Tindivanam Wandiwash Road. In front to the south is a small level plain that was once a Mahomedan grave yard; but the gravestones have long since disappeared. In the same direction vis-a-vis the Choultry is the traditional *Kulam* or tank, which still bears the name of Komarappa Kulam.

Across on the west of the road stands a Pillayar temple. We held a searching local enquiry and elicited, from the written testimony of M. V. Muduram Chetty, a notable of the town, confirmed by the oral evidence of old men, that the Choultry was traditionally known as "*Robert Clive Tunkina Mantapan*" i. e. the Mantapan (Choultry) where Clive sojourned. This obviously happened on his march from Arcot to Cuddalore. Further, they said that the Mantapan was traditionally used for storing the Piece Goods purchased by the E. I. Coy, from Komarappa Chetty a well known Cloth Merchant whose name frequently occurs in Fort St. David Consultations.

Clive apparently occupied the Choultry and encamped on the plain the centre of which probably was destined to be the site of a *gopuram* or memorial, the foundations of which Clive presumably destroyed. Around the plain already mentioned may still be - traced the remains of the plainths of "pucca" structures. And that is how we discovered Duplex-Fatheabad.

I have made an appeal to the Archeological Dept. S. Circle, Madras viz., that the Mantapan now associated with Clive — the half demolished and melancholy witness of a great past — be preserved for posterity, if the department is convinced of its authenticity; and that a little excavation be made on the plain fronting the Mantapan with a view to verifying whether it contains the foundations of Duplex's projected *gopuram* beneath which he buried commemorative medals, of which I possess photographs, obtained from the *Cabinet des Medailles* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*. If these medals are recovered the historic nature of the site will be proved.

I venture to hope this Congress will support my appeal.

VASUDEV SAMBHAJI

BY

Mr. G. G. Khandekar, Panth Piploda

1. Introductory details known regarding his life. Paras 1 and 2.
2. He was the Kamavisdar of Pargana Dharampuri, Sarkar Mandu, now in the Dhar State in Central India Para 3.
3. He was in the service of Holkar. Para 4.
4. From prior to 1768 he appears to have been in charge of Pargana Ambed, in Sarkar Jalnapur, Subah Aurangabad, long since in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions. Para 6.
5. In 1769 he was the Kamavisdar of Pargana Depalpur, at present in the Indore District of the Indore State. Para 5.
6. In 1770 he represented Holkar in the negotiations made by the Maharattas for a peace with the Rohillas and Pathans. Para 8.
7. He acquired an estate at the village Dahipuri in Pargana Ambed and received a Farman in 1870 from Emperor Shah Alam for it. Para 9.
8. The facts known regarding the enjoyment of the Estate by the Family. Para 10 and 11.

SECTION 5

Modern India

(1764 Onwards.)

President

Prof. J. F. BRUCE, M.A.
Lahore.

Secretary

Dr. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, (Litt.,)
Osmania, University, Hyderabad-Dn.



PROFESSOR J. L. BRUCE.
University Professor of History, Punjab University.
PRESIDENT, SECTION 5.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
FIFTH SESSION, HYDERABAD, 1941.
SECTION V (MODERN INDIA).

Ladies and Gentlemen :

In the first place I wish to express my great appreciation of the courtesy of the Executive Committee of the Congress in inviting me to act as President of this Section - an honour which I value more than I deserve.

I am somewhat doubtful of the utility of such introductory addresses as this, in the short space of which it is impossible to say much which deserves attention; and I am doubtful also of the proper subject matter of such an address. I can only place before you certain reflections upon the composition and study of Indian history, particularly of the last two centuries, which have arisen in my mind during the eleven years that I have been a teacher of history in this country.

Mine has been a triple function : firstly, to oversee the teaching of history in a huge university which embraces over sixty affiliated colleges scattered over the extreme north - west of India; secondly, to administer and to partake in the teaching of a postgraduate department containing over 200 students; and thirdly, to attempt to interpret the history of Europe, while endeavouring myself to learn something of the history of India. This will sufficiently explain the modesty of my approach to the subject of this Section. I am beginning to feel that I am emerging from an apprenticeship to the study of certain phases of Indian history - a confused, but colourful and deeply interesting problem.

The purpose of this Congress is to promote the composition of the indigenous history of India - a pious and noble, but far from easy task; for India has been the arena of the clash and fusion of many cultures; and it has not yet become their homogeneous legatee, though I believe that the conscientious pursuit of our common purpose, more than any other activity, will contribute to the achievement of that great object.

There is an exacting technique of history, as Langlois and Seignobos have shown in their treatise, "The Study of History", and this technique must be rigorously applied to our subject. That application presents serious difficulties, which must be overcome. In the first place it is concerned with the accumulation and examination of the materials. I believe that this process has made considerable progress in certain regions of India, but I am keenly aware that very much is still to be done in that region in which I am specially interested. We must proceed, in Burke's words, "from the little platoon to the big battalion", and - if I may extend that depressing but now appropriate metaphor - to the Grand Army. I have found, for example, that the field of northwestern Indian history has been but partially reaped and that the harvesters have not been numerous.

In the Panjab we have in recent years been working upon the period of seven decades from about A. D. 1780 to 1850, after which the history of that zone has become increasingly merged in the history of India. Some exact patient work has

been done by several scholars and I hope that before long we may show some fair harvest of our labours. We aim at trying on the one hand to exhaust the records of official British administrators, and on the other hand to collect and critically to examine indigenous evidence in Persian chronicles and similar sources. Of the two aspects of this task the more necessary and also the more difficult is the *collection*, *collation* and translation of evidence in Persian, which is proceeding steadily, though slowly in the History Department of Panjab University. I am sorry to say that we cannot mobilize more than one or two competent scholars to engage continuously in this work, but we hope soon to be able to publish a *catalogue raisonné* of these materials which can be supplemented by further discoveries, and also a translation of all the historically valuable portions of them. When this task is as complete as we can make it, we propose to move back to the period between the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb and about 1780 and therein to attempt the same task; though in that region of India that comparatively dark period presents many difficulties, upon which Sir J. N. Sarkar has already made a valuable attack.

Such a careful regional survey of the materials is quite essential to an authoritative history of India. I sometimes wonder whether it should not be encouraged and assisted by this Congress before an attempt is made to compose a comprehensive history of the country. I wonder who, for example, is yet competently equipped with material to compose a definitive and really satisfactory history of North - Western India during the past two centuries.

In addition to such regional surveys, several other measures appear to me to be necessary for historiography in India. The first is the creation of a national research library, such as exists, for example, in the British Museum. Such a library should become a repository of manuscript material, which does not yet exist in India. The Imperial Record Office is exclusively a repository of official documents. The Imperial Library at Calcutta possesses few manuscripts or other sources, except printed books. It could presumably be developed to embrace these further functions. One measure which would greatly assist historical research would be the introduction of that provision incorporated in the British Copyright Act, requiring the deposit in certain national institutions, including the Imperial Library, of a free copy of every book published in India. Sir George Anderson, when Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, strove for some years without success to procure a National Copyright Library for India. Would it not be a highly proper object of this Congress strongly to support such a demand?

In the absence of such an institution as the British Museum, or the Bibliothèque National of Paris, or the Library of Congress, Washington, I understand that the Indian Imperial Records Commission and its Secretary, Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Imperial Records, are endeavouring to co-ordinate the collection and examination of original historical materials in the various regions of India - a function which must have our active approval and help. If they can prepare a catalogue of such scattered manuscript material, so much the better; and still better, if they can centralise exact copies of such material. The greatest obstacle to historical research in India is the immensity of the country and the long distances which separate its repositories of documents. To assist the removal of such obstacles, and generally to promote access to the proper materials of Indian history, seems to me to be a basic duty of this Congress.

In my prentice approach to the study of modern Indian history I began by reading the most authoritative text books now a days prescribed in the Universities of this country. I next proceeded to the older writers, such as Mill, Wilson, Malcolm, Marshman and Beveridge, which I often found superior in knowledge and technique to their successors. I then proceeded to the study of special monographs and

collections of original sources, and to the examination of the manuscript material relating to my own province. I have been impressed by the predominatingly official complexion of very much which I have read, and I have searched for other books of the nature of Abbe Dubois' famous work, and generally for more authoritative social history of modern India; and I have been rather disappointed. Governors General and eminent officials have frequently obscured my view of the changing people of India; though hidden the Panjab Census Report of 1881 I discovered a masterly little treatise by Denzil Ibbetson on the caste system, tribal customs, and social institution, which should be better known. In contrast, the last volume of the Cambridge history of India is unsatisfying in its preoccupation with policy and administration, almost to the exclusion of a record of the evolution of the Indian people. We need to devote more of our research to the social and cultural history of India, I believe, and not merely continue to pour over its governmental records, though, as I have found in the Panjab, the materials of unofficial history appear to be sparse. A systematic examination of the vernacular newspaper press since its inception, a patient study of cultural changes; an analysis of the effect of the impact of modern mechanism upon the social structure and the habits of the people - a coherent picture of a changing India is what we most seek. I venture to suggest that we should attempt a fresh approach to the history of modern India.

A grave obstacle to this revision and reorientation of the subject lies in the fact that, for the most part, those best equipped for the task are absorbed in the mass education of students and can find little leisure from a duty, which has often become an incubus, for more than sketchy excursions in research, which cannot be co-ordinated and form, as it were, a patchwork garment.

In these fugitive remarks I have sought to lay before you two sets of considerations, which I believe to be fundamental to the successful composition of a history of India: firstly, the need for us all to assist to secure the creation of an adequate apparatus for historical research - a national museum and specialised research library, including a copyright library, and the collection and collation of documents, other than the merely official, in certain central places accessible to advanced students, secondly a revision, or supplementation of our lines of approach to the study especially of the last two centuries of Indian history, increasingly exploiting sources other than governmental documents. I believe that Indian historiography, while assimilating the rigorous technique of similar work in other countries, should become more truly indigenous, and that, in this process, it would contribute greatly to create a consciousness of Indian unity, culture and proper pride.

I wish to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your patient and courteous hearing.

PROCEEDINGS OF SECTION V.

Modern India, (1764 onwards).

The Sectional Meeting of Section V (Modern India, 1764 onwards) was held under the Presidentship of Prof. J. F. Bruce on the 22nd of December, 1941, at 11. 45 A. M. in the Osmania University. The President, at the very outset, requested the members to read out only the relevant portions of their papers and explain orally the salient features of their research in order to facilitate discussion. Ten minutes were allotted for each speaker.

The following papers were read and discussed:—

"Hyder Ali's appeal to the Hon'ble East India Company, 1764." By Mr. Kasim Ali Sajan Lal.

"Last days of Anandabai." By Prof. V. D. Rao.

"A short account of Bachcha Jamatdar." Mr. C. V. Joshi.

"Sir John Low's Services at Bithur." By Dr. P. C. Gupta.

"A note on General Ventura's Jaghir." By Dr. S. N. Sen.

"Confessions of two mutineers." By K. Mitra.

"Herat and British India." By Prof. S. N. Banerjee.

"The Looshai raids and Looshai Policy." Mr. Ganpat Rai.

"Red Kafirs." By Mr. M. A. Shakoor.

"The fall of the Walajahi Kingdom." By Mr. M. Ghaus.

"The Wellesleys and Mysore." By Mr. P. G. Sathyagirinathan.

(Sd.), YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN,

Secretary.

HYDER ALI'S APPEAL TO THE HON'BLE EAST INDIA Co., 1764.

BY

Mr. Kasim Ali Sajan Lal, Hyderabad Deccan.

(Summary)

Finding himself threatened by the Marathas under Peshawa Madhav Rao, I, Hyder Ali Khan felt that his only chances of success over them lay in an alliance with English as well as with Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. In his letter dated 27th August, 1764, appealing for help from the Hon'ble East India Co., Hyder Ali offered them the monopoly of pepper and sandalwood in the Mysore market. This interest-

ing document throws much light on the activities of the Marathas. Hyder Ali Khan requested the English for five guns 25 pounders, five guns 28 pounders are five thousand English and German muskets, the entire charges for which he promised to bear. Later on he submitted fresh proposals in which the English were promised the grant of all the country situated below the ghats from Goa to Surat.

In case his proposal met with refusal, he wanted help by men and ammunitions only. The Hon'ble East India Co., however, declined to help him due to the inadvisability of exciting the Marathas.

CUTTACK IN THE YEAR 1766 A. D.

BY

Prof. G. S. Das, B. A. (Lond.), Cuttack.

The following is an interesting account of the city of Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, given by T. Motte, an intimate friend of Lord Clive in the year 1766 A. D. It is worthy of note that he should have been struck by the similarity between the Barabati fort and the western side of Windsor castle. Motte speaks of Lalbagh as a building out of repair. It is not exactly known who built the Lalbagh and when it was built. But the fact that Lalbagh is a Persian name meaning 'Red Garden' and that in the year 1766 it was already in a weak condition prove that it was built during the Muhammadan occupation some times during the 16th or most probably 17th century. According to Wilson "the place (Barabati) was in time abandoned by the Musalman Governors who preferred to live in the Lalbagh, on the south side of the city" (Now the revenue commissioner's residence). (Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal Vol. I. P 4. F. N.) Abul Fazal mentions that the fort of Barabati contained a nine storied palace and each story was used for a particular purpose. According to him "Makand Deo built a palace here (Barabati) nine storeys in height; the first storey was taken up by the elephants and the stables, the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants, the third by the patrol and gate-keepers the fourth by the workshops, the fifth by the kitchen, the sixth contained the public reception rooms, the seventh the private apartments, the eighth the women's apartments and the ninth the sleeping chamber of the Governor".

(The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl-i-Allami translated by Colonel H. S. Jarret, Vol. II. pp. 127). Motte does not make any mention of the nine storeyed palace. How are we to account for this discrepancy?

It can not be that nine storeys were destroyed between Abul Fazal's time and the time when Motte wrote his description, because there is evidence in the Government of India Records to show, that, when the British came to Cuttack, the Barabati fort was in excellent conditions, and it was not destroyed till the year 1803 by the British. Abul Fazal probably never visited Cuttack and compiled his accounts from Reports. It is likely that he mentioned a nine storied place of a palace of nine court-yards, by mistake? Where was the factory of the East India Company mentioned by Motte? I think it was the part of the present Collectorate Building which is just to the right of Lalbagh.

Extracts from - A narrative of a journey to the Diamond mines at Sambalpur, in the Province of Orissa, by T. Motte, Esqr., undertaken in the year 1766 by the direction of the late Lord Clive, then Governor of Bengal.....quoted from The Asiatic Annual Register, 1799 (Miscellaneous Tracts) p. 48.

"The Rajah of Sambalpur, in the middle of March 1766, dispatched Sardar Khan, his servant to Calcutta, inviting the Governor to send to his capital a person whom he could trust to purchase diamonds. There came at the same time four Pathan merchants, of whom the Rajah had bought some horses, without a command of money to pay for them, to whom he had given an order on his servant for payment out of the produce of the sale of a rough diamond weighing, carats sixteen and a half, which he was to dispose of at Calcutta.

"Mohunprasad a fellow of an infamous character, employed himself at this time in picking acquaintance with such stangers as came to that capital, making himself master of this business, and instructing them how to proceed. Sardar Khan fell into his hands, who introduced him to Lord Clive, then Governor, persuading him to deliver the diamond as a present from the Rajah. The Pathan merchants finding they were likely to be deprived of their chance of payment, assembled about his Lordship's house and made a clamour. Lord Clive knew not the cause of the complaint, while Sardar Khan and Mohunprasad joined to persuade the poor merchants that a person would be sent to pay them at Sambalpur.

"His Lordship being then at a great loss for means of remitting money to England, proposed to me to return with the Vakeel to the mines, and to endeavour to open the diamond trade. He offered to make it a joint concern, in which I was to hold a third he the other two; all the expenses to be born by the concern

"May 6 Cuttack appears from hence a noble city. The rising ground on which it is situated, the stone wall by which it is defended from the force of the stream; the great number of mosques with which it is adorned, and the regular appearance of the citadel, strongly resembling the west side of Windsor castle unite to make the perspective view of the place extremely grand. It is true it has the advantage of being viewed from the opposite bank of a river two miles and a half wide whose course is so straight that the eye takes in the whole city at one sight. But when you have crossed a long burning sand, and forded the river what a falling off is there. You find the ground is raised entirely by the rubbish of the ruins; the stone wall maintains itself by its original strength; for people are suffered to steal the materials though on the wall depends the very existence of the city. Such mosques as are in repair are dens of thievish beggars; and the citadel on examination, proves a weak fortification.

"To be more methodical, Cuttack is triangular, built on the neck of the land formed by the separation of the two rivers, the Mahanudee and the Cotjuree. The Mahanudee, or great river runs on the west by the north side and keeping in course about E by N it is joined by the several streams of the Sollundee, the Gaintee the Bitrunnee, the Carfan, the Bommonee and the Commoria, and falls into Kunneka bay in Balasore road. The Cotjuree washing the walls of Cuttack on the S. S. W. side and keeping about an E by S course, divided itself into two branches one of which joins the Mahanudee again while the other taking the name of the Kouakai runs into Chilka, which bounds the province of Orissa to the southward, and which falls into the sea, twenty-five miles north from Jaggunat and about the same distance south from Point Halmiras.

"Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but that on the banks of the Cotjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lalbagh the residence

of the Governor of the province, a large building laid out in a number of courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair; the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principle entrance of this palace runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one mile and a half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meanness of which does no credit to so flourishing a company.

Cuttack is not fortified now but on the side next Mahanudee is a citadel, called the Barrabatee because it is said to contain 12 battees or 240 biggahs of land. But this must be understood not only of the fort itself but of the official fief annexed to the command; for the fort itself did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is square with a small bastion at three angles; at the fourth, to the N.W. a very large evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract a lofty mosque, which commands that quarter of the fort; the ditch is 20 yds. wide, and 7 deep lined with stone, and a perfect square without, for the bastions having been added since the fort was built, there are no projections in the ditch to answer the projection of the bastion. The works are formed of two stone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which distance is filled up with rubbish. The outer wall being raised five feet higher than the inner, forms the parapet, which is only one stone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, so strong it would be impossible to force them, if they were manned by brave fellows; for the passage between them is narrow and winding, with a stone wall on each side, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large stones fall, every man in the passage must be crushed. The fort is, however, too small to make a long defence against an European enemy.

"I found at this place Mr. Charles Alleyn, a gentleman employed by the Government of Calcutta as post-master, to keep up the communication between Madras and that place. He waited on me to the court of a Bowani Pundit, the Governor of Orissa, where I was received with more politeness than state. I delivered him the letters from Lord Clive which desired him in general terms to pay all attention to what I say, as I was in his Lordship's confidence. I began by opening to him my desire of purchasing diamonds at Sambalpur, as the object of my journey thither. He looked at me with a penetrating eye, and said, so trifling a matter could not be all the meaning couched in his Lordship's letter nor all the purpose of a man of my consequence; for the diamond trade of Sambalpur could not be carried on to any considerable amount. His suspicions were that I was employed to form alliances with the mountaineers, through whose territories my road lay. He explained to me the just demand Jannujai, his master had on the company for the arrears of the tribute of Bengal and Bihar. I seized this lucky opening, entered at once at the discussion of the point, and answered, I understood the revenues of Orissa were made over to Jannujai, in lieu of the tribute of the three provinces, and the best mode which could be adopted, was to restore it to the Company, who should pay a stipulated sum and send a resident to the court of Nagpur as an hostage. I urged that by so doing a mutual confidence would be formed between that court and the Government of Calacutta, for the advantage of both."

THE MISCARRIAGE OF SHAH ALAM'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO DELHI, 1769

BY

Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Bikaner.

The main reason why the Emperor, who had been at daggers drawn with Shuja since 1764, had made up his quarrel with the Wazir and honoured him with a visit to his capital (Feb. 1769) was to enlist the latter's active support in the realisation of the greatest ambition of his life, namely, to instal himself on his ancestral throne and revive the old glories of the broken empire. The imperial capital was practically defenceless and subject to danger from the ambitious and rising Sikh power of the Punjab, as Najib-ud-Daulah had resigned in March 1768 and placed the administration of Delhi in the weak and inexperienced hands of his son, Zabita Khan. The thought of the safety of his son Jawan Bakht and of the honour of his mother and other imperial ladies in the Delhi fort was extremely disquieting to Shah Alam who was being pressed by Najib to repair to the capital and assume charge of his legitimate duties⁽¹⁾. Until recently he had built his hopes on Clive's promise of military assistance, if his lordship could secure sanction for the same from the authorities in England. Although it is clear that Clive's promise was no more than a diplomatic device, intended to postpone indefinitely the King's departure from Allahabad, as his stay there was obviously of immense political advantage to the company, Shah Alam placing reliance on that promise and following his lordship's advice, sent two letters to George III of Great Britain, the first in January 1767 by the hand of Clive himself and the second in November 1767 through Verelst and two to the East India Company, asking for military aid in his proposed expedition. Along with the first letter Clive was entrusted with costly presents by Shah Alam to be delivered to George, whom the Mughal Emperor addressed as "his brother, dear as life" and these included a string of pearls worth rupees sixty thousand and a studded betel-pot (pandan), both meant for the English queen, and a knife, sword and shield, valued at nineteen thousand and intended for George III, and most probably some cash too⁽²⁾. Subsequently reminders were despatched to Clive and Carnac; but about two years passed away and no reply to any one of the above letters to the King and the Company of Britain was received. Shah Alam at last became convinced that the English did not mean to afford him assistance; and therefore he resolved to undertake the expedition with the help of the wazir and of such other vassals as were likely to respond to his call. Having summoned Smith to his presence, the Emperor informed him of his resolution and told him that owing to altered political situation endangering the safety and honour of the royal ladies in the Delhi fort and the English procrastination in complying with his requisition for aid, he thought it desirable not to wait for a reply from England. "It is improper for me", he added "long to remain here with my hands before me (at the same time crossing his hands, as if bound)". Thus he asked the English Commander to procure for him an escort of two battalions and eight pieces of artillery that Clive had promised, and which was different from full military assistance that he could not promise without orders from England⁽³⁾. The Emperor wrote direct to Verelst early in May 1769 that relying on the King of England he stayed at Allahabad for four years during which period he sent two letters to George III, but received no reply. His annual expenditure amounted to seventy lakhs of rupees, while his income was only fifty. Fortunately for him Ratan Singh ruler of Bharatpur the only opponent of the rejuvenation of the empire, had fallen under the

1. CPC. II. 846, 847, 1103.

2. CPS. II. 522, 652 and 1364; Shigarf-Nama.

3. Smith to Ben: Sel. Com., May 1, 1769.

dagger of an assassin and the country was free from enemies. He had accordingly decided to proceed to Agra, "taking Shuja-ud-Daulah and the English *sardars* as his escort." Under these circumstances, he added, "a longer delay would be impolitic and hesitation unworthy." He informed the governor that he would leave Allahabad on 15th Muharram (May 21, 1769) and therefore he should instruct Smith immediately to accompany him with two battalions and eight pieces of cannon⁽¹⁾.

The above decision was made in consultation with Shuja-ud-Daulah who had arrived at Allahabad, in response to the imperial summons, in the last week of April, and was due to the favourable political situation in the country caused by Ratanisingh Jat's death, willing cooperation promised by the Wazir and friendly attitude of the Ruhelas and the Marathas to the royal cause. The wazir was clever enough to exploit the Emperor's eagerness and exact from his suzerain a heavy price for his proffered services. He presented a number of articles for royal acceptance as conditions precedent to his attending the imperial march to Delhi and serving the Emperor with a whole-hearted devotion for two years in the cause of recovering the lost territory and prestige of the dwindled empire and Shah Alam complied with all of them without exception. Firstly, he promised to confer on Shuja not only "all the honours appertaining to the vizarat", but also not to listen to insinuations and calumnies of interested persons against him. Secondly, he agreed to accept all representations of Shuja, if they were "conducive to the welfare of the sublime *Sarkar*." Thirdly, he promised to accept the Wazir's all those proposals that might "promote the welfare of the company". Fourthly, he bound himself to look upon the Wazir's friends as his friends and the Wazir's enemies as his enemies. Fifthly, he gave word to issue a royal decree granting Shuja "customary as well as the extra-ordinary *Jagirs* together with all the advantages appertaining to the vizarat....." Sixthly, in order to make provision for meeting the expenditure of the additional forces that Shuja was required to raise and maintain in view of the proposed Delhi expedition, the King consented to "assign to the Vizier a moiety of all the territory that will be conquered, for his expenses". Seventhly, he complied with Shuja's request that "as regards wars," all operations will be conducted according to the Vazir's representations. Nothing will be done contrary thereto." Eighthly, he conferred Vizarat on Shuja "as an inalienable and perpetual office, pledging that he" will let his brother Shuja-ud-Daulah hold the Vizarat as long as his reign lasts, nor will His Majesty ever deprive him of that office, but will bestow upon him new honours." Finally, the Emperor promised that he would invest the Wazir's sons with appointments in the establishment of the imperial princes⁽²⁾. The agreement was witnessed by Smith in whose presence the superscriptions were written both by the Emperor and the Wazir. Shah Alam wrote that as the Wazir was ready in the duties of obedience and loyalty, "His Majesty swears by God and the Prophet of God in the presence of Colonel Smith.....and agrees that he will at all times and on all occasions defend and support the honour and reputation, the life and fortune of Shuja-ud-Daulah as well as his possessions both old and new, and he calls Allah to witness that he will act in all affairs according to the Vazir's representations and not listen to the insinuations of interested people. Nor will His Majesty undertake any public affair without consulting the Vazir." On his part Shuja pledged that he "agrees before God and the Prophet of God and in the presence of Col. Smith.....that for two years he will attend the victorious stirrup of His Majesty Shah Alam Bhadur Ghazi and apply himself with all diligence

1. CFC. II. 1364; Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., May 1, 1769. The escort of battalions promised by Clive was different from and had nothing to do with full military assistance which could not be promised by Clive on his own authority. Dr. N. L. Chatterji (vide *Verelst's Rule in India*, pp. 123-125) has hopelessly confused the two and therefore come to a startling conclusion. "The decision of the majority [Ben. Sel. Com. who voted in favour of the escort] was indeed hasty and impolitic. They did not realise the gravity of the risk, involved in a march to Delhi; and it is surprising to find that Verelst gave his assent regardless of the repeated warnings of the Director".

2. C P C. II. 1366;

and earnestness to the strengthening of the Empire, the establishment of the laws and the royal authority and the promotion of the prosperity of auspicious household." He further promised not to apply for leave for two years. "God is his witness" he wrote, that he will on no account depart from the mandates of the presence, nor undertake any business without the royal approbation, nor listen to the insinuations of interested people, nor deviate in any way from this agreement. And if His Majesty either before or after the expiration of two years of his own accord grants him leave to depart from the presence, he will return to his own province.....If His Majesty will graciously act according to the articles to which His Majesty has been pleased to subscribe the writer will also not deviate a hair's breadth from this agreement."⁽¹⁾

Shuja-ud-Daulah, in informing Verelst of the Emperor's resolution and of the agreement he had entered into with him, strongly supported Shah Alam's request for the loan of English troops and promised that he would look upon the English honour and welfare as his own, calling God "and holy Immas to witness that whatever ascendancy he may gain over the King's heart, shall always be employed in promoting the welfare and reputation of the English sardars."⁽²⁾

On 19th May the Select Committee resolved by a majority, Floyer and Alexander dissenting, to comply with Shah Alam's request and furnish him with two battalions of sepoy and four field - pieces of the lowest calibre under Captain Harper. It was further decided (8th June) to lend him 600 stands of good English arms in order to assuage the King's feelings which had been injured by Smith's refusal to supply him with serviceable firelocks. While intimating the committee's decision, Verelst took the opportunity of assuring the King that "the English *sardars* with their entire army and resouces will show the same devotion and make the same exertions in this expedition as they have so far done in the defence of the royal dominions and in defeating the wicked designs of the enemies of the House of Timur." But neither Verelst nor any other member of the Calcutta government was, as a matter of fact, really in favour of Shah Alam's migration from Allahbad and therefore the governor added by way of offering a cautious advice that "as the journey is long and as disturbances and upheavals are daily taking place in Hindustan, it is hoped that His Majesty will consult his Ministers before he undertakes the expedition lest his auspicious person come to harm from the buffets of adverse times". Among ministers whom Verelst desired Shah Alam to consult the most important man, next only to the Wazir was Munir-ud-Daulah who was a protege of the English and at heart utterly against the King's departure from Allahbad; and Verelst had already written to him expressing surprise at "such a hasty resolution" and urging its abandonment on two grounds, firstly, because of the rainy season being at hand and secondly because of the highly disadvantageous agreement that the Emperor had made with Shuja, conferring on the latter half the country to be conquered by the imperial forces. In view of this agreement, he added, "however fast money may pour into the royal treasury, it will not be sufficient for the successfnl termination of this expedition. In fact it will be so much labour lost." The governor concluded that Munir is "wise and experienced, and as his loyalty and foresight are indisputable it is hoped that he will give His Majesty such advice as will best tend to the improvement of the affairs of the auspicious house and to the welfare of His Majesty" Munir knew what this advice was. Despite his best efforts he, however, failed to persuade Shah Alam to give up the enterprize, and while agreeing with the governor

1. C P C- II. 1367 and 1369; Simth to Ben. Sel. Com., April 25, 1769 Ben Sel. Com. Progs, 1769, pp 271—280.

2. Cpe. II. 1368.

that "to undertake such a great expedition with so much haste is contrary to the principles of wise and great sardars", he informed him that he did not take part in the deliberations that preceded the imperial resolution, and pleaded his helplessness as the King and the Wazir "are masters".(1)

The negotiations with the Fort William authorities were still in progress and the preparations for the intended expedition were in full swing when the imperial enterprize received a rude shock from an unsuccessful attempt on Munir's life, made under the very shadow of the royal court. Although this venerable noble no longer held the post of premier, he was still quite influential, and his opposition to the proposal of the migration of the court to Delhi as well as the jealousy of other nobles and officers had made him unpopular and a conspiracy had been matured to murder him. On 10th May, 1769 while Munir accompanied by a few attendants, had reached the palace-gate after his return from an audience with the King, he was surrounded by some troops of the artillery department, who insolently demanded an increment in and arrears of their salaries, and were in their turn roundly abused by the minister with a quick tongue. One of the suppliants moved forward and put a petition of their grievances into the aged minister's hands, having drawn the latter's attention to it, placed his hand round Munir's neck and wanted to despatch him with a dagger, just then a devoted follower rushing up to the front of his master took upon himself the stroke of the dagger aimed at Munir. The historian Ghulam Ali Khan, author of Shah Alam Nama, who was with the minister, quickly snatched away the dagger from the murderer's hand, and his companion. Sidi Ballal gave such a powerful blow of his sword in the chest that it killed the villain then and there. Some of the deceased murderer's companions rushed to attack Munir and his followers; but they were cut down and the aged noble was lucky enough to escape unhurt. There was a great tumult outside the court owing to Munir's party as well as the artillery men getting ready to put their quarrel to the decision of the sword, and the English battalions under Smith had to be moved for the protection of the Imperial person. Shah Alam then sent for Munir and also Smith and through his intercession the dispute came to an end.(2)

Disgusted with the ways of some of the court officers and afraid lest there should be made another attempt on his life, Munir resigned his post and informed Verelst that as his "life is nearing its last stage and the infirmities natural to an old man have deprived him of the ability to undergo the fatigues of business and to struggle against the cares of life, he is desirous of taking final leave of His Majesty and retiring to the holy tombs where he will spend the rest of his life in penance and tranquillity". Neither the Emperor nor Shuja succeeded in persuading him to cancel his resolution, and his resignation was accepted on 5th. June when Shah Alam gave him leave of departure, conferring upon him his own royal suit and some jewels. Munir left for Patna the same day, enroute to Calcutta to live there under the protection of Company.(3)

While Shuja-ud-Daulah was making arrangements for the imperial expedition, there occurred a fearful mutiny in his army at Faizabad. On 24th May, 1769 some four thousand troops of three of the Wazir's oldest and best disciplined battalions under the command of Sayyid Ali, Khwajah Basant and Shaikh Chand, whose salaries had been three months in arrears, were seized with dissatisfaction and unrest and marching to their master's palace on the river side began to demand their salaries in a threatening manner. Their defiance of authority and fomentation

1. Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., May 9, 1769; Ben. Sel. Com. Progs., June 8, 1769. C P C, II. 1383, 1400, 1462.
 2. Ghulam Ali; II. 254-55; Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., May 10, 1769.
 3. C P C. II. 1402; Ghulam Ali. II. 256; Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., June 5 and 8. 1769.

of tumult and confusion compelled the Nawab to open fire from the heavy guns arranged on the battlements of the fort and to requisition help from the English troops stationed at Faizabad. At 12 o'clock during the night following 24th May, Shuja sent for Captain Harper and asked him to send a grenadier company immediately. Accordingly Lieut. Dacosta with two grenadier companies was deputed to reinforce the Wazir's troops who were still loyal to him, while the remaining part of the English battalion was kept in readiness for an emergency. About sunrise on the next morning the whole of the English battalion under the command of Harper, except two companies that were left to guard their magazine, moved up to the sandy expanse, opposite to the Nawab's gardens, where it was drawn up in accordance with Shuja's wishes, so as to overawe the rest of the wazir's army and to prevent it from joining the mutineers who had collected in the battle formations at a little distance from and in front of the English battalion, with their rear towards the river. As soon as this arrangement was complete Shuja ordered six of his big guns to play on the mutineers with such effect that very soon the whole of the two and best part of the third out of the three rebellious battalions were broken and dispersed, and the remaining offered to surrender and were allowed to return to their quarters. Quite a good number of the run-aways was overtaken and slain by a detachment of cavalry sent in pursuit of the mutineers through the town. By 11 o'clock order was restored and at about noon the Wazir's troops returned to their cantonments; Harper too with his battalion came back to his quarters, leaving grenadiers as a safe-guard of the Wazir's person. After the mutiny was thus quelled, Shuja's sons, relations, and chiefs came to offer their congratulations, and the Wazir expressed satisfaction at the timely assistance rendered by the English troops.

Shuja-ud-Daulah dismissed 1500 troops belonging to the three mutinous battalions and threw a good of the mutineers into confinement with a view to make a public example of those of them who were suspected to have been ring-leaders. He was afraid lest the mutiny should spread to the other battalions of his forces whose salaries too had fallen into arrears. But he made prompt arrangements for clearing one month's dues and fortunately the mutiny did not lead to "further consequences". The next result, however, was that "The orderly battalion which was the best in the Nawab's service is entirely reduced and dispersed, and about half of the other two are collected". The loss was so considerable that it was likely to take a long time and much attention on the part of the Wazir to supply the reduced strength of his army. Although Harper's battalion in the Wazir's pay by their presence and prompt compliance of the Nawab's orders exerted wholesome pressure on the mutineers, the mutiny was looked upon with satisfaction by the English and the Select Committee of Fort William agreed with Smith that it "May be deemed a favourable circumstance not only from its having occasioned an immediate reduction of his (Shuja's) military force", but also because of the opportunity of timely help the English (1) troops rendered to the Wazir.

Early in June Smith conveyed to Shah Alam the Select Committee's resolution of 19th May, agreeing to furnish him with an escort of two battalions, and the Emperor thereupon summoned the Wazir who arrived at Allahabad on 13th, June. Shuja advised immediate start, as it would be possible to reach Kora before the beginning of the rainy season and from that place push through with alacrity and with greater prospect of success, negotiations for an alliance with the Ruhelas and the Marathas, Kora being in close proximity to the dominions of the Bangash and the Ruhela chiefs. But although he disagreed with Verelst's view that the royal person would be exposed to danger during the expedition and replied to the governor that "By the grace of God he got the Empire of Hindustan, that by the grace of God it is

1. Harcharan, 501-b: Smith to Ben. Sel. Com. May 27 and June 2, 1769: Harper to Smith May 29, 1769: Harper to Ben. Sel. Com. May 25th, 1769: Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. June 26, 1769.

now free from all disturbances and that as long as the English troops and his other vassals are near his stirrup to serve him, he has nothing to fear", Shah Alam was against moving out during the rainy season. Moreover the Emperor, who had been greatly impressed by the discipline, training and strength of the Wazir's army during his recent visit to Faizabad, had now become somewhat suspicious of Shuja's ability to carry the expedition to a successful conclusion owing to the mutiny among his oldest and best trained battalions, which had naturally shaken his faith in the Nawab's military power. And above all, the governor's advice, administered through Munir to the effect that however fast money might pour into the imperial treasury the expedition would not succeed as the Emperor had agreed to make over half the country to the Wazir, went home, and this together with Munir's own earlier exhortations and Smith's endeavour to inflame the King's mind against Shuja produced a change in Shah Alam's attitude towards his prime minister. As Smith wrote to the Calcutta authorities on 26th, June, he had advised the Emperor to retain sovereignty, army and the territories of Kora and Allahabad in his own hands and not to confer them on the Wazir. The atmosphere of jealousy and suspicion engendered by the recent attempt on Munir's life which militated against a concerted action by the rival elements in the court, and the latter's failure to complete preparations and get together money for financing the enterprise also powerfully contributed to the postponement of the expedition. Harcharan Das, the author of the contemporary *Chahar-i-Gulzari-Shujai* blames the Fort William authorities for the miscarriage of the imperial plans, which charge is undoubtedly partly true.

Whether Shuja-ud-Doulah really wanted the Emperor to proceed on the expedition immediately, we have no means of ascertaining correctly. But he welcomed Shah Alam's decision to postpone it for the time being, as his presence was necessary in his own dominions for recouping the strength of his army that had suffered considerable reduction by the recent mutiny, and for completing fortifications of Faizabad that he had started sometime ago. Now he got his second son Mirza Saadat Ali Khan (who was destined to succeed to the *masnad* of Oudh as the fifth ruler of the dynasty appointed as deputy Wazir and left him at the court with Rajah Lacchami Narayan as his adviser, and himself returned to Faizabad. The young Mirza, then aged about 12 or 13 years, what at this very time betrothed to the daughter of Nadr-ud-Daulah, an influential noble, which further strengthened the Wazir's party at the court. Shuja's influence was once again re-established, as much of the important court business was transacted through Lacchmi Narayan and the Emperor was practically surrounded by his nominees and dependants.

LAST DAYS OF ANANDIBAI

BY

Mr. V. D. Rao, Bombay.

(Summary)

Anandibai, the wife of Raghunathrao, was at Kopergaon under strict surveillance and all her actions and conversations were from day to day reported to Nana Fadnis at Poona. Nobody was allowed to see her without written permit from Nana. A strict guard was posted at Kopergaon to watch over her.

Anandibai was in a complete state of dependence and had no free hand even in her religious observances. She constantly bewails her lot, which according to

1. C. P. C., II, 1520; Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., June 26, 1769; Harcharan, 502a.

2. Harcharan, 502a; Ben. Sel. Com. Progs., Feb. 16, 1770; Harper to Ben. Sel. Com.,

her was worsened after the death of Raghunathrao and prefers the treatment given to them by the English at Surat to that given by the Poona authorities.

Anandibai's daily routine at Kopargaon was just befitting a lady from a high family in retirement. She passed her time in religious observances and reading of religious books. She often complains that the Poona authorities deliberately avoid giving her proper facilities for her religious observances lest she would gain strength and power thereby. Nana accused her of necromancy but the family priest of the Peshwas negatives any evil motive on the part of Anandibai in her religious performances. The managers at Kopargaon often complained about the extravagance of Anandibai in religious observances but there does not appear to be much ground for their charge.

The family life of Anandibai at Kopargaon was not very happy. She had great confidence in her adopted son Amritrao and held him in admiration. Bajeerao, by reason of his unruly and licentious conduct was a constant source of worry for her. His one time tutor, Raghunathrao Thosar, who could alone control him does not seem to have been sent to Kopargaon inspite of the repeated requests of Anandibai in that behalf.

Anandibai maintains to the last that she was confined without any just cause and without proper enquiry and denies any complicity in the plot of murder of Narayanrao. She shows, on the other hand, a liking for Narayanrao.

Anandibai expresses her poor opinion about a number of leading personalities of the time like, Nana Fadnis, Sakharam Bapu. Towards the end of her life she developed a very excitable temper and often gave vent to uncontrolled bursts of fury.

A JOURNAL OF SIKH RAIDS IN THE UPPER GANGETIC DOAB, 29TH MARCH TO THE 9TH MAY, 1781

BY

Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, Lahore

(*Summary*)

The details of this nearly one and half month's campaign in the Upper Gangetic Doab are obtained from Persian newsletters collected by Claud Martin and preserved in the British museum, Or. 25,020.

A study of these pages will reveal to the reader on the one hand the dash and daring of the Sikhs, and weak and wretched condition of the Delhi Empire on the other. The Emperor Shah Alam II, did possess much capacity as a ruler. His chief minister, Najaf Khan's activity was negated by his rival and Emperor's favourite Abdul Ahad Khan.

This Sikh invasion of the Doab was caused by Najaf Khan's despatch of his grand nephew Mirza Shafi against them. The Sikhs harassed the Mirza so much that he could not advance far into their country and had frequently to fall back upon

his base on the banks of the Jumna. In order to retaliate, the Sikhs raided the upper Gangetic Doab, where nobody resisted them. Najaf Khan sent his lieutenants in their pursuit but owing to their mutual jealousy they effected nothing. Najaf Khan was ultimately forced to conclude peace with the Sikhs by granting them the right of rakhi, a tax of about two annas for every rupee of land revenue in the region extending from Panipat to Delhi and the upper Gangetic Doab.

A LETTER OF THE COUNCIL IN CALCUTTA TO MARQUIS DE BUSSY, 1784

BY

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, Patna

Since the forties of the 18th century, the political destiny of India came to be considerably influenced by the international complications among the European powers. Voltaire aptly observed: "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in American and in Asia". The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had their repercussion on contemporary Indian politics. As a matter of fact, India, then internally bankrupt in all respects and coveted as respective spheres of influence by the rival European nations like the English, the French and the Dutch, became one of the theatres of their hostilities.

In the autumn of 1780 the United Netherlands joined the league against England in the course of the American War of Independence⁽¹⁾. This led England to declare war against Holland and to capture her settlements, even in India⁽²⁾. The Dutch settlements of Chinsura, Buranagore, Cassimbazar, Kalkapur and Patna in Bengal and Bihar⁽³⁾, and Sadras, Pulicat and Negapatam in southern India, were seized by the English by the end of the year 1781⁽⁴⁾. Trincomali (Trincomalai) and Fort Ostenburgh (? or Olenburg), belonging to them on the island of Ceylon, was captured by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes on the 6th January, 1782⁽⁵⁾, "Together with a very large property in military stores and goods, also 150,000 dollars in specie and two Indiamen, ready for Europe⁽⁶⁾."

But the English were not destined to retain Trincomali long in their hands. England had been engaged in war with France also since March 1778⁽⁷⁾. A French force having joined Hyder Ali, the English lost Cuddalore and Permacoil in April

1. C. Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*, p. 279.

2. *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 7th March, 1782.

3. *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 3rd to 21st July, 1781.

4. Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, p. 20; Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, pp. 263-64; Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. IV, ps. 221-25.

5. We read in the works of Fullarton and Thornton that the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were captured by the English by the end of 1781. But Mill writes that these were "taken by storm" on the 11th January, 1782 (op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 225). It is clear from a reference in *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 28th February, 1782, that these were actually captured on the 6th January, 1782. Mr. Alexr. Rea (*Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras*, p. 30) writes that Trincomali was captured by the English in 1782; but he wrongly asserts that it was "restored to the Dutch the following year".

6. *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 28th February, 1782.

7. *Proceedings, Secret Dept., Fort William*, 13th July, 1778.

1782(1). Sir Edward Hughes was encountered by a French fleet under Mons. Suffrein, "One of the best naval commanders whom France had ever produced"(2), and Trincomali surrendered to the latter on the last day of August 1782(3). Further efforts of Sir Edward Hughes to get back that place proved to be of no avail(4).

But in the next year, the treaty of Versailles closed the war in which the European powers had been fighting. A treaty of peace and friendship between England and France was signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783, which was soon followed by a peace between England and Holland. These provided for the mutual restitution of conquests by the English, the French and the Dutch.

It is clear, however, from certain records that the mutual restoration of conquered territories in India was not effected immediately after the news of the pacification in Europe had reached here. The Dutch governments at Colombo and Batavia complained to the Council of Calcutta against this delay, caused particularly by differences of opinion between the Madras Government, and the representatives of the French in India about the cession of Trincomali to the Dutch. Mr. Hastings observed in his Minute, dated the 15th November, 1784: "..... that, as by the scrupulous Adherence of the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Letter of the Treaties concluded by Great Britain with France and Holland, both the Letter and spirit of those Treaties have been defeated and have been suffered by the President and Select Committee to remain unaccomplished to a long and indefinite period. As our Nation acquires no Advantage whatsoever by the Delay; but the French retain possession of every conquest made by them from us, together with the real and substantial possession of Pondicherry and the absolute possession of Trincomale. As the Dutch complain, and have a just plea to complain, that the suspension, which is in effect a direct violation of the Treaty concluded with their nation, is imputable solely to our Perseverance in demanding what the Marquis de Bussy, the Representative of the French Crown, has no authority to yield and is commanded not to yield. As the point on which the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have with much vehemence and firmness of Perseverance insisted, is only to be put in possession of the fort and territory of Trincomale, previously to its cession to the Dutch, and for the purpose of enabling them to make the cession. As the only reason for insisting on this point is founded on the Right of the Dutch to actual possession, which if left to the discretion of the Government of France, might be frustrated. As the Dutch have themselves waived their claim to this attention on our part to their Rights and desire to receive possession immediately from the French agents. As the Treaties themselves stipulate that all the cessions shall be made in the same epoch, which expression whether it be construed Period or Point of time, equally entitles Dutch Company to immediate possession As the adherence of the Representatives of our Nation to the claim of being put in possession of Trincomale, no Treaty in terms requiring it, may furnish, if not a suspicion, at least a Pretext to alledge it of an Intention on our part to keep possession after it shall be obtained, and may thereby furnishe a just Agreement for the French to withhold it entirely. As it can not fail to impress the Natives of India with a false opinion of the Decline of the British Power, to see the French, its great rival, after the close up of a desperate war, retain all the conquests made on our Nation, with all but former possession, which in effect is none, of those, which had been made by us on them. And finally, as the Faith and Honour of our Nation, which have been rendered liable by imputation by this unprofitable contention, have been now made to depend for their Preservation on this Government by the

1. Thornton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 267; Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 246-47.

2. Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 242.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

4. *Letter of Sir Edward Hughes to Lord Macartney*, dated 8th September, 1782; *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 23rd Sept., 1782.

References made to it. Governor General recommends in the spirit of the propositions referred to him that a letter be immediately written to the Marquis de Bussy, both requiring him in terms of his instructions to deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Colombo; and empowering him to constitute such Agents as he may think proper to perform so much of this process as may be construed to appertain formally to the representatives of our Nation; and at the same time to require him to deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as shall be deputed for that purpose to receive the same from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George....."(3).

The Governor General's Minute received the approval of the other members of the Council in Calcutta, and on the 23rd November, 1784, the following letter was written to Marquis de Bussy, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in India by Sea and Land :—

"We receive with satisfaction the kind testimony which your Excellency has afforded of the Treatment received by the French Prisoners from our Government. Our concern indeed for the comfort and happiness of the French within these provinces has not ceased with the conclusion of the War; it yet continues, and we have the pleasure to assure ourselves from the sentiments which your Excellency has expressed, and the Humanity with which your Excellency's character is so honorably marked, that your attention to the Prisoners of our Nation would not have been less deserving of our applause had the situation of the two Governments been reversed.

Having done ourselves the Honor to reply to your Excellency's letter of the 10th September, our next wish is to draw your attention to a subject which has been brought recently, and in a particular manner before us by appeals from the Dutch Governments of Batavia and Columbo, and is of interesting importance to your Nation and to our own as well as to the States of Holland.

We have persued and given due consideration to the correspondence that has passed between your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Lord Macartney and and the Select Committee of Fort St. George as low down as the 9th of last July (to which period only it has been yet transmitted to us) concerning the execution of the stipulations agreed upon in the late definitive Treaty between His Britannic and Most Christian Majesty, as far as the same respects the Restitutions to be respectively made by the Representatives of the two Crowns in India, and we have observed that, in consequence of some differences relative to the cession of Trincomale and orders received by your Excellency on this subject, an end was put to the Negotiations of the Commissioners appointed on the part of your Excellency, and on the part of Fort St. George, and question referred to Europe for a final decision on it.

We are persuaded that had your Excellency known that the powers possessed by this Government gave it a control over the Acts and Proceedings of the other Presidencies of the East India Company your Excellency would have represented to us any subjects of Difference that impeded the execution of the Definitive Treaty instead of referring the same to Europe. Possessing those Powers we wish even at this Time to meet the Desire which we are sure your Excellency possesses to carry into effect the stipulations of the Treaty if the same can be done under the orders which you have received from France, and without waiting for the Replies to your last Dispatches.

To remove therefore, all difficulties and to obviate all Misconception with respect to the intentions of the two Crowns in as far as the same respect the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King signed at Versailles on the 3rd Sept. 1783 and the Peace subsequently concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, we have the Honor to make the following Propositions to your Excellency for immediate effect.

1st. We propose that in conformity to the Instructions which you received by the French Frigate *Precience* from the Mareschal de Castries and which you have been pleased to state to the Presidency of Fort St. George, you do immediately deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its Dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Columbo.

2ndly. We propose that whatever Commissaries or Agents you may be pleased to appoint to deliver over Trincomale to the Dutch may be likewise considered as executing that Office on the Part of the British Nation, and we hereby declare them to be fully authorized for that purpose.

3rdly. That you deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George shall depute to receive the same, and that you receive from them their formal cession of Pondicherry.

If these Propositions should be acceptable to your Excellency, and you should agree to carry them into Effect, we request that you will send the necessary information thereof to the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George who are informed of them, and directed in conformity to them, to depute Agents from that Presidency to receive the Fort, Town, and Districts of Cuddalore, and to make a formal cession of Pondichery and the other Places and Districts which are by Treaty to be put into the possession of your Nation, and which are to be assigned over by the Nawab Walau Jah and the Rajah of Tanjore.

We have directed the President and Select Committee of Bombay to carry the Definitive Treaty into effect on the Western Coast on receiving advices from Fort St. George that it has been accomplished on that of Coromandel, and we have the Honor to assure you that we on receiving similar advices shall not allow the least delay in making Restitutions that are to be made in these Provinces; Commissaries will of course be appointed on the part of the French Nation to receive them,

We have addressed the Governor General and Council of Batavia and the Governor and Council of Columbo with information of these propositions, and do ourselves the Honor to enclose copies of our letters for your Excellency's Perusal.

The Propositions are so plain that we trust no questions can arise in respect to their intent, since the only object is to remove by an abbreviated process the difficulties which have hitherto precluded the execution of the Treaties by dispensing with the unnecessary Form of your delivery of Trincomale to the Representatives of our Nation, for the sole purpose of enabling the latter to make the like cession, which ought to be done at the same instant of time, to the Representatives of the Dutch. a species of accnuracy not only useless in itself, but obstructive of every substantial purpose of the Treaties concluded for the three National Establishments in India; but if any questions of doubt should occur, upon this subject we request that your Excellency's correspondence on such subjects may be immediately with this Government.

Your Excellency will pardon us for observing that after so explicit a Declaration of our sentiments, and after so incontestible a demonstration of our readiness to carry into immediate execution, on the part of our Sovereign and Nation, as well as the English East India company, the stipulations of the late Treaties of Peace, no Blame can henceforward attributed to the English for any delay in completing the wishes and solemn arrangements of our respective sovereigns and Nations. We wish to believe, indeed we are persuaded, that as you alone possess the means of carrying into instant effect this great and salutary work, no unnecessary delay will attend its complete accomplishment and we hope that you will be further pleased to transmit accounts of the final and happy accommodation of all embarrassments on this important subject by the earliest conveyance to Europe."

BACHCHA JAMADAR

BY

Mr. M. U. Jhoshi, Baroda

(Summary)

- (1) Muslim soldiers were employed by the Gaikwad rulers with full confidence.
 - (2) The early days of Bachcha, a Sindhi soldier. Bachcha distinguished himself in the Gaikwad's fight against Aba Shelukar.
 - (3) He rose to jamadarship and helped his master at different places in Gujerat.
 - (4) He won an elephant as a reward in a civil war
 - (5) Bachcha as a leader of the Mulukgiri campaigns against different states in Gujerat and Kathiawad.
 - (6) Bachcha in charge of Mahikantha. His contribution to the capture of Palanpur.
 - (7) As the Gaikwad's Resident at Rajpipla.
 - (8) The Arab and Sindhi soldiers distinguished themselves. The Mahomedan and Hindu soldiers served rulers of either estate without distinction of caste or creed.
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NELSON'S SERVICE TO INDIA

BY

Prof. William Coelho, Bombay,

The vague fears felt in 1940 of the possible attacks of the enemy against India, and the consequent relief after the heroic achievements of Sir Archibald Wavell in clearing the gates of India of the menace of the Italians have but one parallel in the past—Horatio Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile. Wavell's victory was the result of a carefully and elaborately laid out plan, his work was vaster and more complicated. But Nelson's achievement was meteoric and more spectacular, higher in its dramatic effect and affording a greater relief from the anxiety, not to say the panic created in India on the sudden news of Buonaparte's landing in Egypt and his intended attack on India. It is this historical setting of the tenseness of the situation in India and the hectic, and to some extent, belated preparations, rushed through to meet the invader, that brings into relief Nelson's service to India.

The months of June and July in 1798 marked the gathering of the war clouds in India as a result of the proclamation of the French authorities in Mauritius, to send help to Tippu Sultan against the English, and of the landing of French troops at Mangalore. Wellesley had sent instructions to the Madras and Bombay Governments to keep themselves in readiness for an eventual war with Tippu. Just then rumours percolated into this country about Napoleon's Eastern plans. A Basra packet arriving at Bombay on July 11, 1798 brought information from Spenser Smith, British Ambassador at Constantinople, that the French Government intended sending Buonaparte to take possession of Egypt "as an eventual means of attacking with advantage our possessions India"⁽¹⁾. Further information came from the same source on August 1, to the effect that a gentleman from Florence had heard that about 30,000 soldiers were to be conveyed to Alexandria, whence they were to march towards India to form a junction with Tippu's forces⁽²⁾. Still all this information was in the nature of rumours which were current in Eastern Europe in the month of April. These rumours did not create much of a stir in Bombay, though the presence of more and more French privateers on the West coast of India towards the close of the monsoon had made Government think seriously of a naval defence.

Though Buonaparte and the Directory had kept the Egyptian campaign a close secret—so that even when their grand fleet left Toulon on May 19th, its destination was not revealed—yet French designs were vaguely known to the British Government. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General-in-Council on June 18th about the departure of the Toulon fleet and its probable direction towards India via Egypt whence their troops could be sent to India. Being almost sure that their surmises were correct, they also wrote that arrangements were being made to send a fleet to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, that precautions should be taken immediately in India, and that, if necessary, Tippu should be attacked⁽³⁾.

The packet ship from Bassrah which brought the Committee's despatch on September 24, also conveyed the full account of the progress of Buonapart's expedition, his landing at Alexandria, and his first successes. Their information was gathered

N.B. Figures in the foot - notes refer to volume and page numbers of the Secret and Political Diaries of the Government of Bombay for the year 1738.

(1) 64,2713.

(2) 65,2901.

(3) 66-A, 4228 et. seq.

from reliable sources from Marseilles, Smyrna, Constantinople and Aleppo⁽¹⁾. Bombay now realised the full gravity of the danger; the more so as this information confirmed the verbal news they had received three days before on September 21st from the captain of a ship just returned from Suez, that Napoleon had landed in Egypt and that perhaps English battle-ships had contacted the enemy fleet⁽²⁾.

At once Bombay Government were up and doing. They were not, as was usual in such cases, content with playing the "Post Office" between the East and the West and sending the news to Calcutta and Madras. The danger was great and imminent. Though normally they should have obtained the previous permission from Bengal, under the present circumstances they deemed themselves justified in dispensing with it. They proposed to implement a bold scheme without loss of time. They cherished the hope that the Governor-General would ratify their scheme⁽³⁾, and in this they were not disappointed for ratification came in due course⁽⁴⁾, and the Bombay Government's authority was never questioned, perhaps because the Secret Committee had sent a special note to it along with the despatch to the Governor-General, to "keep a watchful eye upon every possible mode of the French reaching India."⁽⁵⁾

It had taken a month for the Basra news to reach Bombay, and at Basra it had already been a month old. Anything might have happened during these two months. Buonoparte might have reached Suez or the Gulf, and embarked on native barges and the lurking French privateers to land on the West Coast of India. Urgent meetings of the Governor's Council were held. Buonoparte's invasion of Egypt was, as James Stuart, Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, characterised it at one of the meetings, "the most important subject of deliberation that was ever probably discussed by this Board."⁽⁶⁾ When would the enemy land? May be Surat or perhaps Bombay; some said Goa and others mentioned Mangalore⁽⁷⁾. Emergency Indian battalions were to be raised at Surat and Bombay for local defence purposes. Wherever they might land, it would be well to be prepared, and plans were drawn up by the Commander-in-Chief. Bombay fort was to be immediately repaired; the Goa defences were to be strengthened with the help of the Bombay Government, "in case Buonoparte should persevere in his rash and desperate attempt;" and for that purpose Miguel de Souza de Linna a gentleman from Bombay, was to be sent to Goa, as the Ambassador of the Government of Bombay⁽⁸⁾.

Much more urgent than the defence of the West Coast of India, was the interception of the enemy in the Near East, if it could be done, and was not too late. Frantic appeals were sent from Bombay to Rear Admiral Rainier, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships in the Asiatic Seas, who was then at Trincomale, to rush north towards the Red Sea with his available cruisers⁽⁹⁾. But Rainier's help alone was not sufficient. Lord Macartney, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope was written to and asked to send as much military and naval help as he could spare⁽¹⁰⁾. Then Captain Wilson, Duncan's A. D. C., and Persian Translator was sent haste-post-haste with personal letters from the Governor to the Chiefs of Mocha, Jedda, Aden and Mecca, to appeal them not to give any help to the enemy, if he happened to come their way⁽²⁾. The Chiefs were also told among other things, that as regards the French "after having put their own king and his family to death in a manner the most barbarous and unjust, it is their wish and design to disturb the peace of all countries, and if possible to extirpate religion from the face of the earth"⁽³⁾. The

1. 66-A, 4243.
2. 66-A, 4199.
3. 66-A, 4310.
4. 69, 5692.
5. 66-A, 4228.
6. 67, 4575.

7. 66-A, 4487.
8. 67, 4575.
9. 66-A, 4310.
10. 66-A, 4470.
11. 67, 4559.
12. 67, 4559.

religious motive was brought in for propaganda purposes. Which true Muslim would help such people? Bombay was making all those hectic efforts while Wellesley was still unaware of the crisis. He had heard that the enemy fleet had left Toulon, but he was under the impression that it might come round the Cape and land forces at the Malabar Coast, and was that therefore arranging to get the Travancore troops mobilised(4).

The unprecedented panic with which the Government of Bombay was stricken, lasted only for a fortnight, for on October 9 authoritative and detailed news of Nelson's brilliant victory reached Bombay from Muscat. It was a huge packet that arrived, containing a graphic description of the battle of the Nile, together with French despatches intercepted by the British and news of Spencer Smith's hopeful negotiations with the Porte at Constantinople, to launch a combined attack against the enemy, and also the Sultan's edicts to the Chiefs of Arabia to resist French invasion(1). In the regular course of events, the packet should have reached Bombay much later, because the next ship was not due for a long time. But Samuel Manesty, the Resident at Basra, had no patience to wait for it. He despatched the packet with his last letter dated September 7, through Naorotam Ramachandra Joshi, the Company's Broker at Muscat, on whom a semi-consular rank had been conferred. Naorotam promptly sent the glad tidings to Bombay, but he could not help being a merchant, whatever consular duties he had to perform. He pleaded he had to fit out his own *dingy* for the purpose for which he spent Rs. 800 and he also recommended Rs. 50 *Janm* to the *Kerani* of the *dingy*(2). A month later it came to be known through Mehdi Ali Khan, the new British Resident at Bushire that the Broker was unscrupulously engaging special boats and putting the Company to enormous expenses, and that he had latterly started secret dealings with the enemy. He should have been court-martialled, but he was merely dismissed(3). At any rate for the time being Government had confidence in him and had no objection to paying his bill. After all, the great news was worth more than Rs. 850. Some time was required to translate all the French and Persian documents contained in the packet, but an abstract of the news was sent to the Governor-General immediately by special *dak* because Duncan "was unwilling to withhold from your Lordship a moment the communication of the foregoing event."(4)

The danger in the Near East had not completely disappeared. The British Navy continued to cruise in the Red Sea and the Gulf. The Presidencies intensified their preparations for a war against Tippu Sultan. Even the possibility of Zaman Shah's invasion through the Northern land frontiers, was not overlooked by the Government of India. Napoleon was still carrying on his campaigns in Egypt, and the neighbouring countries, and he did not return to Europe, until more than a year later in August 1799. The Porte, to the great relief of the British Government had at last joined the alliance, and the local chieftains had been roused into violent opposition against the enemy. Napoleon's fortunes and failures were keenly followed. Wild rumours and wishful prophecies continued to pour into Bombay. On the occasion of an insurrection in Cairo in October, 1798, it was rumoured that Napoleon, who had gone to pacify the mob had been shot by a young man supposed to have come from Bombay. A local gossip conveyed the impression to the British Resident at Aleppo that "*Buonaparte, requiescat in pace*, was killed at Cairo, along with 80,000 of his troops"(6). What big news if it were true! But Bombay Government had long experience in winnowing out small grains of truth from packet-load of trash.

1. 67, 4568.

2. 67, 4719, et seq.

3. 67, 4717.

4. 68, 5373.

5. 67, 4752.

6. 72, 282.

Whatever might have been the temporary gains of Napoleon, every responsible statesman and soldier in India knew, that the backbone of the enemy had been broken by the victory at the battle of the Nile. To invade India now was impossible. If Napoleon's hopes of maintaining communications, and a line of supply across the seas and over difficult terrain had been slender before, now even such hopes ended in smoke. He was himself not quite sure of the strategic value of his later adventures in Egypt. His thought was to go back and his anxieties how to go back⁽¹⁾. Wellesley knew, that India was now in all probability safe from the clutches of Napoleon. When describing the glorious naval battle to Tipu Sultan he wrote to him, "all communication being thus cut off between Egypt and Europe, the troops who have landed in Egypt, must in all probability perish, either by famine or by the sword"⁽²⁾. Admiral Rainier felt equally relieved: "the posture of affairs in Egypt after Sir Horatio Nelson's victory lessens the danger to be apprehended from that quarter and precludes the necessity of despatching any of the line of battle-ships that way for the present"⁽³⁾. Nelson himself was likewise fully aware of what he had achieved. Its significance was two-fold: it restored British prestige among the European nations and it stopped the danger to India, and this two-fold significance was recognised by a double reward: the peerage conferred on him by the Crown, and the gift of £10,000 given him by the Company.

When the battle was over, and when Nelson had hardly recovered from a serious wound on his forehead, received in the thick of the fray, he thought it his duty to send special despatches to the Government in England and the Government in India. The latter was entrusted to the care of Lieutenant Duval on August 9. The officer reached Aleppo ten days later with a note from Nelson to the British Resident, requesting him to send Duval to Bombay with the utmost haste "he being charged with despatches of the greatest consequence to our possessions in that country"⁽⁴⁾. Duval then travelled via Bhagdad and arrived at Basra on September 19. On the 27th of that month he left Basra by the cruiser *Fly* which, after touching Bushire for mail, arrived at Bombay on October 21st. Though it was a Sunday, the Governor and Council met to hear Duval's account of the battle, to read foreign news, and above all to open Nelson's personal letter to Duncan. This historic despatch is badly phrased and wrongly punctuated, because it was written by a man suffering from a severe wound, and unable to think clearly or write correctly. It has been utilised by Mahan in his biographical study of Nelson;⁽⁵⁾ but the full text of the letter together with Duncan's reply will be of great interest among students of history.

Nelson's letter to Bombay Governor⁽⁶⁾

(Kings ship) Vanguard,
Mouth of the Nile,
9th August 1798.

Sir,

Although I hope the Consuls who are ought to be resident in Egypt have sent you an express of the situation of affairs here, yet as I know Mr. Baldwin has some

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1. Cf. F. M. Kircheisen, *Napoleon*, Ch. VII.
 2. Montgomery Martin, *Wellesley's Despatches*, I, p. 321.
 3. 69,6125.
 4. 67,4734-36.
 5. A. T. Mahan, *The Life of Nelson*, I, p. 365.
 6. 68,5175.

months left Alexandria it is possible you may not be regularly informed, I shall therefore relate to you briefly that a French army 40,000 men in 300 transports with 13 sail of the line 11 frigates, bomb vessels, gun boats etc. arrived at Alexandria 1st July, on the 7th they left it Cairo when they arrived on the 22nd, during their march they had some actions with the Malmucks (Memlukes?) which the French call great victories as I have Bonaparte's despatches before me (which I took yesterday I speak positively). He says "I am going to send off to take Suez and Damietta" he does not speak favourably of either the country or people but there is so much bombast in his letters that it is difficult to get near the truth, but he does not mention India in these despatches, he is what is called organising the country, but you may be assured he is master only of what his army covers. From all the enquiries which I have been able to make I cannot learn that any French vessels are at Suez to carry any part of this army to India. Bombay if they can get there, I know is their first object, but I trust almighty God will in Egypt overthrow these pests of the human race. It has been in my power to prevent 12,000 men from leaving Genoa, and also to take 11 sail of the Line and 2 frigates. In short 2 sails of the line and 2 frigates escaped me. This glorious battle was fought at the mouth of the Nile at anchor. It began at sunset August 1st and was not finished at 3 the next morning. It has been severe but God blessed our endeavours with a great victory. I am now at anchor between Alexandria and Rosetta to prevent their communication by water and nothing under a regiment can pass by land, but I should have informed you that 4000 men posted at Rosetta to keep open the mouth of the Nile. Alexandria both town and shiping are so distressed for provisions which they can only get from the Nile by water, that I cannot guess the good success which may attend my holding our present position, for Bonaparte writes his distress for stores, artillery things for their hospitals etc., all useful communications at an end between Alexandria and Cairo, you may be assured I shall remain here as long as possible. Buonaparte had never yet to contend with an English officer and I shall endeavour to make him respect us. This is all I have to communicate. I am confident every precaution will be taken to prevent in future any vessels going to Suez which may be able to carry troops to India.

If my letter is not so correct as might be expected I trust for your excuse when I tell you that my brain is so shook with the wound in my head that I am sensible I am not always so clear as could be wished by whilst a ray of reason remains my heart and my head shall ever be exerted for the benefit of our king and country,

His Excellency the Governor of
Bombay.

I have etc.
Horatio Nelson.

The officer Lt. Duval who carries this despatch voluntarily to you will I trust be immediately sent to England with much recommendations as his conduct will deserve.

Bombay Government's reply to Nelson(1)

Sir,

The Governor having laid before us your favour of the 9th August we avail ourselves of the present opportunity to congratulate Your Excellency with heartfelt joy on the event of your late glorious victories of the enemy's fleet at Boquir.

Having communicated the intelligence in receipt by immediate expresses to the other parts in India in which quarters its importance is most essentially felt, we Sir, in particular cannot refrain from invoking in your Excellency's behalf those laurels as the fruit of it which your peculiar merits and exertions seem so justly entitle you to. We participate with more than common warmth in the general exaltations at this distinguished instance of our naval superiority, and we ardently pray that with the speedy re-establishment of your health you may long continue in a course of eminent services to be the further boast of your King, your country and your friends.

Lieutenant Duval who was charged with Your Excellency's despatch now returns to join the fleet. We beg leave to recommend this gentleman to your favourable notice, as well for the trouble he has undergone as his very laudable attention in causing an account of the victory to precede him to this place by a more expeditious route than he could himself travel. He has likewise been noticed in our despatches to the Court of Directors; to mark a further sense of his merits we have requested his acceptance of 5000 rupees besides ordering his returning travelling expences to be defrayed by the Company.

Bombay Castle,
24th October 1798.

We have etc.
(Duncan & Council).

THE WELLESLEYS AND MYSORE

BY

Mr. P. G. Sathyagirinathan, Mysore

(*Summary*)

The part played by the Wellesley brothers in shaping the destinies of modern Mysore. Mysore the field of Lord Wellesley's first great achievements and the training-ground of the Duke of Wellington.

Importance of the close of the eighteenth century in the history of England, of the British Empire, of India and of Mysore. The French menace. Napoleon in Egypt. Evil consequences in India of the 'non-intervention' of Sir John Shore. Attitude of the Nizam. The activities of Tipu Sultan. His embassy to Mauritius. M. Malartie's Proclamation.

Mornington's prompt measures. Subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, inaugurating a very valuable and lasting alliance. Correspondence with Tipu. The Third War with Mysore. Armies of invasion from the Carnatic and from the Bombay Presidency. The invasion of Mysore by General Harris. The siege of Srirangapatam and its capture. Death of Tipu and the end of the Sultanate of Mysore. Restoration of order. Appointment of a Commission for Mysore affairs including Arthur Wellesley, John Malcolm, Thomas Munro in it. Possible methods of disposal of the conquered territories. The Partition of Mysore. The attitude of the Mahrattas. The share of the Company and that of the Nizam.

Restoration of the Mysore dynasty. Installation of His Highness Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, Maharaja of Mysore. The appointment of Purniah as Dewan. The Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore. Colonel Close appointed first Resident.

The settlement of Mysore. The genius of Arthur Wellesley. The work of the Commander, the Resident and the Dewan. The debt that modern Mysore owes to the soldierly and statesmanlike labours of Wellesley.

THE TALE OF THE MYSORE COINAGE

BY

Mr. P. B. Ramchandre Rao, Bangalore

(Summary)

Mysore which has a marvellous history ever since ages peering through mythology, has reared on her bosom valient men and imosing ruling dynasties and formldable chieftains. Most of them adopted their own method of currency. A casual peep into past discloses the existence of a Mint, may perhaps been in a crude form. History also reveals that the payment of tributes to the conquering foes by the landlords, inferior rulers or subordinate chiefs was in the shape of Coins, gold and silver. The payment of wages to men employed in service assures the existence of Coinage in the shape of *varahas*, *hoons*, *hanams* in different periods of Mysore History.

During the last three centuries many local governors, zamindars, Poligar* and other Beder chieftains taking advantage of the weakness of the paramount power assumed the right of issuing money coined by themselves and thus filled the country with gold, silver and copper coins in plenty. Those that have escaped the melting device have been preserved in the museums and by the coin collectors and also by the ancient families.

The present State of Mysore had once formed part of the great Empire of Vijayanagar. The origin of the Rajas of Mysore is traced to the Heroes of a Chivalrous exploit. Vijaya and Krishna, two young Kshatriyas of Yadava descent, according to tradition, had left Dwaraka in Guzerat with a view to establish themselves in the South. On arriving at Hadi-nadu a few miles south east of the present City of Mysore, they learnt that the neighbouring chief of Karagahalli, who was of inferior caste, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the family was demanding the only daughter of the house in marriage. The two chivalrous brothers espoused the cause of the maiden in distress, fell upon the vicious chief and his retinue while at a banquet and slew them. Marching at once to Karagahalli, they surprised it and returned victorious to Hadinad. The maiden became the most willing bride of Vijaya, who assumed the title of Wodeyar and assumed the Government of the place and ruled from 1399 to 1422 A. D. Now as regards the title Wodeyar it is I should think that the title Wodeyar is a variation of Udaiyar—a Sanskrit term *Udaya* which means dawn, perhaps it also means to a rise, an *avatar*.

* See the account of "The Poligars of Mysore and their Civilization" by the Author. "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society", Bangalore.

In this way, the term "wodeyar" means to say that one who has taken an *avatar*. "Wodeya" in Kannada or Tamil means "to be in possession." It may thus mean that Wodeyar is a possessor of a valuable thing, possibly a big estate.

History tells us that the Generals of Allauddin crushed Ballala III in 1310, the ruling Yadava of Dwarasamudra commonly known as Hoysala Ballalas, captured Dwarasamudra and finally destroyed it in 1326 A.D. After this they retired to Tonnur in the north of Seringapatam and thence they maintained independent position and called themselves Danda Nayakas, meaning Generals. These generals are said to have issued Copper Coins having on the obverse the figure of an Elephant facing to the right with the word *sri* in Kannada, and legend in Kannada on the reverse.

The rule of the Wodeyar's in Mysore is an important feature. Innumerable coins were issued by them. The rulers of this dynasty have "inherited the cognisance of the Elephant from the Kongus and the Cheras, for it appears on numerous copper coins which are still current in the form of *one paisa* or small Elephant cash, and even Tippu, notwithstanding his love of innovation and contempt of everything Hindu, continued to use it on his copper coins, many of them large and handsome." As already said, of the Rajas of Mysore (Appendix I) the first to establish a mint, was Kantirava Narasaja Wodeyar 1638 to 1659 A.D. While he considerably improved and enlarged the fortifications of Seringapatam, he was the first and the foremost Raja of Mysore who had established a mint, in which was struck the *agala* (broad) *Kantirava hana*, Gold coin. This together with the *guld* (thick) *Kantirava Hana*, a recoinage by Dewan Purniah, was for a long time the established currency of Mysore. His coins were gold *fanams*, the unit of the system, called as *Kantirava hana*. These tinny pieces of gold represent the tenth part of the *kalanju** weighing, 5 to 6 grains. They were in use long before a metallic Kantiraya pagoda was struck. They were very much esteemed by the people in their dealings and were found in every part of the country. Captain Hwakes holds that *varaha* was only nominal in accounts but not actually in the shape of coin. Most of the accounts were maintained only in Kantiraya pagodas and payments were made accordingly for a pretty long period. The land rent consisted of that for land sown with one *kohugu* of seed, at rates equal to from 3 to 10 Kantiraya pagodas according to the nature of the soil. The pay of the administrative establishment was also made in Kantiraya fanams. The regulated pay of Attahavana or revenue peons was from 6 to 10 Kantirays fanams. Thus the Kantiraya pagoda was a standard currency in the 17th century. The fanam bears the image of Narasinha, an avatar of Vishnu, and various in weight from six to eight grains. Ten of these formed a nominal pagoda which was mentioned in the accounts of the period.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, 1672 to 1704 A.D. seems to have coined the *varaha*, which bore on the obverse Bala Krishna tramping the serpent Kaliya and on the reverse the nagari characters, "Sri Chikka Deva Raja". This ruler seems to have adopted the monogram *De* and had used it on the coins also.

The Poligars of Ikkeri who were worshippers of Siva struck the gold coins known as *Ikkeri varaha* with a weight of 53 grains and had their mint at Bednur. It is the Poligar Sadasiva Naik who had issued the Varaha known as the *Ikkeri varaha*. This coin bore on the obverse the figures of Siva and Parvati (Uma Maheswar) and on the reverse in nagari "Sri", an appellation of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, or Sadasiva in nagari. This representation of Siva and Parvati found a special favour

* The *kalanju* which is a normal unit of weight is known as *nata* in Bengali, *natacaranja* in Hindi, *gachaka* in Tamil, *gachakai* in Telugu and *gasaga* in Marathi. It is a seed of a prickly climbing species of *caesalpinia*. It is smooth, hard almost spherical, grey in colour, marble like and pleasing to look at, weighing about 50 grains. These seeds are valued for their therapeutic quality and medicinal purposes.

with several princes. Fourteen coins of Sadasiva Naik of Ikkeri were examined by the Archaeological Department of Mysore in the year 1909. These coins bore on the obverse the figure of Siva holding the trident in the right hand and the antelope in the left with Parvati seated on his left thigh, while on the reverse the legend of Sri Sadasiva in two or three horizontal lines in nagari characters. This obverse, which was derived from the coins of Harihara, Devaraya and Sadasiva Raya of Vijayanagara was also adopted subsequently by Hyder and Krishnaraja Wodeyar III Mysore. That these coins do not belong to Sadasiva Raya of Vijayanagara is clear from the absence of epithet *Pratapa* on the reverse. These coins were generally in circulation. After the conquest of Bednur Nagar, the heart of Ikkeri Poligars, in 1763 A.D. Haider Ali established his mint at Bednur, continued the same coin under the name *Haider Hun* or *Bahaduri Hun*, retained the Hindu figures of Siva and Parvati on the obverse but substituted his own Persian monogram for the word *Sri* on the reverse. After the conquest of Nagar, as there was abundance of gold and silver Haider established a mint at Nagar where in the year Swabhan (1763 A.D.) he coined *Haideri Hums* (gold pagodas) and silver rupees and fanams which bore the words "zarb-i-nagar", that is coined at Nagar. Thus the first gold coin was issued by Haider. The dies and other minting devices had become old and a new one was perhaps created and at the coin issued from the new press under the name New Bahaduri Pagodas. This same coin was more than once issued by Tippu.

A word might be said of Haider Ali. Haider though reduced the neighbouring states and rulers to subjection, still he retained the current coins of the areas with their own representations of various Hindu deities. The only change effected was the substitution on the reverse his monogram. Haider Ali issued really good coins known as pagodas, fanams or hunns, from various mints he had set up, such as Bednur, Dharwar, Patan (Seringapatam), Nagar, Calicut. The coins bear on the reverse the place where the coin was minted.

The first gold coin issued by Tippu, 1782 to 1799 A.D. was the *Ahmedi* or *Sultani Hun* (gold mohur) in 1783 A.D. at Seringapatam. This gold coin has a very imposing appearance. There were also half gold mohurs known as *Sidaki* and double mohurs known as *Emanmis*. The silver coins of Tippu were:

1. The *Haideri Nokara* or double Sultani Rupee.
2. The *Imami* or Sultani Rupee.
3. The *Abili* or Adha Rupayai (half rupee).
4. The *Bakhri* or Quarter rupee.
5. The *Jazi* or 1/8 rupee.
6. The *Kazmi* or 1/16 rupee.
7. The *Aizri* or 1/32 rupee.

Unlike Haider he (Tippu) introduced enormous changes in his system of coinage. "Nowhere else is Tipu's love of innovation better seen than in his coinage" says Mr. J. R. Henderson. His far greater variety of coinage resulted in the establishment of number of mints. These mint-towns the names of which were selected on account of their military or political importance, bear fanciful names specially invented for them by Tipu. Tipu did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II to whom he owed allegiance. By the issue of Coinage in his own name he displays that he had attained the royalty supreme.

The first silver coin was issued 1784 A.D. at Seringapatam. In the reign of Tippu, two distinct system of coins were in use, the mohurs and rupees of Muhammadans side by side with the pagodas and fanams of the Hindu sovereign. So far as Copper coins are concerned, Tippu extended his currency to a very great extent and issued coins of various denominations while Haider merely continued the existed Hindu coins of Mysore, such as the Elephant on the obverse and chequered pattern on the reverse.

On the fall of Tippu in 1799 A.D. the British Government restored the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore and installed on the throne, Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, 1799 to 1868 A.D. son of late Chamaraja Wodeyar. During the minority of the Prince, Purniah was made the regent, 1799 to 1810 A.D. The *Bahaduri Pagoda* was changed by Krishnaraja Wodeyar in 1811 A.D. the figures of Siva and Parvati retained by the nagari inscriptions "Sri Krishnaraja" was substituted for Haider's monogram. Again silver coins were also issued under the name *Raja Rupayi*, *Raja Ardh Rupayi* (half rupees), *Raja Puvai* (Quarter rupees), Silver fanams with the figures of Krishna on the obverse and "*Mayili hana*" in Kannada. What exactly is meant by the term "*Maili*" inspite of its popular expression is still obscure. In his days Persian language having been established as the official language, the coins struck by Krishnaraja Wodeyar bear the inscription in persian characters also.

The Copper Coinage of Mysore has a special feature of its own. The circulation was quite large. A small copper coin was struck by Krishnaraja Wodeyar which bore on the obverse the elephant with Sun and Moon symbols and nagari characters, "Sri Krishnaraja" on the reverse (Elephant Cash).

The smallest denomination of the copper currency was the *kasu* known commonly in Telugu, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalam languages. The term *Kasu* being known as a coin, terms like *pon-kas* (gold coin) *vella kas* (silver coin) *vella* means white, *semba-kas* (copper coin), *unai kas* (elephant coin) all in Tamil language. The *kasu* represents the cowrie of Bengal, eighty of which make a *pan* and is in fact a copper cowrie; eighty *kas* in like manner constituting a fanam or *pana*. The word *kasu* in English began to be termed as cash. Until the introduction of the rupee standard the accounts of the Madras Presidency were kept in pagodas,—formula being 80 cash=1 fanam and 42 fanams a star pagoda.

The later issues of the copper coins bore the value, such as V, X, XX cash in English, *Mayili kasu* 5, 10, 20 in Kannada respectively and with the word "Sri" introduced. Still later the English characters below the Kannada characters were put in and later on, the word *Cha* (for Chamundi) on the reverse was introduced. Again, the word *Cha* above the figures of the elephant on the obverse and the word "Sri Krishna" on the reverse was struck. Later again the Lion, the vehicle of Sri Chamundi, was substituted for the elephant and the coin inscribed with the value in terms of cash with the inscription on the reverse (Lion Cash). I introduce to the public this type of coin issued in 1836 A.D. by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, which is possession of my cousin, Kumari Indra, a collector of good coins. It bears on its obverse the figure of the fierce lion with its mane, with its tail uplifted, the characters *Sri* and *Chamundi* one above the other in Kannada and below the figure of Lion, the date 1836. On the reverse, along the circumference the inscription "*Meiles Cash, Mayili Kasu*" and the word Krishna in Kannada and Persian inscription "*zurb Mysore*", meaning struck at Mysore. The coin is almost round quite clearly designed. As far as I can gather this type of coin is perhaps a rare specimen. Further I introduced with permission three coins in possession of Jahagirdar Krishna Rao of Mysore, an ancient family, who has really a large collection of good coins. I shall have the occasion to reproduce in a short note at a future date his entire collection.

In 1691 A.D. the Poligar of Chitaldrug is said to have issued a pagoda known as *Durgi varahas*, coined at Chitaldrug which bore on the obverse a bull figure representing goddess Durgi, and on the reverse in Nagari characters of the name of the Naik. In Chitaldrug the share of the land produce to Government was no more than one third, but there was an additional tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Durgi pagoda on each plough. "The Durgi pagoda constituted the bulk of these current in the Ceded Districts at the time they were brought under British Administration..... They are known by the name of Durga, Guramkonda, Harpanhalli old and new, Chitaldurgi, Sravapore etc., etc. They were all much alike, presenting only slight differences recognisable by the money changers, which enabled them to assign them to the localities where they were said to have been struck." In the year 1902 a lot composed of 67 gold pagodas of the type known as *Durgi varahas* was found. These coins have the figure of Durgi on the obverse and on the reverse an inscription in Nagari characters, "Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya." These coins were evidently struck by Naiks of Chitaldrug who were feudatory to Vijayanagar, though originally they were of Vijayanagar origin.

Kempe Gowda, the founder of the principality of Bangalore, is said to have issued gold coin under the name of *Kunigul hana*. The Poligar of Kodikonda in Bellary once formed part of Mysore, coined gold coins known as *Subbaraya fanams* in three forms of *Naga*, (serpent), recumbent each with hood expanded and with three heads, with the word *Sri* on the reverse.

The Poligar of Chikballapur, Dodballapur and Nandidrug appear to have issued fanams. History tells that in 1765 A.D. the Poligar of Chikballapur fled away to Nandidrug where he was forced to surrender to Haider's general. In 1770 A.D. the fastness of Nandidrug was recovered by the Maratha chief Madhava Rao. To the Marathas of Gurramkonda are attributed the fanams bearing the figure of a man on horseback and a seated figure of a man on horse somewhat similar to those on the coins of Travancore. Another common coin bearing the inscription in Marathi, "Sri Raja Siva Chatrapati", was also in circulation. Evidently this coin was an issue by Sivaji who alone had that distinguished title "Chatrapati Sivaji."

Until 1853 A.D. the standard coin was the *Kantirayi pagoda*, but after that date, the Rupee. The calculation table of the former was as follows: $16=1$ fanam and 10 fanams $=1$ Kantirayi pagoda.

The *Bahaduri pagoda* and the Madras and Surat rupees also were in circulation at different rates of exchange. One *Kantirayi pagoda* was equivalent to Rs. 2-14-0 and a *Bahaduri pagoda* about Rs. 4/- But the former was a nominal gold coin while the latter was in circulation as a coin though in a small quantity.

The Mint which was situated at Bangalore in 1834 A.D. had been minting only the cash which was a copper coin. Even this was also stopped in 1843 A.D. owing to its saturation in the circulation, and not revived later, as the government accounts were from 1854 kept in Rupees, and further the Government began to withdraw all coins except the rupee currency from circulation.

It is surely a question as to why the Mysore Coinage was stopped. According to the Article 18 of the Instrument of Transfer of 1881 A.D. the Coinage of Government of India was made a legal tender and Mysore Coinage stopped. The article reads thus:

“The coins of Government of India shall be a legal tender in the said territories in the cases in which payment made in such coins would, under the law for the time being applicable to in force, be a legal tender in British India; and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived.”

Likewise the ban was imposed on all subsequent treaties concluded by the rulers of Mysore. Is it under the orders of the Imperial Government or of its own accord the coinage was long discontinued? From 1831 to 1881 A.D. the British Commission which assumed the paramount authority took over the entire management of Mysore and during that period the Mint did exist and the coins were issued under the Raja's name. No doubt the British coins were also in circulation along with the Mysore coins. The Maharaja was most cordial to the Commission. The Maharaja's sovereignty over Mysore was never denied and the restoration was only a matter of time and course.

The copper mint which was in Mysore was removed to Bangalore in 1833 A.D. and Mysore coinage was finally abolished in 1843 A.D. The copper coins in circulation were also withdrawn in 1863 A.D. and thus the chapter of Mysore Coinage was closed. Amidst various limitations imposed on one of the largest of the Indian States, covering nearly 30,000 square miles with a population of almost five millions persons, governed by a Prince who is to be saluted with the maximum number of guns, it was ordered by the supreme Government that the Mysore Coinage shall not be revived. One sincerely hopes that Mysore regains the Coinage of her own under the aegis of our Sovereign.

APPENDIX

Various Coins of Mysore—GOLD SILVER & COPPER

	Name	By whom coined
GOLD	Kantiraya Hana	Kantirava Narasa Raja
	Chikka Devaraja Hana	Chikka Devaraja
	Ikkeri Hana	Poligars of Ikkeri
	Bahaduri Hana	Haidar Ali
		See article for Two Types.
	Sultani Hana	Tippu Sultan
	Sultani ashrafi or Ahmadi Mohur	"
	Siddiki—Half Mohur	"
SILVER	Nokhara or Haidari Double Rupee	Tippu Sultan
	Imami or Sultani Rupayi	"
	Sultani Adha Rupayai Abidi	"
	Bakhiri, Quarter Rupayi	"
	Jafari - 1/8 rupee	"
	Kazimi—1/16 "	"
	Khizri—1/32 "	"
	Raja Rupayi	Krishna Raja Wodeyar
	Arda Rupayi	" "
	Pavali - 1/4 Rupee	" "
	Adda Half fanam	" "
	Haga Quarter fanam	" "
COPPER	Innumerable Coins were minted—Elephant Cash, Lion Cash, Chamundi Cash. These coins were known as duddu or dubs in Hindustani (paise) and kasu or cash. Some of them were known as Mayili kasu with its value 5, 10 etc.	

In addition there were the gold coins of Kempe Gowda, and other rulers or chieftains, Chikballapur, Doddaballapur.

THE END OF WALAJAHI RULE

BY

Mr. Muhammad Ghouse, Hyderabad-Deccan
(Summary)

خاندان والا جاہی کی حکومت کا خاتمہ

موضوع متذکرہ صدر پر جو مضمون لکھا گیا ہے اس میں تین باتوں کو واضح کیا گیا ہے

۱۔ خاندان والا جاہی نے اہل انگلستان سے اپنی دوستی کا کیا حق ادا کیا

۲۔ اہل انگلستان نے اس خاندان کے ساتھ دوستی اور خیر سگالی کے کیا وعدے کئے

۳۔ خاندان والا جاہی کی حکومت کا خاتمہ کس طرح عمل میں آیا۔

۱۔ کرناٹک کی سرزمین میں اہل انگلستان نے اپنی برتری کی کوشش شروع کی تو نواب انور الدین خان کے خاندان نے ایک سچے دوست کی حیثیت سے وہ سب کچھ کیا جو دوستی کا مقتضی ہے، مثلاً:-

الف۔ دوپلے نے مدراس پر قبضہ کر کے ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے ملازموں کو بے خانماں کر دیا تو نواب انور الدین خان نے اپنے لڑکوں کو یکے بعد دیگرے فرانسیسیوں کے مقابلے کے لئے روانہ کیا اور مدراس واپس لے کر انگریزوں کے سپرد کر دیا۔

ب۔ نواب انور الدین خان کے انتقال کے بعد ان کے فرزند نواب محمد علی خان والا جاہ نے فرانسیسی کارندوں کا پورا مقابلہ کیا

ج۔ نواب محمد علی خان نے کرناٹک میں متعدد مواضع ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے کارپردازان کے سپرد کر دیے۔

د۔ کونٹ لالی نے مدراس کا محاصرہ کر لیا تو نواب والا جاہ نے مقابلہ کرنے والی فوج کی قیادت کی اور سامان جنگ اور رسد کو بے دریغ مہیا کیا۔

ه۔ ونڈی واش کے معرکہ اور پانڈی چری کو فتح کرنے میں نواب والا جاہ نے کوشش کا پورا پورا حق ادا کیا

و۔ بنگال کی مہم سر کرنے میں بھی نواب والا جاہ نے اپنی رفاقت کا حق ادا کیا

ز۔ سلطنت آصفیہ سے انگریزوں کی دوستی قائم کرانے میں بھی نواب والا جاہ نے ہی سعی کی تھی۔

۲۔ نواب والا جاہ کی اس تائید و اعانت کی وجہ سے برطانیہ کے کنگ اور کرفائٹک کے صوبہ دار میں براہ راست روابط دوستی قائم ہوئے۔ اس زمانہ میں ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے کارپردازوں کی جانب سے جو عرائض نواب والا جاہ کی خدمت میں گزارنے جاتے تھے اسکے متعدد اقتباسات بطور نمونہ پیش کئے گئے ہیں۔ ان عرائض اور دوسرے کاغذات کے ذریعہ یہ اقرار کیا گیا کہ یہ کرکشن کی جائیگی کہ ریاست کرفائٹک خاندان والا جاہی میں ہمیشہ برقرار رہے۔

۳۔ نواب محمد علی خان والا جاہ کے انتقال پر ان کے فرزند نواب عمدۃ الامرا جانشین ہوئے۔ چند ہی سال کی مدت میں وہ مرض الموت میں مبتلا ہوئے، نواب صاحب جس وقت حالت نزع میں تھے ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کی فوج کے ایک حصہ نے توپ خانہ کے ساتھ محل پر اپنے پہرے قائم کردئے، نواب عمدۃ الامرا کا انتقال ہو گیا تو ان کے فرزند نواب علی حسین خان تاج الامرا نے اپنے والد کی وصیت اور رواج خاندان کے بموجب حکومت اپنے ہاتھ میں لی اور مسند نشین ہوئے۔ گورنر مدراس نے اپنے چیف سکرٹری کے توسط سے نواب تاج الامرا کو یہ کہلا بھیجا کہ نواب عمدۃ الامرا نے ٹیبو سلطان کے ساتھ کمپنی کی مخالفت میں مراسلت کی تھی، اس لئے لارڈ ولزلی گورنر جنرل کا حکم ہے کہ ملک کرفائٹک ضبط کر لیا جائے، اور سنہ ۱۷۹۲ ع کا معاہدہ ٹوٹ گیا۔ اگر نواب تاج الامرا اپنی خوشی سے حقوق ملک سے دست بردار ہو جائیں تو ان کی جانشینی کا اعتراف کیا جائیگا، اور کچھ حصہ مقرر کر دیا جائیگا۔ اسپر نواب تاج الامرا اور ان کے مشیروں نے بہت بحث کی، الزامات کی تردید کی اور ملک دینے سے صاف انکار کر دیا۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ گورنر مدراس نے نواب تاج الامرا کے ایک چچازاد بھائی نواب عظیم الدولہ سے گفت و شنید شروع کی اور اپنے شرائط منوالئے۔ ان کو نواب کرفائٹک تسلیم کر لیا گیا اور ان سے جدید معاہدہ عمل میں لایا گیا۔ ہر چند ان واقعات پر ان خاندان، علماء اور عامۃ الناس نے احتجاج کیا لیکن کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوا۔ نواب تاج الامرا کے سب مشیر اور عہداران سے علیحدہ کر دئے گئے اور خود ان کو عملاً نظر بند کر دیا گیا، اسی حالت میں، چند ماہ کے بعد بہ ہزار حسرت و افسوس ان کا انتقال ہو گیا۔

THE PAIK OR THE MILITIA REBELLION OF 1817 IN ORISSA

BY

Prof. G. S. Das, B. A., Cuttack.

At the time of the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the country was really being dominated by two overlords, each supreme in his own sphere and each exercising a sway in his special capacity all over the territories of Orissa. On the one hand there were the Marhattas, the political overlords, who carried on the administration, collected the rent from the cultivators of the soil, manned the forts and appointed military officers in various parts for the protection of the people, on the other hand there were the Gajapatis, the Rajahs of Khurda whose forefathers had established the great temple of Jagannath and who were by virtue of their ancient status the hereditary superintendents of the temple which attracted pilgrims from the remotest parts of India by whom the Gajapaties were held in the highest respect, who exercised a sovereignty and exacted an allegiance from the rulers of the garjats, the chieftains of the mountainous tracts and of the coastal districts who had not been fully subjugated by the Marhatta rulers of Orissa. The Marhattas had long desired to put an end to this spiritual overlordship, they had tried to replace the idol of Jagannath by the idol of Bhairab, they had wrested four valuable and prosperous districts (Chabis-kud, Sirai, Lembai and Rahang) from the Rajahs of Khurda, they had encouraged the Raja of Parlakimedi to claim the title of Gajapati and reduce the Raja of Khurda, they had even collected tax from the pilgrim who visited the temple at Puri and although they paid a part of this income for carrying on the worship of the god they adopted all possible means for uniting in themselves the political and religious overlords of the country.

When the British army advanced on Orissa and occupied Puri, they naturally desired to obtain the help of the Rajah of Khurda in their attempt to reach Cuttack from Puri.

It is alleged that they promised to the Rajah that the four Pargannahs which the Marhattas had wrested from him would be restored to him, and on the basis of this alleged promise the Rajah deputed certain persons who had been asked to show the way to the British army advancing on Cuttack. These persons did not discharge their duties too faithfully and when Orissa was conquered and the Commissioners sent by the authorities had been established at the fort of Barabati, the Rajah of Khurda naturally wanted to have back the four Pargannahs which had been promised to him and when he found that the Pargannahs would not be restored, he attacked *Butagan* near Pipli, established his own Mokadam Achuta Barik in the village and tried to wrest these four Pargannahs from the clutches of the British. The Rajah was easily subdued, his estate at Khurda was confiscated and the Rajah was thrown in prison. The British were at this time afraid that on the one hand the restoration of the four Pargannahs would mean a loss of income to the British company and an accession of strength for a person who was claiming to be the spiritual overlord of Orissa which was certainly undesirable from a political point of view and they were also afraid on the other hand that the disaffected Rajah when once he realised that the four Pargannahs would never be restored to him would join hands with the Marhattas and prove a thorn on the sides of the British during the many wars with the Marhattas which were imminent. The Rajah was kept in prison for three years and was released in the year 1807, but his estate was not restored to him although the matter was considered from time to time and instead he was allowed to continue as the Superintendent of the Jagannath temple and was given a Malikana out of the revenues of Khurda.

For a certain period after this, Khurda continued to be quiet, the rent was collected from the tenants through Sarbarakars, the Paiks who held lands in lieu of military service under the old feudal system were disbanded and they were allowed to hold the lands on payment of specially low rates of rent, the Rajah of Khurda took of his residence at Puri and all cause of disaffection and centres of trouble seemed to disappear for the moment.

A rebellion suddenly flared up in 1817; some police stations were attacked and burnt, some Sarbarakars were killed, the Rajah of Khurda was declared to have been restored to his status as the overlord of Orissa, and information was received that the leader of the rebellion was carrying on some negotiation with the Pindarie chiefs and there was trouble in the distant coastal districts of Orissa, in Kujang where there was actual uprising and in Kanika where the Rajah was restive. Whether this rebellion was a local disturbance due to the disaffection of a powerful individual or whether this was an attempt to make Orissa independent of the British masters has not been correctly determined and it is necessary to assess the evidence regarding the actual circumstances that happened and come to some conclusion regarding the matter. On the one hand certainly the disaffection centred round an individual, but on the other hand the rebellion was widespread and had echoes over distant parts, so that it would not be unfair either to class it as an unrest having little political significance or to place it under the category of a war of independence.

At the outset, it has to be remembered that the Rajah of Khurda had very little to do with the rebellion and he personally took no part in any of the activities of the rebels. He did not even lend any countenance to the efforts to put him on the throne of Orissa, and when the rebellion was quelled no drastic action was taken against him. This by itself would show that the unrest was not in the nature of a rebellion, far less a war of independence, because the chief personage who was set up to oppose the authority of the British rulers never took the matter in the light of a rebellion by which he may regain the territories that he had lost. Another reason to regard the uprising as only a temporary unrest is that the rebels marched primarily not against the British rulers and British agents but against their own countrymen some of whom had been guilty of causing personal loss to the leader of the rebellion and through whom he sustained personal injury and insult. The rebels at Kujang similarly merely looted and burnt the houses of the neighbouring people and there was no organised attempt to fight against the British, no conception of a war of independence in which the first thing to be done should have been to placate the countrymen and gain strength and momentum for a fight against foreign domination.

The rebellion as we have said was however widespread. The Paiks of Khurda were the leaders of his rebellion, and the Paiks of Kujang and of many other coastal tracts joined to form a mighty rabble who caused trouble in the outlying tracts. It is noticeable that the upheaval was not a continuous uprising, nor a sustained effort, but merely of the nature of a sporadic outburst by persons who mainly made a political grievance out of personal wrong.

After Khurda had been confiscated, it was proposed to let it in farm. The estate was big and compact and in the Oriya year 1217 corresponding to 1809 A. D. it was let in farm to a Bengalee adventurer named Shamanund Rae. He immediately sought to double the rentals and practised oppressive extortions to such an extent that thousands of the Khurda rayats fled from the country and their lands remained fallow. The farmer could not pay the revenue for which he had engaged, he was thrown in jail, his other properties were sold off to pay the arrears of revenue and

Khurda returned again to the Khas management of the British. Immediately after this Mirza Mehendy was appointed as the police Darogah of Khurda. This police officer had just been driven out of Puri by the clamours of the people whom he had oppressed and it was proposed to have him posted at Arakhpur but to prevent him from being ill-treated by the people, he was posted to Khurda instead, where in the unsettled state of the country his oppression were so violent that the people became extremely restive under daily indignities which they suffered at his hands.

Meantime the rental of the tenants was sought to be progressively increased and as early as 1813 responsible collectors began to protest against the attempt to increase the rental in the face of the extremely miserable state of the tenants. The relation between the Rayats capacity to pay and his affection towards the political authority had not been realised at this early stage and as the authorities had been habituated to deal directly only with the rich middlemen and as the only experience they had gained in Bengal in revenue affairs, countenanced this system, they did not feel that the tenants were unfairly treated at any stage.

The Paiks of Khurda held land rent free and were liable to render military service to the Rajah of Khurda. When the estate was being assessed for revenue, it was deemed expedient to disband the Paiks and to relieve them of their military duties and exact rent for the lands they enjoyed. This was sound administrative policy, but the Paiks regarded this as an intrusion on their ancient rights and they were not prepared to pay regular rent on particular dates in lieu of occasional military service or light duties twice or thrice in the year. At this time there were nearly a hundred petty chieftains in the coastal areas, such as Kokolo, Gohia, Joney and others where also there were numerous Jagirs held by Paiks and these Paiks also were assessed to rent and the estates also being assessed to full revenue, many of the Khandaits found that their lands were sold away to unscrupulous outsiders by a very harsh operation of the Revenue Sales law.

The biggest of such transfers for arrear revenues was that of Killa Rorung which had been farmed out to Jogabandhu Bidyadhar Mahapatra who held the Estate as Zamindar in 1804 and was recorded as such in the triennial Settlement of 1805.

In 1803 after the conquest of Orissa, the British commissioners sought to utilise their experiences of the Revenue system of Bengal to realising the rent and effecting a rent settlement of the province of Orissa. Very naturally many Bengalee officers were recruited from Bengal to carry on the administration of Orissa and they were lured not merely by the chance of service in the salubrious climate of Orissa and in the sacred city of Puri but they were also tempted by the opportunity to get rich which the upheavals consequent on a conquest placed before them. Many adventures migrated from Bengal and among these there was a wealthy gentleman Krishna Chandra Singh who was appointed as Dewan of the first Magistrate of Puri, but although he resigned the very next year, he continued to stay in Orissa. This gentleman is the founder of the present Paikpara Raj family and he was one of the principal figures in the Paik rebellion of Khurda. After he resigned his post, a relative of his Chandra Parshad Singh was appointed Sheristadar in 1804 and continued in this post till 1811 and during this period also his brother Gaurharee was Tahasildar of Puri and had been entrusted with the task of supervising the revenue collection in the outlying parts of the country. It must be remembered that during this period Puri was the capital of Orissa, the seat of the Collector, while the treasury continued to be in Killa Barabaty and the system was that the landlords could either pay the revenue assessed on their estates at Cuttack or at Puri and they

could also pay their revenue to the Tahasildar, a receipt from whom was a sufficient acquittance so far as the landlord was concerned. Krushna Chandra and his two brothers hatched a conspiracy by which they could secure a large Zamindari in Orissa and Jagabandhu Bidyadhar fell easily into this trap and was one of the biggest victims of the surreptitious practices by which more than half the Oriya Zamindars were completely ruined.

During this period as we have said before, the four pragannahs of the Rajah of Khurdah, namely Chabiskud, Lembai Serai and Rahang were held khas by the Government and the estates were not farmed out as usual and the Collections were credited to the Sadar Treasury through the Sheristadar. At this time also it was customary for the landlords to pay their revenue through the Tahasildar who often collected the amounts from the Mufassil Kacheris and as this meant a saving of trouble and expense on the part of the landlords, they preferred payment through the Tahasildar to direct payment into the Sadar Treasury which was often 40 to 50 miles off from their Kacheris.

Krushna Chandra as we have seen conceived the idea of acquiring a Zamindari property in Orissa. He found that it would be easy to engage for the Pragannahs Chabiskud and Sirei and Rahang and that it would be a very compact estate if he could acquire the Zamindari rights of Rorung which however was possessed by a powerful Oriya Zamindar held in high respect throughout Khurdah. He theretofore hatched a plan for the acquisition of the Rorung Estate. The revenue of Killa Rorung was paid as usual through the Tahasildar and the first step in the conspiracy was to pay this amount not under the head of Rorung but under Rahang which was held Khas, the difference in pronunciation between the two being too slight for the fraud to be discovered by Englishmen who left everything to these rapacious adventurers. Killa Rorung thereafter practically disappeared from the Collector's Register and Pragannah Raoang began to be shown as Rahang Ogeria i.e. Rahang etc. and under this anything could be shown in the subsequent transactions.

This continued for several years. The next step was to induce the Collector to farm out the four Pragannahs and Lakhminarayan a creature of Chandra Prasad Singh and really a benamdar for him was the farmer who was allowed to engage for the Pragannahs Chabiskud, Sirei and Rahang Ogerah and under this new arrangement also Jagabandhu was induced to pay revenue through the Tahasildar and obtained receipts in which however his status was not fully expressed and the Collections of Rorung were shown under Pragannah Rahang and Jagabandhu was described as a Sarbarakar for Rorung. In 1807 the Pragannahs of Sirei Chabiskud and Rahang were farmed out to Lakhminarayan for one year and in the next year another benamidar was found in whose name the three Pragannahs were farmed. During all this time Krushna Chandra, Gourhari and Chandra Prasad were acting together. At the end of 1809, the three pragannah Chabiskud, Sirei and Rahang Ogerah with the reveaue demand for Rahang augmented from Rs. 24700/- to Rs. 28000/- because of the inclusion of Rorung and all the three Pragannahs were purchased by Babu Krushna Chandra Singh. This transaction became necessary to put a stamp of legality over the whole transaction, but it is noticeable that all though the triennial settlement with Jagabandhu had not expired, the estate of Rorung which was really a separate estate for which Jagabandhu had engaged was included under Rahang, was let out in farm and was exposed for sale for arrears of revenue as part and parcel of Rahang.

For several years after the sale, Krushna Chandra, while keeping up his title allowed a Malikna to Jagabandhu and did not disturb his possession in any way and Jagabandhu continued to be described as the proprietor of Killa Rorung in the official

correspondence. Four years after the sale however, in 1813 Krushna Chandra Singh boldly stood forward for an engagement of Killa Rorung. Jagabandhu objected to this. An enquiry was instituted and the fraud was detected. A separation of the two estates was ordered but on further representations, Jagabandhu was in June 1814 referred to the Civil Courts to have his rights vindicated and Krishna Chandra filed a suit next year against the Government alleging that as he had paid in the Revenue Sale for both Rahang and Rorung he could not be arbitrarily deprived of the latter estate.

Jagabandhu Bidyadhar thereafter went away, driven from his estate by one Jagabandhu Patnaik who had been his own agent and who now as the farmer of the estate Krushna Chandra dealt harshly and cruelly against his former master. It was an accident that Jagabandhu Bidyadhar thus was driven into rebellion at about the same time as the disaffected Paiks were in search of a leader. The Paiks of Kujang were chafing because of the restrictions imposed upon them in the matter of depredations into the neighbouring estates, the Khandaits of the coastal districts were unhappy over the sale of their estates and the revenue assessed on them for what they used to enjoy for a mere quit rent and Peshcus, and into the midst of these disaffected hordes used to military adventure was thrown Jagabandhu Bidyadhar who attracted the sympathy of all the people because of the loss which he had suffered by the machinations of a foreigner.

The rebellion gained immensely in strength by the accession of Jagabandhu Bidyadhar. The very first victims of the rebellion were Jagabandhu Patnaik who had driven his master from his home and Charan Patnaik, a Sarbarakar of Khurdah who had given false intimation that Jagabandhu was intriguing with the Pindarees. There was an irruption of the Pindarees into Ganjam about this time and the Paiks also marched to Banpur southwards to Ganjam, but there is no evidence that the Paik rebellion was in any way connected with the unrest of the country due to the Pindarees. The Paiks also marched to Puri, used violent language towards Government officers, attempted to place the Rajah of Khurdah at their head, called upon the Garjat and Killajat Chiefs to join the rebellion. The Rajah of Khurdah in his fallen state did not venture to countenance the scheme, the garjat chiefs all kept quiet, the Rajah of Kanika assembled the leading rayats of his estate and proposed formally to them to take up arms against the British Government, but as the Paiks did not venture to run the risk, the Rajah kept quiet and continued to be loyal. The Paiks of Kujang however became restive and began to plunder and ravage the neighbouring parts and when the first successes of the rebel Paiks against the small detachments sent to quell disorder reached the ears of the people, the Paiks from Ghumsar joined in the fray. Loot was in the air and in the unsettled state of the country, the people came forth ready to loot and plunder irrespective of consequences. For a time the countryside was terrorised and the fear of the paiks brought exaggerated reports of their depredations from all sides.

The disturbance however was easily quelled. The Paiks, although they belonged to a feudal military system were not an organised army under professional commanders. Their numbers made them formidable but their numbers also brought in confusion and made them merely a disaffected rabble. With the first strong action against them the Paiks melted away, Jagabandhu Bidyadhar was killed and the Paiks of Kujang and Ghumsar quietly gave up their depredations and returned to their home. In August, general amnesty was proclaimed and some of the Khandait chiefs of the coastal district who had taken a leading part were quietly pardoned and realised the folly of fighting against the trained army of the East India Company. Normal state of peace returned to the country and since then the country has never rebelled against the constituted authority. It was not a war of independence however, but it was merely an outburst of anger against the oppressions of corrupt

officials, the machinations of Bengali Revenue Officers, the ever increasing assessments which were imposed upon a people not habituated to punctual payment of revenue demands and the inauguration of a system of land tenure where rent was considered as more important than service and where the soldiers who were remunerated by land grants suddenly found themselves called upon to pay rent for their holdings and found themselves reduced to the status of ordinary cultivators. These fortuitous circumstances, each potent enough to disturb the public peace found by an accident a centre and a focus in the fraud practised against Jagabannhu, the principal officer of the Rajah of Kurdah who was held in high respect even in his fallen state and all these combined to bring in an upheaval in which thousands of lives were unnecessarily lost.

The rebellion was so shortlived, so ill-concieved and so sporadic that it did not have any lasting effect on the social and political life of the people. Directly it did not produce any tangible results, but indirectly it did a lot of good to the people of the country. For the first time the British Government and the officers of the company began to realise that the heavy assessment of land which their revenue system had imposed on the people was bringing in much discontent, for the first time the ruin of the old Oriya Zamindars and the sequestration of their lands by foreign adventurers and local Mahajans leading to a social upheaval of the first magnitude attracted the attention of the officers to whose hands the administration of Orissa was entrusted, for the first time the rulers of Orissa woke up to the fact that ancient customs and ancient rights cannot be lightly set aside and ancient systems of land tenure cannot be all at once substituted by a system of rent payment which local conditions may not find convenient. The unrest led to an enquiry and to a masterly report by Mr. Ewer, Commissioner of Orissa in which the causes of unrest and its true nature were impartially discussed and analysed. This unrest also led to the decrease of the influence of the Bengalee adventurers and Revenue Officers who between them had acquired large estates in Orissa, this unrest also led to the trial and punishment of some corrupt officers whose tyranny had terrorised the people and who had tarnished the British reputation for Justice and fair dealing. The pledge of Permanent settlement also received a death blow because this unrest showed that assessment of land can be revised after long terms and instead of short term assessment resulting in confusion and discontent and permanent assessment limiting the resources of the State the best policy would be to revise the revenue demand after long periods of twenty or thirty years. Much injury had been done to the people of Orissa in the early part of the British reign and it was this unrest and the rebellion of the Paiks from which we can date that tranquillity that is reigning in Orissa and that settled state of the country after the first social upheaval which is continuing even to the present days.

ANNEXATION OF ASSAM

BY

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(Summary)

No complete account of the annexation of Assam by the East India Company has so far been written by any historical scholar on the basis of contemporary documents. Sir Edward Gait's Chapters in his *History of Assam* are very brief; moreover, he does not seem to have utilised original documents to any great extent. The writer of the present paper has narrated the story in full in his forthcoming work entitled *The Eastern Frontier of British India (1792-1826)* on the basis of contemporary English, Bengali, Assamese and Burmese sources. The present paper merely gives a very brief summary of the facts collected by him.

That the Company did not at all intend to conquer Assam or to extend its political influence in that distracted Kingdom appears clearly from the withdrawal of Captain Welsh in spite of Raja Gaurinath Singh's repeated appeals for prolonging his stay there as well as from the refusal of all Governors-Generals during the period 1786-1822 to interfere in the affairs of the Ahom Kingdom. Assam was then a prey to serious internal feuds, and the experience of a quarter of a century amply demonstrated that no man in that unhappy kingdom was strong enough to restore unity, peace and order. Yet it is rather strange that Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings agreed with Sir John Shore and Lord Minto that no departure from the policy of non-intervention was justified in the case of Assam. Other neighbours of Assam were not, however, as disinterested or indifferent as the Company. The wild Bhutias plundered the northern districts of Assam. King Bodawpaya of Burma, the conqueror of Arakan and the inveterate enemy of Siam, sent his triumphant generals to Assam, Manipur and Cachar, and made and un-made kings at his will. The establishment of Burmese ascendancy in Assam was a serious menace to the safety of Bengal, for Assam was a splendid base of operations for those who wanted to plunder the northern and eastern districts of Bengal. Lord Amherst was alarmed, but he took no steps to restrain the Burmese until their aggressive activities on the Chittagong frontier (quite unconnected with the affairs of Assam) forced him to declare war. The treaty of Yandaboo (1826) handed over the Ahom Kingdom to the Company. Even now the direct authority of the Company was extended only to certain districts; the remaining portion was given to an Ahom prince. A few years later that prince was found to be quite unfit to rule and unable to fulfil his obligations to the Company. His territory was thereupon annexed to the British Empire.

SIR JOHN LOW'S SERVICES AT BITHUR 1818-25

BY

Dr. Pratul C. Gupta, M.A. (Cantab), Ph.D., (London).

Sir John Low entered the Company's service as an Ensign in the Madras Army in 1804, and next year he was promoted a lieutenant in the 1st Madras Native Cavalry. During the Maratha War of 1818, he acted as Sir John Malcolm's aide-de-camp and succeeded in bringing about the surrender of the Peshwa. He was next appointed the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa at Bithur which post he held till 1825, when he was transferred to Jaipur. A few years ago Sir John Low's grand daughter Miss Ursula Low published a biography of her grandfather. Miss Low worked mainly on family and private papers and naturally had little to say about her grandfather's political activities. The archives of Bombay and New Delhi however contain a number of important statepapers which may be profitably used in writing an account of John Low's services in India.

When the Peshwa submitted to the English in July 1818, he asked Malcolm to permit John Low to accompany him to the North.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly Low was ordered to escort Baji Rao to the place of his future residence.⁽²⁾ On account of the rains and troubles in the Central Provinces due to Appa Saheb's escape, it was deemed inexpedient to cross the Narmada near Jabalpur and the route through Bundelkhand was rejected.⁽³⁾ It was settled that Baji Rao should proceed to Ajmere through Rajputana and then move towards Delhi or any other place that the Governor General might decide.⁽⁴⁾

1. Bom. Pol. Pro. 26 Aug. 1818 p. 4898. I.O.

2. Ibid.

3. Sec. Pro. 24 July 1818 No. 22. I.R.D.

4. Ibid. Bom. Pol. Pro. 26 Aug. 1818 p. 4898. I.O.

John Low found his position a little difficult. The violence of the rains rendered the movements of the British troops very uncertain, and interfered with the regularity of the dawk. Besides the question of Baji Rao's permanent residence still remained unsettled. Previously, before Baji Rao's surrender, a paper containing six articles was sent to him by Malcolm.⁽¹⁾ One of these provided that Baji Rao would be escorted to "Benares or any other sacred place in Hindusthan" that the Governor General might think proper.⁽²⁾ Baji Rao at first favoured the idea of residing at Benares, and Malcolm on his part did nothing to discourage this intention. He believed that "the prospect of visiting and remaining at that sacred city" might render the Peshwa less difficult", and he also thought that "to deny him the solace in his banishment would be to outrage that religious feeling which may.....be expected.....to reconcile him to his great reverse of fortune."⁽³⁾ It seems from Baji Rao's subsequent conduct that he was accustomed to regard Benares as his residence. On the 8th July, Governor General's Secretary Adam wrote to Malcolm, "It does not appear that any distinct promise has been made.....but.....Bajee Row has had sufficient grounds for indulging in an expectation that he will be permitted to reside at Benares."⁽⁴⁾ The Governor General was opposed to the idea of sending Baji Rao to Benares,⁽⁵⁾ and Malcolm himself was conscious "of the great inconvenience and perhaps hazard of allowing a prince of such rank and name to settle at Benares or any other Hindoo city."⁽⁶⁾ Benares was finally rejected and in September while John Low was proceeding towards Shapoorah he had various occasions to discuss the question of his future residence with Baji Rao and his agents. Baji Rao had not yet given up all hopes of residing at Benares, but had lost much of his former preference for that city, on account of the climate of the place which he believed to be unsuitable, and the presence of numerous Marathas in the City who would always expect pecuniary assistance from him.⁽⁷⁾ Low was under the impression that Baji Row on the whole would prefer Bithur to Benars.⁽⁸⁾ The other places recommended by Low and rejected by Baji Rao were Monghyr and Gorokhpur, Baji Rao's agent Ramchandra Vyankotesh reported to Low that the ex-Peshwa had always "lived in one of the finest climates of the world, and the heat of Mongheer would kill him."⁽⁹⁾ Gorokhpur was objected to because there were "no temples of great sanctity" in the neighbourhood.⁽¹⁰⁾ The place which Baji Rao suggested as his permanent residence was Mathura,⁽¹¹⁾ and in case the Governor General objected to it, he was willing to reside within one day's journey of the town. The place offered him excellent opportunities of passing his time in religious ceremonies.⁽¹²⁾ The Governor General however, was opposed to Baji Rao's choice of Mathura. He was unwilling to let him stay near the British frontier where he would have chances of "frequent communication with designing men."⁽¹³⁾ In October, the Governor-General came to a decision and informed Low that he had selected Bithur near Cawnpore as the ex Peshwa's permanent residence.⁽¹⁴⁾ Low was at first under the impression that though Baji Rao made certain complaint^s against the climate of Bithur he had no serious dislike to the place.⁽¹⁵⁾ But later on his agents Ramchandra Vyankotesh and Desmukh visited

1. Sec. Cons. 26 June 1818 No. 76. I.R.D.

2. Ibid.

3. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818. No. 22 I.R.D.

4. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818. No. 24 I.R.D.

5. Ibid.

6. Sec. Cons. 24 July 1818 No. 22 I.R.D.

7. Sec. Pol. Diary 2 Dec. 1818 B.R.O.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Sec. Pol. Diary 2 Dec. 1818 B.R.O.

14. Poona Residency Inwards 1819. Vol. 58/101. Low to Adam. 22nd Dec. 1818. Dec. B. R. O.

15. Ibid.

Low and explained to him Baji Rao's objections to Bithur. Baji Rao had heard such bad reports about the climate on the banks of the Ganges and particularly at Bithur, that he begged that the Governor General should reconsider his decision, and let him stay at any place on the Jumna except near its confluence with the Ganges. He was prepared even to stay at Delhi which he described as "second Calcutta" completely under British control, and inhabited largely by his enemies, the Muhammadans.⁽¹⁾ A few days later Low had an interview with Baji Rao in which the ex-Peshwa protested against the Governor General's decision and pointed out that if he stayed on the banks of the Ganges, as a good brahmin he would have to take his bath in the river every morning which would certainly injure his health.⁽²⁾ He asked Low to communicate to the Governor General his request that Bithur should not be finally fixed up until "he had seen the place and tried the climate a few days."⁽³⁾ Low informed the Governor General of Baji Rao's prayer, but continued his march down the Doab as arranged before and proceeded towards Bithur. The Governor General did not take Baji Rao's opposition seriously. The Governor General considered his objections 'frivolous' and pointed out that Bithur offered "so many advantages both in a public point of view and with reference to Baji Rao's convenience and the indulgence of his devotional habits" that he found no reason to alter his decision. Bithur had long been used as station of the district of Cawnpore, and the Governor General thought that it could not be an unhealthy place.⁽⁴⁾ But it should be mentioned that the town of Cawnpore only six miles from Bithur was notorious for its unsuitable climate. Bishop Heber who visited the place in 1824 mentioned that he "had heard a very unfavourable account" of the climate of Cawnpore which was not however "confirmed by the residents".⁽⁵⁾

Baji Rao took up his residence at Bithur in 1819 and John Low was appointed the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa. Low's immediate tasks were laying down certain regulations for the guidance of Baji Rao's followers and decide the question of the Company's law Courts over them. No definite plan had yet been made. But as early as July 1818 the Governor General briefly discussed these points in a despatch to Low. The ex-Peshwa was "to lead a life of privacy, and.....his intercourse with the natives of rank should be restricted within the narrowest limits". He would be allowed to retain a small number of guards. His own person and those of his near relations should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's law.⁽⁶⁾ Baji Rao himself was particularly anxious to settle definitely all points relating to his life in retirement. During his march to the North he repeatedly wanted to discuss with the Governor General questions of his future residence, the extent of his personal freedom and the authority he might be allowed to exercise and asked for his permission to send his agents Ram Chandra Pant and Ana Desmukh to him.⁽⁷⁾ Low always discouraged these proposals, and it was finally settled that the application for sending the Vakil to the Governor-General should be considered only after Baji Rao had settled at his permanent residence.⁽⁸⁾ Baji Rao renewed his proposals as soon as he arrived at Bithur. Low successfully put him off for more than a year. But in July 1820 he found it difficult to postpone Baji Rao's applications any longer. The old plea that the Governor General would not permit Low and Ramchandra to leave Bithur unless order was established among Baji Rao's followers could not be put forward. Baji Rao's own conduct was impeccable. Instances of breach of peace in

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Poona Residency Inwards 1819 Vol. 58/101 Adam to Low 9 January 1819. B.R.O.

5. Heber Narrative of a journey Vol. I. p. 366.

6. Sec. Pro. 24 July 1818 (24). I.R.D.

7. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol 22/22, Low to Metcalfe. 28 July (?) 1820. P.R.O.

8. Ibid.

the Maratha camp which were formerly very common became very rare; and the general conduct of the Marathas had been "so remarkably correct of late", that Low felt that he "could no longer with justice refuse."⁽¹⁾ On July 1820 he wrote to the Governor General that Baji Rao intended sending a Vakil to Calcutta in order "to establish a feeling of friendship towards him in the mind of the Governor General", to have pensions or jagirs confirmed on some of his adherents, and also "to urge that the present system of administering justice" at Bithur might be made "more suitable to his dignity."⁽²⁾

It is unfortunate that little can be said about the administration prevalent at Bithur. The Bombay records do not tell us much. It appears from Low's report to the Governor General that he was joined during his march to the North by Lieutenant William Low, his brother who acted as his assistant till 1820.⁽³⁾ Low was also helped by Robertson the Magistrate of Cawnpore. Some kind of control over Baji Rao's followers was very likely exercised by Ramchandra Vyankotesh who jointly with Low listened to civil and criminal cases.⁽⁴⁾ Low's letter to Metcalfe also mentioned a "proposed plan of the regulations for the management" of the ex-Peshwa's followers. But it is not clear from the letter what the proposed plan was or if it was working at the time. About one year previous to this in June 1819 a letter was jointly addressed by Low and Robertson to the Governor General suggesting a scheme for the administration of justice at Bithur. We do not know if it actually came in force. The principle which Low and Robertson believed ought to be followed was "giving as much attention to Baji Rao's feelings.....as is compatible with the preservation of good order." In short their suggestion was this. A plot of land of about two square miles including the late civil station should be separated from the jurisdiction of the zilla of Cawnpore and set apart for the residence of the ex-Peshwa and his followers. The Commissioner at Bithur should exercise the power of a magistrate, should be empowered to prevent and punish crimes and should exercise full control over the police. All persons residing or apprehended within this jurisdiction should be placed under his authority. The Commissioner would have the power to punish petty offences with fine, imprisonment or stripes. In cases of serious crimes committed by Baji Rao's "immediate adherents" the trial should be conducted by the Commissioner and the proceedings together with his opinion of the case sent to the Niyamat Adalat in Calcutta. If a serious crime was committed by a person other than the followers of Baji Rao, he should be handed over to the Magistrate of Cawnpore. In cases where the crime was committed by one of Baji Rao's followers outside the Commissioner's jurisdiction he should be apprehended and delivered to the Commissioner by the Magistrate. Civil suits where the defendant was a follower of Baji Rao should be decided by the Commissioner. When the plaintiff was a follower of Baji Rao, the case would be heard by the Commissioner provided the defendant was resident within the Commissioner's jurisdiction and the cause of action originated therein. In cases preferred by Baji Rao's followers against persons living outside the Company's jurisdiction, the complaint should be forwarded by the Commissioner to the District Judge. This document made it clear that the above rules were not applicable to Baji Rao or any member of his family. If any crime was committed by any of those persons he should be "dealt with according to a special resolution or the Government". It was further advised that the Commissioner should refrain from always "exercising the authority rested in him". Baji Rao should have the power "to punish petty offences amongst his followers in his own way", particularly when both parties in a dispute were his followers, provided the punishments were "commensurate with the offences committed", and did not 'extend to life or limb or protracted and arbitrary imprisonment.'⁽⁵⁾

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid & Low-Fifty Years with John Company. p. 120.

4. Poona Diary 1823-21 Vol. 22-22 Low to Metcalfe 28 July (?) 1820 B. R. O.

5. Pol. Pro. 3 July 1819 No. 61 I. R. D.

It seems that Baji Rao soon learnt to reconcile himself to his fate. When he arrived at Bithur in 1819, Low reported that his conduct "has hitherto been very exemplary", and writing in 1822 Lord Hastings observed that it had been such as on the whole to afford "great satisfaction".⁽¹⁾ The ex-Peshwa was not exactly the picture of a fallen monarch eating his heart in exile. But he had not given up all hopes of restoration and tried "to keep alive in his former territory an interest in his fate". He never made any serious bid for power. He was closely watched and hardly had any chance of making a move without the knowledge of the British. It is interesting to note that though Chaplin the Commissioner of the Deccan always looked upon Baji Rao with some amount of suspicion John Low was inclined to take a more favourable view of his activities. In spite of the usual prohibitions against holding communications with the public, Baji Rao occasionally managed to send messages out of Bithur. In September 1819 Elephinstone then Governor of Bombay learnt that Baji Rao had sent messages to different persons in the Maratha country.⁽²⁾ But the incidents which caused the greatest excitement were the activities of the Peshwa's former general Naro Pant Apte. Naro Pant Apte began his career as a favourite of the Peshwa. He played a prominent part in the Maratha War of 1818, but deserted the Peshwa and surrendered to the English before the war was actually over. Later on he was asked by Baji Rao to join him at Bithur.⁽³⁾ But he did not pull on well with Baji Rao's Diwan Ram Chandra Pant and fell in disgrace. Elephinstone spoke of him in September 1819 as the only person "of any talents that the Peshwa had about him. He was however no favourite.....and never was treated with the confidence to which his character entitled him". His "habits were altogether so different from Bajee Row's", that Elephinstone was inclined to regard this invitation with suspicion.⁽⁴⁾ Naro Pant Apte's stay at Bithur was short. Unless his presence at Bithur was the part of a pre-conceived plan, he must have been very much disillusioned. He came, under promise of high pay, but as Baji Rao did not pay him proper allowances, he gradually drifted in the Company of those Marathas vaguely described as Karkuns or mutsuddis. Many of them had held high posts in the Peshwa's Government, but could not secure an decent employment at Bithur and subsisted on miserable allowance.⁽⁵⁾ About the middle of 1819 Naro Pant Apte informed Low that he intended settling at Gwalior and "get into any good trade", and asked for a letter of introduction to Captain Stewart, the resident.⁽⁶⁾ This was violently opposed by Ramchandra Pant Vyan-kotesh. He charge Naro Pant with ingratitude and wanted to compel him to stay at Bithur.⁽⁷⁾ But as Naro Pant "appeared to be a quiet inoffensive person", who "had been ill-used" by Baji Rao, Low sent him the note addressed to Captain Stewart explaining what Naro Pant had been at Bithur, that he had to leave the place owing to the "irregularity in getting his allowances" and that he was "the person who gets a chair". But the matter did not end so easily. Chaplin believed that Low had been deceived and declared that Naro Pant had been "sent on a secret mission to Gwalior by the Peshwa".⁽⁸⁾ But as late as the end of April 1821, Chaplin could not discover any proof of Naro Pant's guilt, and his only action which appeared

1. Papers re Pandarry and Mahratta Wars p. 458.

2. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22. Elphinstone to Metcalfe 2 Sept. 1819. B.R.O.

3. Ibid & Chaplin to Warden 30 April 1821 B.R.O.

4. Poona Diary 1820 Vol. 22/22 Elphinstone to Metcalfe 2 Sept. 1819 B.R.O.

5. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. Vol. 22/22. Low's memorandum dated 15 July 1821 B.R.

6. Ibid.

7. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Low's memorandum dated 15 July 1821 B.R.O.

8. Ibid & Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 30 April 1821 B.R.O.

unusual and highly suspicious to Chaplin was that he was "expending considerable sums in a house and establishment" and that he had "sent for his wife and family."¹ About the middle of July 1821 Low referred to Chaplin's letter to Capt. Stewart in which he had accused Naro Pant of intrigues against the British and had related the story that one Roushan Beg was raising troops for the help of the ex-Peshwa near Gwalior, and very correctly pointed out that none of these charges were "in any way substantiated".²

Intrigues in favour of Baji Rao had always been the bugbear of Chaplin. In January 1821 he reported to the Bombay Government that two persons from Bithur had arrived at Poona with the "ostensible object" of procuring a certain oil for the use of Baji Rao. Though no proof could be obtained, Chaplin had no doubt that as they visited some of Baji Rao's friends, they were really "bearers of messages" from the ex-Peshwa. He believed that oral messages were regularly sent to persons at Poona and suspected that Baji Rao was "assiduously engaged in a correspondence with several of the native States"; and that reports were spread at Poona and Bithur, that Baji Rao would "sooner" or later return to Poona.³ Chaplin further suggested that a secret agent should be appointed at Bithur to keep watch over Baji Rao.⁴ At the time John Low was not present at Bithur, but Captain Blacker who officiated for him wrote an explanation to the Governor General in which he made light of Chaplin's fears. He no doubt informed Baji Rao of the inexpediency of sending his servants to Deccan for sometime, as the conduct of his messengers had created unfavourable impression and suggested that all such duties might be undertaken on his behalf by the Commissioner. But Blacker refused to share Chaplin's anxieties. He pointed out that the messengers about whom Chaplin complained had left for the purpose of procuring a particular kind of oil which was believed to be very efficacious in rheumatism and was prepared only in the south. The messages which were believed to have been delivered to certain persons at Poona should not raise any suspicion. The messengers no doubt expected presents from those to whom they communicated the news of the ex-Peshwa,—“and the more mystery and consequence they gave to the relation, the greater would be the reward they probably obtained”.⁵ Regarding the appointment of a secret agent at Bithur, he was quite opposed to it. He believed it "more likely to be productive of mischief than advantage". Baji Rao would never admit "a stranger into his confidence", and the newly appointed agent would be left to his resources and perhaps would contrive a plot for the purpose of afterwards discovering it".⁶ The Governor General considered Blacker's explanation to be "quite satisfactory". and disliked Chaplin's scheme of employing a secret agent. He described this measure as "inexpedient", and ordered Blacker to dismiss the agent who had already arrived at Bithur.⁷

Chaplin was however bent upon putting a stop to all intercourse between Poona and Bithur. He discovered to his horror that the Company's dawk had been sometimes the channel of communication and

1. Ibid.

2. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Low's memorandum dated 15 July 1821 B.R.O.

3. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 20 Jan'y. 1821. B.R.O.

4. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Blacker to Swinton 18 Feb. 1821 B.R.O.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Swinton to Blacker 10 March 1821 B.R.O.

took measures to detect and prevent it in future.⁽¹⁾ He next issued a proclamation intending to stop all unauthorised communications with Baji Rao, and, instructed the Collector to detect any infringement of this order.⁽²⁾ Similar proclamations had been issued twice before, in February 1818 and in November 1819. A third notification was published in June 1821. It laid down that no person should go to the ex-Peshwa's camp without permission or send any messenger. All persons coming from Bithur must provide himself with a passport, and must not bring any letter except those signed by the Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa. Passports were to be produced to the proper authorities at each station. It was further provided that no letter should be sent to Baji Rao's camp and any attempt to do so would be severely punished.⁽³⁾ The Governor-General-in-Council "did not perceive any objection" to Chaplin's proclamation but warned him against manifesting "too great a suspicion" of the ex-Peshwa's designs. He also questioned the policy of absolutely stopping all communications with Baji Rao's camp" when proposed to be made with the knowledge and sanction of the Commissioner at Bithoor". The Governor-General further suggested that as Captain Low was about to proceed to Bombay, Chaplin might discuss with him the advisability of the appointment of a news writer should he still believe the services of such an agent would be useful at Bithur.⁽⁴⁾

Capt. John Low however could not carry on his work for sometime. In 1821 he had left Bithur and came to Calcutta, and from the Governor General's despatch of Aug 1821, it seems that he was still there.⁽⁵⁾ He was expected to proceed to Bombay before taking up his duties at Bithur. But very likely he did not return to his station. In January 1822, while in Bombay, a complete breakdown in health compelled him to make the following application to the Bombay Government :⁽⁶⁾

Sir,

The medical gentlemen who have attended me for some weeks past being of opinion that a voyage to sea of considerable length is necessary for my restoration to health and having recommended that I should quit this place for that purpose by the first favourable opportunity that may offer; I have forwarded their official certificate to that effect, to the Secretary to Government in the Political Department at Fort William and have requested the permission of the most Noble the Governor General in Council, to pursue the plan which has been recorded.

I am informed however that the ship Partridge is likely to sail for St. Helena long before that permission can reach me and I beg leave therefore to solicit in anticipation of it the sanction of the Government of this Presidency, for my proceeding on board of the above mentioned vessel.....

Bombay
January 6, 1822.

John Low
Commissioner with Bajee Row.

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1. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Warden 28 June 1821 B.R.O.
 2. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin to Collector 28 June 1821 B.R.O.
 3. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Chaplin's proclamation dated 28 June 1821 B.R.O.
 4. Poona Diary 1820-21 Vol. 22/22 Swinton to Warden 5 Aug. 1821. B.R.O.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Poona Diary 1822. Vol. 13/75, Low to Warden. 6 Jan. 1822 B.R.O.

We do not know exactly what was the illness Low was suffering from. His "medical gentlemen" describe it rather vaguely as "complaint of the lungs and other symptoms of long standing".⁽¹⁾ Miss Ursula Low refers to it as "an illness in which both lungs and liver were affected",⁽²⁾ and her book which contains many family letters suggesting some very original remedies do not help one to arrive at the correct diagnosis. But possibly it could not be any kind of wasting disease. Low was fit to join his duties in 1825, and retired in 1858 after a strenuous career of 55 years in India.

John Low at first intended to proceed to St. Helena, but after he took his passages on the Partridge, it was decided that the ship would touch at the Cape of Good Hope.⁽³⁾ In a letter addressed to the Governor General Low expressed his hopes of "avoiding the necessity of proceeding such a great distance as St. Helena, and of having an early opportunity of returning" to India.⁽⁴⁾ Low however proceeded to St. Helena, but was disappointed with the climate of the island and complained of "the difficulty of taking exercise".⁽⁵⁾ It is interesting to note that Napoleon who died in the previous year had similar grievances against the place. Low left St. Helena after a short stay and returned to Cape of Good Hope.⁽⁶⁾ He next visited the island of Mauritius⁽⁷⁾ and about the end of 1824 landed in India. He passed a few months in Bombay as Elphinstone's guest and took a boat to Calcutta intending to proceed to Bithur by the river.⁽⁸⁾ He must have looked forward to his work at Bithur; In November 1824 he had written to his father that the letters he had received from the Government and from Bithur showed that the "interests of some of the Native Chiefs under my control had been sadly neglected during my absence—that their affairs have been so mismanaged that I shall now have an intricate mass of Counter-claims to unravel, which will be a tedious and troublesome task for me at Bombay and Poona."⁽⁹⁾ Low however had no opportunity of resuming his work at Bithur. He arrived in Calcutta in September 1825,⁽¹⁰⁾ and was ordered to proceed to Jaipur where he was appointed the resident. But he must have paid a short visit to Bithur for the Bombay records contain two letters written by him from the Commissioner's office in October and November 1825.⁽¹¹⁾ During Low's absence in 1822 his assistant Blacker officiated for him, but early in 1823 we find a new name, E. J. Johnson—who evidently succeeded him. Among the Commissioners Low's period of service was probably most interesting. When he took charge of the Ex-Peshwa the Maratha power was dead, and before he left Bithur he saw it safely buried. In 1822 Baji Rao was incapable of committing any harm to British interests. Low was certainly not exaggerating when he stated about his followers in 1821 that these men "who held civil and military situations in the Deccan who have now

1. Poona Diary 1822. Vol. 13/75 medical certificate dated 4 Jany. B.R.O.
2. Low. Fifty Years with John Company, p. 2.
3. Poona Diary 1822. Vol. 13/75 Low to Swinton undated? B.R.O.
4. Ibid.
5. Low Fifty Years with John Company p. 2.
6. Low Fifty Years with John Company p. 20.
7. Low Fifty Years with John Company p. 25.
8. Low Fifty Years with John Company p. 36.
9. Low Fifty Years with John Company p. 27.
10. Low Fifty Years with John Company. p. 36.
11. Poona Diary 1825 Vol. 6/189 Low to Newnham 3 Nov. 1825. B.R.O.
Poona Diary 1826 Vol. 2/225 Low to Newnham 22 Oct. 1825 B.R.O.

no means of living but an irregularly paid monthly salary of forty or fifty rupees and a few pieces of indifferent clothes and shawls, three or four times per annum presented to them at the principal Hindoo festivals. This scanty subsistence too, they know to be a certain degree dependent on our concurrence, in as much as they have often been told that the Commissioner would be ordered to insist upon the dismissal of any of the followers whose conduct might be obnoxious to the British Government."⁽¹⁾

AN ESTIMATE OF KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III

BY

Mr. K. N. V. Sastri, Bangalore

(Summary)

1. Krishnaraja's career was full of events, and great small, unparalleled perhaps in India's history for its heroic character. The greatness of the cause was only equalled by the unstatesmanlike attitude of the Directors of the East India Company.

2. Having been made ruler almost as a child, he undertook responsibility without experience of statecraft; his ministers held power without responsibility.

3. A patron of learning, a friend of the poor and the suffering, a popular figure in the company of the Europeans, an advocate of reforms in all the spheres of life, and a perfectly constitutional ruler, his was a character of an enlightened person.

4. An idea as a subsidiary ally and every inch a King according to Hindu Dharma, his was an uncommon conception of an Indian state in the New Order.

5. His is the memory of a 'Maharaja of Mysore whose attachment to his country and whose political foresight led to the preservation of the integrity of the Mysore State and won for him the lasting gratitude of posterity

A STUDY OF ANGLO-SIKH RELATIONS, 1823-1830

BY

Mr. E. R. Kapadia, Delhi

(Summary)

This paper presents a study of Anglo-Sikh relations (1823-30) with a special reference to the career of Captain (late Sir Claude) Wade, who was British Political Agent at Ludhiana, from 1823 to 1830 and was in charge of British relations with the Punjab and Afghanistan.

The British Government's relations with Ranjit Singh in 1823 were governed by the Treaty of Amritsar (1809). Though the relations were friendly they were far from being intimate. It is only after a few years of Wade's appointment on the frontier that the relations become intimate, and the relations continued to grow closer and closer till the acme is reached in Nov. 1848, when, to the surprise of everybody, Ranjit Singh himself took Lord Auckland all over the fort of Govind Garh at Amritsar; no European had previously entered that stronghold.

In 1823 the Anglo-Sikh relations were temporarily ruffled because the British Government decided to eject Ranjit Singh's officers from the little estate of Whadni, to the south of the Sutlej, and to recognise the independent authority of Mai Sada-Kour, under their protection. Though Ranjit Singh offered no resistance he was greatly mortified because Mai Sada Kour was his mother-in-law; he had granted her Whadni in 1808 and now wished to take it back.

There were other incidents too not conducive to cordial relations. In 1824 the Burma war was going on badly for the British and Ranjit was falsely suspected by Wade and the Resident at Delhi of wanting to take advantage of the British reverses.

In 1825 he was suspected of siding with Durjan Sal, the usurper of Bharatpur. During the same year a mission from Nepal arrived at Ranjit Singh's Court. The Gurkhas wanting to avenge the defeat of 1814-1815, and thinking that the opportunity had come, wanted to enlist the help of the Sikh ruler in an effort to turn the British out of India. Ranjit Singh, of course, had no intention of fighting his strong neighbour with whom he had no direct quarrel. The fall of Bharatpur in January and the conclusion of victorious peace with Burma in February 1826, removed the cause of subsequent events pointed towards happier and more cordial relations.

In 1827 Ranjit Singh, for various reasons, sent formal mission, with costly presents, to wait on the Governor-General at Simla. Wade conducted the mission from Ludiana to Simla. The Governor-General sent a formal mission in return to wait on Ranjit Singh and convey him the assurances of reciprocal friendship. Wade was selected for the duty on the special recommendation of Sir Charles Metcalfe as the fittest person on the frontier to conduct the first mission to Lahore since Metcalfe's own mission in 1809.

This exchange of complimentary missions paved the way for cordial relations, and Ranjit Singh had the satisfaction of showing to the world that the strongest power in India was not only friendly but intimate. Moreover, in Captain Wade he had discovered a very sympathetic officer who could take the place of his old friend, Charles Metcalfe. In the two weeks that Wade was at Amritsar he so completely won Ranjit Singh's confidence that the latter requested the Governor-General to transfer to the Assistant at Ludhiana the duties relating to his subjects on the left bank of the Sutlej. Under the existing arrangement the political Agent at Ambala was in charge of the protected Sikh states as well as of Ranjit Singh's Cis-Sutlej possessions. The British government agreed to Ranjit Singh's request and Wade was entrusted with the entire charge of the superintendence of the Lahore dependencies on the south bank of the Sutlej. But the extent of Ranjit Singh's possessions south of the Sutlej had never been carefully defined. That was done during 1827 and 1828. While the work of demarcation was proceeding Wade was in favour of conceding to Ranjit Singh all his doubtful claims. The result of this attitude was that he further won the confidence of the Sikh ruler, which proved very useful to the Government of India, in the following decade when the fear of Russian encroachments in Persia and Afghanistan increased the value of the Sikh alliance.

SOME FEATURES OF LORD AUCKLAND'S STATEMANSHIP,

BY

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sinha, M.A. (Calcutta)

I

The stain of the disastrous Afghan expedition has proved too much for Lord Auckland and his Indian administration has all along been considered to be devoid of any interest minus that of the Afghan War. His failure in military administration should not, however, make us blind to the fact that in civil administration Auckland did not touch a sphere which he did not enrich.⁽¹⁾ Elsewhere it has been shown that as an educationist Auckland can certainly deserve to be ranked with Bentinck, Dalhousie or Curzon.⁽²⁾ In that connection it has been pointed out how his policy of restoration of state-grants to Oriental learning earned for him the hostility of Anglicists like Rev. Alexander Duff who further denounced the Governor-General for not including the Christian scriptures in the syllabus of studies in English Colleges. Here we intend to discuss only two topics in which Auckland's Whig creed and liberal outlook expressed themselves clearly. Firstly, we shall treat his relations with the Christian missionaries and Christianity in India. Secondly, we shall prove how he strove to win over the subject nation through social and political measures of both public and private nature.

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1. *Friend of India*, March 10, 1842 gives an appreciation of Auckland's civil administration.
 2. Sinha : 'Education under Auckland' in *Calcutta Review*, February 1941.

II

Auckland and the Christian Missionaries.

Education without Religion

Ever since the final triumph of English education in 1835 the Christian missionaries had been carrying on with greater zeal the movement for introducing the Bible into English Colleges under state patronage. The pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of those days were full of denunciation of the "irreligious education" imparted in the Hindu College.⁽¹⁾ The point of view of the missionaries was that an education divorced from religion was on principle dangerous, that Western education minus Christianity was bound to be equally destructive of the Hindu notions and beliefs, and that teachers like Derozio⁽²⁾ in an institution where there was no provision for religious teaching would lead to utter demoralisation. The case for Scripture classes in Government Colleges was indeed very ably conducted and the missionaries perhaps fondly expected some concessions from Auckland, who took an interest in the education imparted in the General Assembly's Institution and who was the first Governor-General to visit a missionary School.⁽³⁾ They were, however, entirely disappointed when the state educational policy was enunciated by Auckland in the Minute of 24th November 1839.⁽⁴⁾ There was no provision in it for any religious teaching and Duff took up his parable against the irreligious Governor-General.⁽⁵⁾ As the secular head of a country where numerous faiths were professed and practised by their respective adherents with militant fanaticism Auckland rightly refused to introduce the religion of the ruling nation into the government institutions.

Calcutta Christ Church

In the meantime another episode had made Auckland notorious with the missionaries. In 1838 a proposal was made to erect an Episcopal Church in the vicinity of the Hindu College and Rev. K. M. Banerjea⁽⁶⁾ was to be placed in its charge. Rightly or not, the authorities of the Hindu College scented evil in the design as it was sought to be executed without any publicity. A deputation under the leadership of David Hare waited upon the Governor-General. Auckland requested the Metropolitan to intervene and to select some other site. The managers of the Hindu College gave the Church authorities a plot of land in Cornwallis Square and some monetary

1. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 396 ff, 465 ff and 475.

2. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-31), the Eurasian poet and teacher, who lost his appointment in Hindu College on charges of propagating atheism and encouraging disobedience.

3. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March 1837, p. 146; Bryce, J.: *A Sketch of the Native Education in India* (Lond. 1839), pp. 23-4; Day, L. B.: *Recollections of Alexander Duff* (Lond. 1879), pp. 68-9 and 71-2.

4. This Minute has been discussed in my article in *Calcutta Review*, February 1941.

5. Rev. Dr. Duff's Letters to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education (Baptist Mission Press, Cal. 1841).

6. Krishna Mohan Banerjea (1813-85), the great scholar and missionary; the arch-rebel in the eyes of the Hindus.

compensation.⁽¹⁾ The offer was accepted and the Church⁽²⁾ was erected on the new site. The missionaries characterised the action of the authorities as "a positive infringement of the civil right of the subject."⁽³⁾

Idoltry and Pilgrim-Taxes

Auckland's administration "was rendered memorable by the termination of the connection Government had maintained for many years with the establishments of idolatry which was a scandal to the pious Christian and offensive to the religious Hindoo."⁽⁴⁾ By legislation pilgrim-taxes were abolished and the management of the temple of Jagannath was handed over to the Raja of Khurda.⁽⁵⁾ Orders were also passed forbidding government servants to attend in official capacity any religious festivals. Auckland, however, continued the practice of payment of donations to the temple at Puri, much to the disgust of the missionaries.⁽⁶⁾ His interpretation of the Regulation IV of 1806 led him to conclude that the Company's government had pledged itself absolutely and unconditionally to this payment. This was contested and untimately in Dalhousie's time the payment was entirely stopped.⁽⁷⁾

Bible and Dost Muhammaal

Auckland was involved in another quarrel with the missionaries over the spiritual welfare of the royal exile in Calcutta, Dost Muhammad the deposed Amir. Some missionaries proposed to visit Dost and present him with translations of Christian scriptures. For obvious reasons the proposal was turned down by the government.⁽⁸⁾

From all these it is clear that Auckland wanted to be strictly neutral in questions relating to religion and refused to identify the state with any religion, Christian or non-Christian. *Cujus regio ejus religio* was for him an outworn shibboleth of antiquarian interest. It is interesting to observe that when young Gladstone, 'the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories', was penning his famous treatise on Church and State,⁽⁹⁾ the Whig Governor-General in India refused to be tempted by the call of the Cross.

The sober missionary weekly of Serampore, the *Friend of India*, paid him this tribute on the termination of his tenure: "the principle of a

1. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 232, 476 and 705; Long: Handbook of Bengal Missions (Lond. 1848), p. 379; *Navaajiban*, Bhadra 1294 B. S. cited in the *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. 47, p. 35 and Sanyal, R. G.; Reminiscences and Anecdotes of some Great Men of India (Cal. 1894), pp. 9-10; and Banerjee, B. N.: Sambad-Patre-Sekaler Katha (1st Edn.), Vol. II, pp. 411-2.

2. Christ Church, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta.

3. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, p. 476.

4. Marshman: History of India (Serampore, 1867), Part II, p. 544.

5. Act X of 1840; the process of restoration of the management to the Raja took some years to complete.

6. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. X, 1848 under the caption 'Puri and the Temple of Jagannath', and *Calcutta Christian Observer*, July 1852 under that of 'The Rights of Jagannath'.

7. We intend to treat this question elaborately in a separate paper shortly.

8. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, July 1841, p. 456.

9. The first edition of "The State in its relations with the Church" was published in 1839.

strict neutrality in matters of religion,—the only safe course for the Government of an empire, composed of many sects and religions—has been publicly adopted by our administration.” (March 10, 1842).

III.

The Rulers and the Ruled.

In the thirties of the century we are at the parting of the ways, we are in a period which marks the transition from the age of the *Nabob* to that of the *Competitionwallah*. The *Hookah* and the *Nautch* had failed to provide a permanent bridge between the conquerors and conquered. The English education merely widened the gulf by making the English-educated youths aspirants as much for social equality as for the public offices, the higher ones of which Cornwallis had long ago shut to the Indians. A shrewd observer rightly opined in 1834 that the racial estrangement was to “be dated from the era of Lord Cornwallis’s grand reforms of 1793, by which natives were excluded from all employments, except such as no Englishman would accept.”⁽¹⁾ This caste-system in the public services had its repercussions both wide and deep. Lord William Bentinck attempted to break this caste-system by giving the natives English education and admitting them to higher ranks in the administration.⁽²⁾ Bentinck’s reforms, however, did not effect any permanent change in Indo-British relations.

The Shoe

Bentinck was sternly opposed by many Civilians when he attempted to effect social equality by inviting natives beyond the ranks of nobility to the government house⁽³⁾ and also by permitting them to drive in their carriages to the door of the government house, thus exempting them from the humiliating practice of dismounting at the outer-gate.⁽⁴⁾ Sir Charles Metcalfe could not support this Governor-General in his proposal of allowing the Indians to come with shoes on. “I am afraid Your Lordship is rather lax on that point. My Indian experience has taught me that any Native, who comes with his shoes on, where there is a decent covering, or where respect is due, commits what he knows to be an insult or an assumption of unmeasured superiority.....you will, I hope, recollect our Resident takes off Shoes, and stands in the Dirt without them at Ava, and that if these Wukeels were allowed to appear before the Governor-General with shoes on, it would be no small thing to brag of it to their own Court.”⁽⁵⁾ The same plea of reciprocity was put forth by Hon. F. J. Shore, a distinguished Civilian, who professed to be an advocate of racial intercourse.⁽⁶⁾ It is to be noted that the Indian princes allowed the Europeans to keep on their hats if they took off their shoes only. The

1. Shore, F. J. Notes on Indian Affairs (Lond. 1837), Vol. II, p. 109. See also Spear: The Nabobs (Oxford 1932), the chapter entitled ‘Racial Relations’.

2. Boulger: Fentinck (Rulers of India Series), pp. 159-61.

3. Shore. *Op. Cit.* p. 506 f. n.

4. *Ibid*, p. 500 f.n.

5. Thompos; Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (Lond. 1937), p. 296.

6. Shore: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 506-7.

Europeans, however, wore both shoes and hats in the durbars. Miss Eden wrote from Gwalior on January 6, 1840: "In fact they do not really take them off; they put stockings over them."⁽¹⁾ So the question of reciprocity raised by Metcalfe and Shore was an argument more worthy of a lawyer than a statesman, and even as that very poor. Bentinck's departure was immediately followed by government recognition of this reaction. The Metropolitan writes in his diary on April 6, 1825: "It is curious how Sir Charles Metcalfe is bringing back the old *regime*. Instead of inviting the native gentry with the Europeans, he appoints a separate audience, and wearing their turbans, they all have to take off their shoes before they enter the room."⁽²⁾ Just a year after Auckland came and removed the ban. Miss Eden's letter of March 24, 1836 portrays the situation thus: "The great shoe-question makes a great heart-burning in society. Sir C. Metcalfe never allowed the natives to come with their shoes on. There is a large class here, who say the natives are now sufficiently well-informed to feel the degradation very sensibly, and who wish natives to adopt European manners as much as possible. George has taken up that opinion and the charm of being allowed to come before the Governor-General brought an immense concourse together-such quantities of new stiff European shoes, and many of the men seemed to find it difficult to walk in them."⁽³⁾

Auckland's statesmanship and character were truly revealed in his attitude towards the Indians, irrespective of caste or creed. His solution of the shoe-question was not a stunt to earn cheap popularity. His social virtues were never confined within the limits of European society. As a result of this, the process of racial estrangement was held in check at least during his term of office. At the time of his arrival in Calcutta the Indians were hardly admitted to the European opera performances and towards the end of his regime "at least one third of the audience were natives."⁽⁴⁾

Auckland's Indian friends

His friendship with leaders on Indian community was not conventional as is so often the case with the proconsuls in conquered lands. Dwarkanath Tagore⁽⁵⁾ was a frequent guest at the Barrackpore Park and also a constant attendant at the evening soirees held every Wednesday at the government house.⁽⁶⁾ Auckland knew that Dwarkanath was no ordinary man and within six months of his arrival he paid him back a visit at the Dum Dum Villa and "all Calcutta got greatly excited because the Governor-General was going to dine with a native."⁽⁷⁾ It is said that Dwarkanath was consulted on almost all matters bearing on the interests of this country and that Dwarkanath suggested to Auckland the creation of

1. Eden, Emily: *Up the country*, ed. Thompson (Oxford 1930), p. 368. Thanks to the arrangements of the Archaeological Survey Department, the European tourists put on goloshes over their shoes in visiting many tombs and sacred places where shoes are strictly forbidden even now.

2. Bateman, J.: *Life of Right Rev. Daniel Wilson* (Lond. 1860), Vol. II p. 38.

3. Eden, Emily: *Letters from India* (Lond. 1872), Vol. I, pp. 166-7.

4. *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 264-5.

5. Grandfather of the poet Rabindranath.

6. Mitra, K. C.: *Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore* (Cal. 1870), p. 68.

7. *Letters from India*, Vol. I, pp. 215-6.

the cadre of Deputy Magistrates.⁽¹⁾ While touring up the country in 1837-9 the Governor-General freely mixed with the native nobility and gentry and he would not permit any artificiality or stiffness to stand in the way of cultivating intimacy with the natives. At Delhi Rajah Hindu Rao, the wealthy refugee from Gwalior,⁽²⁾ became an integral part of the Governor-General's camp and was considered 'a native aide-de-camp.'⁽³⁾ The Rao liked Auckland because 'he is a real gentleman, as well as a Governor-General.'⁽⁴⁾ The Civilians, however, must have liked that he were a real Governor-General and not a real gentleman. Even J. R. Colvin⁽⁵⁾ and H. W. Torrens,⁽⁶⁾ the two distinguished Civilians, who fully enjoyed the confidence of Auckland and who accompanied him in his tour up the country failed to convert him to their sense of decorum and dignity. While meeting a petty hill chieftain in the neighbourhood of Simla, Colvin and Torrens charged him 'on no account to sit down as the rajah was not of sufficient rank to receive a visit from the Governor-General,' and in spite of all the warnings and oburgations from these two secretaries he ultimately sank down on the side of the rajah and told Miss Eden to sit on the other.⁽⁷⁾ In another connection⁽⁸⁾ it has been related how Auckland supported and patronised in India and later on in England an alumnus of his Barrackpore School.⁽⁹⁾

Dost Mushammad in exile

The treatment which Auckland meted out to Dost Muhammed, the deposed Amir, also speaks highly of his character and wisdom. While in Calcutta, the royal exile was invited to the entertainment in the government house on the occasion of the Queen's birthday in 1841. The Metropolitan gravely records in his journal: "Dost Mahommed sat on the same sofa as with Miss Eden."⁽¹⁰⁾ The Dost later on recalled with pleasure the episode of "Qaid-i-Frang" or English prison.⁽¹¹⁾

Indian Servants

It is also evident from the letters of Miss Eden that no differential treatment was meted out to the native servants of the Governor-General's household. On the termination of the upward journey in northern India the Lord Sahib held a sort of durbar in the Simla hills and distributed as rewards shawls and matchlocks to the Subahdars and other native officers

1. Mitra *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-6.

2. His claims to the throne of Gwalior were not admitted; he died in 1855; his house on the Ridge was the citadel of the British army in Delhi during the Mutiny.

3. *Up the Country*, p. 250.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

5. John Russell Colvin (1807-57), Private Secretary to Lord Auckland 1836-42; is said to have considerably influenced the latter's Afghan policy; Lt.-Governor of the U. P. 1853-7.

6. Henry Whitelock Torrens (1806-52), accompanied Lord Auckland to the N. W. P. as Deputy Secretary; is accused of ill advising the Governor-General re: Afghan affairs; linguist and orientalist.

7. *Up the Country*, pp. 243-4.

8. *Calcutta Review*, February 1941.

9. The school run by Auckland.

10. Bateman: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 188-9.

11. Mohan Lal: *Life of Dost Mohammed Khan* (Lond. 1846), Vol. II, pp. 494-8.

who formed the escort.⁽¹⁾ In the tour in northern India when halts used to be made on Sundays, the Governor-General once permitted a respite on Bakrid at the cost of the Sunday.⁽²⁾ Hindu sentiments were also honoured and respected.⁽³⁾

Employment of Indians.

Auckland knew fully well that social equality unless accompanied by political privileges would be fruitless. He zealously continued Bentinck's scheme of entrusting the Indians with positions of trust and responsibility. The cadre of Deputy Collectors was filled with youths of respectability and education. One such was Ramaprasad Ray, the son of Raja Rammohan Ray. In 1842 Ramaprasad was in charge of the Hooghly district, "the first instance, probably, of a native Deputy Collector being in such charge."⁽⁴⁾ The cadre of Deputy Magistrates was also first suggested during his rule.⁽⁵⁾ The suggested reform was, however, effected during the governor-generalship of Lord Ellenborough.⁽⁶⁾

The sentiments of the Indian community were fully expressed in the following paragraph of the cumbrously worded farewell address⁽⁷⁾ to Auckland on 28th February 1842: "If strict impartiality in a country where the many differences of creed and race, multiply at the same time the difficulty and value of that rare virtue; if six years of incessant exertion for every object which you have conceived to be conducive to the happiness, and the improvement of the people of British India, form a just title to their gratitude; *that title is yours.*"

A NOTE ON GENERAL VENTURA'S JAGIR.

BY

Dr. S. N. Sen. New Delhi

Of the four military adventurers who learnt their trade in Napoleon's army and earned their bread in Ranjit Singh's service not the least fortunate was General Jean Baptiste Ventura, Comte de Mandy. The estate left by his comrade in arms, the Frenchman Allard, was computed at the modest sum of twenty five thousand rupees, while Ventura raised no less than eighty thousand by the sale of his horse, elephants, boats and

1. Up the Country, pp. 122-3.

2. *Ibid*, p. 109.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 244 and 272-4.

4. Toynbee, G. : A sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District, 1795-1845, (Cal. 1888), p. 66.

5. Mitra, K. C. : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-6 ; Report of the Committee formed by Lord Auckland in 1838 to investigate the state of Bengal Police.

6. Act XV of 1843.

7. It "requires to be read three times before it can be understood." *Friend of India*, March 3, 1842.

miscellaneous belongings alone.⁽¹⁾ The Neapolitan Avitabile, more careful about his purse and future provision than Allard, had indeed closed his account with the East India Company's government at four lakhs and fifty thousand, but the *Jahgir* of Mademoiselle Ventura fetched in 1852 twenty four thousand pounds or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees in Indian currency, a considerable fortune any day, more so a century ago.⁽²⁾ The scholarly Court became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England and the learned societies of the continent delighted to honour him but it is doubtful whether he was financially so well provided as Avitabile and Ventura when he retired home with his second Kashmiri wife. His *Jahgirs* were certainly less lucrative than those held by Ventura in the life time of Ranjit Singh to which considerable addition were subsequently made by the munificence of other princes.⁽³⁾ The small estate of Court was eventually confiscated by the Sikh government after the assassination of Sher Singh, but Ventura successfully weathered all the political storms of those uncertain times and retained his lands even after the British annexation of the Punjab. Though a failure at the Bourse and not uncommonly circumspect in his political correspondence, Ventura earned the good will of the Sikhs and the Britishers alike. How he steered clear of the Scylla of Sikh suspicion and the Charybdis of British disfavour still remains a mystery.

Ventura began his Indian career on a salary of Rs 500/- per mensem which, according to Grey and Garrett, "had by the year 1826 increased to Rs. 3,000 and as from time to time Jahgirs bringing in a total income of about Rs. 800/-per month were added to this and his income was quite considerable."⁽⁴⁾ But Ranjit Singh was not always punctual in his payments and his officers were often left in arrears. Ventura, moreover, kept a harem even after his marriage in 1825, and when his wife left him a suitable allowance had to be granted.⁽⁵⁾ His savings, therefore, might not have been as considerable as his nominal income. But when he retired from the Sikh service he was quite well off if not actually opulent.

In 1837 he went to Paris on leave with his only daughter, Claudine Victorine, but the news of his master's illness soon brought him back to India. The political unrest in the Panjab convinced him of the early need of winding up his affairs but it was not until 1843 that he finally made up his mind, sold all his effects except the Ludhiana house,* where his Armenian wife still lived, and his daughter's Jahgir, and left for British India to sail for Europe in November of the next year. How he

1. C. Grey—*European Adventurers of Northern India*, p. 115.

2. According to Grey and Garrett, Ventura sold his daughter's *jahgir* for £ 20,000. But the deed of sale, which was duly attested by the British Consulate at Paris, clearly states that the East India Company paid one thousand pounds in advance and twenty three thousand pounds at the time of the execution of the deed. A life pension of £ 300 per annum was on this occasion granted to Ventura.

3. We learn from Grey and Garrett that Court's *Jahgir* brought him Rs. 650 per month while the total income from Ventura's *Jahgir* amounted to Rs. 800 per mensem. *European Adventurers in Northern India*, p. 104 and p. 153.

4. C. Grey, ed. Garrett, *European Adventurers in Northern India*, p. 104.

5. Grey says that "In 1825 Ventura was married at Ludhiana to an American lady of mixed descent." (*European Adventurers* p. 104). Latif however asserts that the lady was a European. "The nuptials took place at Lahore according to the French form, the Maharaja presenting the bridegroom with ten thousand, and his courtiers and Omerahs with thirty thousand, rupees, as *tambol*." *History of the Panjab*, p. 433.

* The Lahore residence was also retained by Ventura with all the furnitures.

succeeded in inducing the East India Company's Government to look after the management of his estates we do not know, but the terms, if they were as good as those he obtained in 1850, were entirely to his advantage. It may be safely assumed that but for this arrangement his, or to be strictly accurate, his daughter Claudine's *Jahgir* might have been forfeited after the British annexation of the Punjab. Ventura seems to have carefully provided for all eventualities and that explains why the *Jahgir* was granted to the daughter for services rendered by the father.

It appears that the *Jahgirs* were granted at different times as J. Inglis writes to Major Mackeson⁽⁶⁾ "you will observe that the whole of the villages, now comprising the Jagheer claimed by General Ventura, were not granted at the same time. The grant of the village Rajiwal in Loodianah having been made in 1893—that of Halwara etc in Wadni in 1896. The grant of all seems to have been afterwards repeated in one deed and this deed is said to have been confirmed by Maharaja Shere Sing as the regent on behalf of the Dulleep Sing." We get further details about the *Jahgir* in the deed of sale⁽⁷⁾ executed by Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy and Jean Baptiste Comte Ventura de Mandy in favour of the East India Company on the 10th December, 1852. According to this deed, the *Jahgir* consisted of the "villages and tracts of land called Talwundee, Halwara, Boorj Hurrie Sing, Boorj Sutan, Puttee Roopa and Rajiwal situate to the west of Loodiana District in the Province of Lahore." Legal precision probably demanded the inclusion of "any other villages or tracts of land in Lahore aforesaid." It is also possible that Jean Baptiste had no precise knowledge of the villages held by him and his and his daughter in *Jahgir*, and his minor daughter could not be expected to be better informed than her father.

When was this *Jahgir*, which Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy claimed to hold in perpetuity, originally granted to her? According to the document cited above, the *Jahgir* was granted to Ventura's daughter by "Maharajah Rujjeet Sing in about the year one thousand eight hundred thirty four and confirmed and recognised by him and his successors Maharajahs of Lahore." If this assertion is correct General Ventura must be credited with uncommon political foresight. Full five years before Ranjit Sing's death he had obtained a formal grant from the Maharaja that would, under normal conditions, secure the *Jahgir* for his daughter at least for her life time, if not in perpetuity. But in the absence of the original records it is not safe to accept the statement at its face value, for we learn from the deed of sale that "the said Jean Baptiste Comte Ventura de Mandy claims to be entitled to some interest in the said Jagheer and the past revenues thereof" though it is not anywhere stated that the grant was made jointly to the father and the daughter. It is also to be noted that Claudine Victorine was a minor of 20 years in 1850 when by a deed executed at Paris⁽⁸⁾ she conferred upon her father "a power of Attorney fully authorising him to act on her behalf in the matter of the Jageer." The *Jahgir* was, therefore, granted when she was a child of four if the testimony of the deed of sale is to be accepted.

6. Letter dated, 19th April, 1848. P. C. 25 Jan. 1850, No. 102.

7. Copy forwarded with the Despatch No. 4 of 1853 dated the 2nd March, 1853, P. C. 22 Apr. 1853, Nos. 165-166.

8. Political Despatch to Court, 15 Sept. 1853, No. 33. The deed is dated the 1850. Madelle Ventura describes as a resident of rue du faubourg St. honore No. 68 (old No. 64). It is stated in this document that she was born on the 22nd of April 1830.

General Ventura returned to India once again in 1848 while the second Sikh war was still in progress. The old adventurer offered to fight the state he once served but some indiscretions at London had made him a suspect in the British eyes and his services were politely declined.⁽¹⁾ He stayed on in India and it appears that he wanted to assume the direct administration of the *Jahgirs* which were then under attachment. The Company's government could not comply with his request for reasons explained in Mr. Inglis's letter to Major Mackeson.⁽²⁾ In para 9 of that letter we read—"As General Ventura is an European foreigner and has never been in the occupancy and management of the Jahgeer and as he is moreover only the temporary guardian of the grantee until her marriage or coming of age the Chief commissioner does not think that it should be expedient to make over to him the management of the villages." There were other legal and administrative difficulties which demanded serious consideration. Although there was no doubt about the grant, the name of the grantee herself could not be found in any of the papers preserved in the Sikh archives. There remained the important question to be decided whether the grant was to terminate with the life of the grantee." The terms of all the Sunhuds of the Punjab Government are the same and in words imply perpetual duration—by universal practice a grant lapsed on the death of either the grantor or the grantee." In this case some of the grantors were already dead and the Chief Commissioner was prepared to confirm the *Jahgir* to the grantee "for her life open to the consideration of the Government of the day, on the occasion of her death whether the produce of the village or any portion thereof shall be continued in the next generation." Lastly the Government deemed it incumbent upon them to safeguard the interests of other parties. "It is expressly stated that the interests of the Rajpoots in the portion of Halwara and Tulwundy in their possession was reserved to them and excluded in terms for the grant of General Ventura's daughter". "Further there seems to have been some doubt "whether the right of the said Claudine Victorine Ventura de Mandy did not upon such conquest become void" as "the said country of Lahore afterwards became by conquest annexed to and now forms part of the British Dominions in the East Indies."⁽³⁾ General Ventura was, therefore, called upon to produce a "copy of the deed of 10th Cheyt 1896 and the confirming deeds of the succeeding Sovereigns" and "to put on record the name and date of birth of the young lady in whose favour the grant was made." The General categorically declined to "furnish information called for in regard to his Jagheer in the letter of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, No. 102 dated 19th April 1848, on the ground that a partial compliance with the provisions would be an acquiescence in the justice of orders against which he has appealed to the Court of Directors."⁽⁴⁾ The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana enquired "whether or not payment is to be made to the General of the Revenue for his Jaghir." But the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States decided that "there is no necessity to deprive General Ventura of the proceeds of his Jagheer" and this decision was approved by the Government

1. Grey *op. cit.*, p. 115.

2. Dated the 19th April, 1848.

3. This occurs in the deed of sale.

4. Lt. Col. F. Mackeson, C. B. Commissioner and Superintendent Cis-Sutlej States to P. Melvil Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Board, Lahore, Dated 8th Novr. 1849. P. C. 25 Jan. 1850, No. 24-25.

of India⁽¹⁾ despite the objections of the Board of Administration. Evidently the Italian adventurer had influential friends who pleaded his cause with success.

In 1850 the negotiations made satisfactory progress and General Ventur "obtained from his daughter a power of attorney fully authorising him to act on her behalf in the matter of the Jageer."⁽²⁾ It was finally settled that the General would receive the sum of £1,000 per annum in lieu of the revenue of the *Jahgir*⁽³⁾ and the settlement was to take effect from the first May, 1850. According to Sir Henry Elliot, the *Jahgir* was calculated to yield Rs. 10,000 per annum⁽⁴⁾ and as the exchange rate was two shillings to the Rupee General Ventura struck an excellent bargain which secured him and his daughter the entire revenue of their *Jahgir*. In a Despatch⁽⁵⁾ dated the 22nd August, 1851 we read that the Ventura estates were assessed at Rs. 9,334 but it was recommended that General Ventura should be paid "£1,000 per annum notwithstanding that the Jageer does not yield quite so much."

Not content with the very profitable settlement that he had made, General Ventura tried to get something more than the first year's annuity on the plea that "the revenue of his Jageer for the first six months of the year is not collected till May and June and consequently, although he had been paid in India the whole amount which had actually reached the Deputy Commissioner's Treasury up to the 30th April 1850 he had in fact received nothing on account of the rents which accrued for the months of January, February, March and April and he solicited that in lieu thereof a payment might be made to him on that account of a sum equivalent to four twelfths of his annuity or in other words, that his annuity might be held to commence with the beginning of the Civil, instead of the official year."⁽⁶⁾ The General had indeed received an advance of Rs. 4000 on condition that this sum should be deducted from his allowance on the 1st May when it fell due. The Directors argued that "If this payment was intended as an equivalent for the revenue accruing to the General from his Jageer for the first four months of the year, although not receivable in the local treasury till after the 1st May it appears that no deduction should be made on that account from the annuity payable in this Country." They however thought that an overpayment had been made as four twelfths of £1,000 would amount to £333-6-8 and not Rs. 4,000 or £400.⁽⁷⁾ To this the Government of India replied, through Sir Henry Elliot, "The reason why Rs. 4,000 was remitted to General Ventura was not because any rents were then due to him, but because he represented that he had borrowed money to enable him to procure a passage to England and the reason why Rs. 4,000 was remitted rather than any other sum was that it represented the amount which would have been shortly due for the spring harvest—as

1. Sir Henry Elliot's letter to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab, Dated the 16th January, 1850.

2. Political Despatch to Court, 15 Sept. 1850, No. 33.

3. Political Despatch to Court, 25 Nov. 1850, No. 44.

4. Pol. Despatch to Court, dated 16 May 1851, No. 30.

5. Pol. Despatch, No. 57 of 1851.

6. Political Despatch to Court, dated 16 May 1851, No. 30.
Also seen Revenue Despatch from Court No. 4 of 1851.

7. Para 4 of Revenue Despatch from Court No. 4 of 1851.

his Jageer was represented to yield the proportion of two fifths in the Spring harvest, and three fifths in the autumn harvest—which, as the Jageer is calculated to yield 10,000 Rs. per annum, is 4,000 for the former and 6,000 for the latter.”⁽¹⁾ Sir Henry Elliot, however, concluded his despatch with the following observations :—

“If your Hon’ble Court are so far inclined to concede the indulgence to General Ventura of paying him by the Civil instead of the official years, from January to December instead of from May to April, I have not the least objection to offer, as I am most anxious that he should be treated with all kindness and consideration—but I would merely beg to remind you that, in doing so, you would, every year, be paying him four months in advance of any collections from his Jageer.” So it is not unlikely that Ventura pocketed 4,000 Rupees more than the stipulated allowance, but the papers in the Imperial Record Department do not offer any definite information.

In December 1852 Ventura and his daughter surrendered “all rights and interest claimed by them in the *Jaghers* in the Punjab granted to the latter by the late Maharaja Runjeet Sing”⁽²⁾ in consideration of a cash payment of £ 24,000 and a life pension of £ 300 per annum to General Ventura and here we might take leave of the Comte de Mandy and the *Jahgir* but for two communications about the pension made in 1854 and 1855. The Despatch No. 27 of 1854 dated the 18th October directed “that the Life pension of £ 300 per annum granted to General Ventura who is about to proceed to India be paid to him in Calcutta from the 30th September last” and the Despatch No. 42 of 1855 informed the Governor General of India in Council that “General Ventura’s Annuity of Three Hundred Pounds (£ 300) will be issued from our Home Treasury from 31st December 1854 the date of the last payment to him in India as certified by your Sub-Treasurer under date 6th February 1855, No. 368.” It is, therefore, evident that General Ventura’s pension was paid for the last quarter of 1854 only at Calcutta. We cannot help wondering whether he came to India for the fourth time in 1854 or ultimately changed his mind and abandoned the projected visit. In any case his stay in this country must have been remarkably brief as no further payment seems to have been made here. Had he still some property in India to be disposed of? What happened to his Behar estates? His Armenian wife subsisted on a pension granted by the British Government and Ventura would not travel all the way to India on her account. The last payment made to Ventura by the British Government in India, therefore, confronts us with an unsolved mystery. Ventura was believed to have left a vast treasure in this country. It is pertinent to enquire whether the last journey or contemplated visit to India had anything to do with this legend.

Ventura breathed his last at Paris in the first week of April four years later (1858). We wish we knew more about a man who played so prominent a part in the Punjab of Ranjit Sing. But more light would mean less mystery and an intimate portrait of Ventura might not prove so colourful as the shrouded figure in the deep shades of a distant stage with a grim background of bloody strifes and dark designs.

1. Para 5 of Pol. Despatch to Court, dated 16 May 1851, No. 30.

2. Home Department (Revenue) Cons, 22nd April 1853, No. 1.

HERAT AND BRITISH INDIA

BY

Prof. S. N. Banerjee, Patiala.

(Summary)

This paper treats of the various phases of the British policy towards Herat during 1833 and 1863. In the thirties the circumstances and British interests dictated that Herat should be saved from Persian clutches. Hence the policy was formulated and steps taken to see that no part of Herat was detached or annexed by Persia, add that its independence was not impaired in any way by Russo-Persian aggression. When the place was made safe, the British endeavoured to establish friendly relations with the Afghan State. Pottinger and Todd were the British agents. A treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded by the latter (August 18, 1839). But the diplomatic relations did not endure. D'Arcy Todd left the place in disgust incurring thereby the severe displeasure of Lord Auckland. The idea was for some time entertained of invading Herat from and annexing it to Afghanistan where the British then had obtained a foothold. But this was not done for reasons to be found in the paper. The Afghan disaster made it impossible; and all political connection with the place was suspended.

In the fifties the question was reopened on account of circumstances narrated in the paper; and the policy of respecting the integrity and independence of Herat was definitely laid down (Lord Malmesbury's despatch October 27, 1852) and enforced. The Anglo-Persian convention of January 25, 1853 and the Treaty of Paris of March 4, 1857 (concluded after a short war) elaborated and confirmed the policy.

In the meantime the relations with Afghanistan had been mended by the Anglo-Afghan treaty of March 30, 1855, and bettered by the treaty of co-operation concluded on January 26, 1857. On account of this reorientation of British policy towards Afghanistan the Anglo-Indian authorities remained inactive when Amir Dost Muhammad warred upon Herat and made it a part of his dominion only a fortnight before his death on June 9, 1863. In fact it was this consummation that the Government of India had been urging for since 1857. The arguments of the Government of India in support of the absorption will be found in the following excerpt from Mr. Dorin's minute of February 7, 1857: "Events have proved that Herat is incapable of maintaining its own independence. If it has been unable to resist the feeble efforts of Persia, it could have no chance of successfully opposing any more powerful aggression. In the natural order of things, and from position, Herat must rest for support either on Persia or on Afghanistan. It is itself Afghan, and does not of right belong to Persia; and I venture to think that as regards the interests of British India, it is of infinite importance that Herat should revert to Afghanistan, and, if possible, be consolidated with it in one compact and powerful union."

THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER TRIBES UNDER RANJIT SINGH'S SWAY IN 1837

(Based on the records in the Imperial Record Dept.)

BY

Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University.

The year 1837 is very significant in the history of Sikh rule in the North West Frontier region. On the 30th April of that year, by a surprise attack at Jamrud, Dost Muhammad succeeded in killing Hari Singh, the flower of Sikh chivalry, the Murat of the Sikh army. This incident must have considerably shaken the prestige of Ranjit among the frontier tribes. But the British records do not convey such an impression. On the other hand, we are told by Wade that Sikh rule was characterised by the same moderation as before. Ranjit Singh, cool and calculating, refused to be hustled by any sudden reverse from the pursuit of a fixed policy.

A long letter, written by Wade in October 1837 to the Secretary to the Government of India supplies us illuminating details relating to the extent of Sikh's sway beyond the Indus. Wade arrived at Ludhiana, as the agent of the British Government in June 1823, and in his paper he is emphatic in his assertion that he could vouch for the accuracy of his notes from his own observations. The account of Wade is more detailed than that of Burnes, the diplomat, adventurer and explorer, whose letter included in the political proceedings 11th September, 1837, supplied some of the information on which Wade based his paper.

The first irruption made by the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh on the right bank of the Indus was in 1819/20. On the left bank of the Indus, Payandah Khan, an Afghan Chief rose up in arms against Ranjit Singh after his occupation of the fort of Attock in 1812/13. Failing to expel the Sikhs from his territory, he withdrew to Amb in the Yusufzai country on the right bank of the Indus whence he carried on his activities against the Sikhs.

The Yusufzais on the right bank of the Indus were divided into seven tribes. Some of their lands extended towards the plains of Peshawar, while the rest were situated in the hills north of Amb. These tribes and their Chiefs in 1837 were the following:—Kamalzai (Chief, Ahmed Khan); Almanzai, Ismailzai and Daulatzai (Chief, Nasirulla Khan); Razai (Chief, Lashkar Khan); Khuda Khel (Chief, Fateh Khan who, had given shelter to Syed Ahmed); Omar Khel (Chief, Arsola Khan); Aba Khel (Omar Khan).

Fateh Khan of the Khuda Khel tribe was attacked by Hari Singh Nalwa in 1836, and was compelled to sign an agreement for tribute. After the battle of Jamrud and the death of Hari Singh Nalwa, Golab Singh was sent along with Aitavale to restore the shaken authority of Ranjit Singh among those people.

The territory of Peshawar was formed besides the city and adjacent lands of the districts of Kotilla, Thakal Hariana, Shabqadar, Hastnagar, Akora and Kohat. The Mohmands were in possession of Kotilla, the Khalils of Thakal, the Daodzai of Hariana, the Ghogliane of Shabqadar, the Mahmudzai of Hashtnagar and the Khattaks of Akora. The Mohmand Chief would not yield obedience to the Sikhs but some of the Maliks or heads of villages did. The Chief of the Khalils took refuge in the Khyber from which parties of his people issued at night to attack the Sikhs. The

Daodzai Chiefship had become extinct. These people living within 4/5 miles of the city had to be submissive but were ready like the rest to take advantage of any reverse of fortune to the Sikhs. The Ghoghliane were in occupation of the territory called Doaba which was assigned by the Sikhs along with Hashtnagar and Kohat in Jagir to the ex-Chiefs of Peshawar. The Mahmudzais were without a leader. The Khattak Chief was the first to feel the weight of Sikh arms on the other side of the Indus and the territory occupied by them was most submissive to the Sikhs. They were held in complete control by Sikh garrisons in Attock and Khairabad with Peshawar in the west.

Between Kalabagh and Attock, the country was not fully penetrated by the Sikhs. In that region the tribes on the right bank of the river was not so thoroughly subdued by the Sikhs. The territory on the left bank upto Hasan Abdul was under the direct control and authority of Ranjit Singh's officers. With the numerous families in that region, the Sikhs made annual settlements separately and effectually in the most peaceful manner.

The hills in the quarter of Kalabagh and Isakhel were very arid. Above Kalabagh there was rich vegetation and abundance of water. Sardar Fateh Singh Man sent in 1837 to coerce Ahmad Khan, Chief of Isa Khel succeeded in subjugating him completely.

The chief importance of Bannu, Tank Marwat consisted in the fact that they commanded a direct road to Kabul from the Punjab plains through that region. When Dera Ismail Khan was finally annexed in 1836, it opened to the Sikhs an opportunity of projecting military operations in that quarter. Tank, Bannu, Marwat and Dera Ismail Khan formed the Jagir of Nao Nihal Singh, whose policy was to attach the Afghans to his interest by taking many of them into his own service. According to Burnes and some other observers, family complications facilitated the annexation of Dera Ismail Khan. The Chief himself welcomed it because a large portion of his territory was absorbed in the payment of pensions to relatives and retainers of his father. They defied him and as he was largely dependant on them for the payment of his tribute to the Maharaja he failed. He was glad to escape from the insolence of his vassals and the demand of the Sikh state. Wade however emphasises the military aspect of the annexation. Wade's comment is, a tribute to the moderation of the Sikh rule in the N. W. He wrote, "The garrison at Dera Ghazi Khan and Mithankot do not exceed 500 men. The paucity of troops maintained by the Sikhs in such an extent of newly acquired country is the clearest evidence of the effect of their rule in tranquillising and subduing the insurrectionary spirit of the Chiefs in the Derajat."

PRESS ATTACK ON LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S POLICY TOWARDS SIND

BY

Miss B. M. Batliwala, Bombay.

(*Summary*)

The Press attacked chiefly two phases of Lord Ellenborough's Policy towards Sind. (1) His attitude towards the men in the Civil Service, (2) his preference of territory in lieu of tribute in Sind.

Lord Ellenborough wanted to reduce the number of officers in the Civil Service, to him it appeared that the Indian environment had an evil effect on the impartial nature of the British Officers. He found the same difficulty with Outram. Outram was held in high esteem by Lord Auckland as well as the people of Sind.

By his political sagacity he had won the hearts of the Ameers, but he disagreed with Lord Ellenborough when the latter wanted to take severe steps against the Ameers. In short Lord Ellenborough was ill-disposed towards the political officers in India.

The other phase of Lord Ellenborough's policy attacked by the press was the acquisition of territory in Sind. It is said that with a change of Governor General in India, there was a change in policy of the British Government towards Sind. The Situation of the English in Sind when Lord Auckland left India was not favourable and Lord Ellenborough had to take steps to turn the balance in their favour.

Thus he adopted a policy which according to him would raise the status of the English and hence his idea of annexing Sind was capital, his chief object was to establish unrestricted trade between all countries on the Indus, the sea and the Himalayas. Lord Ellenborough is attacked because he had no right to take these steps. The claim of tribute by the British Government from the Sind Ameers was questionable, much more so when territory was substituted for tribute? Those who are in favour of Lord Ellenborough have written in order to wipe out the attack of the press, that his hands were tied since the seeds of the evil had already been sown by his predecessor. But still the fact remains that the punishments inflicted on the Ameers by the Governor General were far more severe. Surely their crime was not so great that from independent rulers they should be turned to mere nonentities. The English originally formed their political relations with the Ameers as friends and claimed rights on terms of equality and ended by proclaiming themselves the rulers of Sind.

No denunciation of Lord Ellenborough's policy is so strong as the article entitled, 'Lord Ellenborough's Sind Policy' in the Bombay Courier of October 13, 1843. The paper does not try to prove the innocence of the Ameers but it criticises Lord Ellenborough's policy. It says it was most inconsistent with His Lordship's professions, for Lord Ellenborough was bitterly against his predecessor's war policy and preached peace but soon he himself was 'mounted on war'.

Lord Ellenborough's policy was denounced at Home and abroad, he had to wade through a storm of criticisms, but he finally obtained his desire, i.e., to annex Sind to the Bombay Presidency.

POPULAR AGITATION AGAINST OUTRAM'S DISMISSAL FROM BARODA

BY

Miss Hilla Dhunjeebhoy, Bombay.

(Summary)

Outram became the victim of the wrath of Bombay Government by writing his celebrated "Khatpat Report", that is a report on the corruption which was prevalent in Baroda and Bombay as a result of the Guarantee System. He was dismissed from Baroda because he incurred the resentment of the Bombay Government by his fearless exposure of corruption in Baroda and in Bombay. Outram wrote the "Khatpat Report" not of his own accord, but because Government invited him to do so, by issuing a circular seeking counsel to uproot the belief in Khatpat. For this Outram was dismissed just when he was on the verge of exposing a disgraceful system of intrigue. He left Baroda on 20th December, 1851.

Outram had great barriers to cross for he worked without the aid of Government, and against strong opposition from people of all rank and classes. People believed in Baroda that he had incurred serious displeasure of Government by his crusade against corruption. But Outram received popular support from his brother officers and the press. The press showed the public that it was the first occasion on which Government openly proclaimed a man too honest for public employment and dismissed him from their service, because of his anxiety to preserve the British name untarnished.

The dismissal of Outram was a triumph for his enemies, but this triumph was short lived. For when Outram's case was discussed in official circles, the feeling of the Court of Directors in his favour greatly strengthened, and he received high praise from all quarters. Outram's view were in harmony with those of the Supreme Government, and they received the approbation of the Court also. The members of Parliament gave him credit for his work, and the Court of Directors admired the zeal, energy and success with which he managed such a tough inquiry. Outram was warmly praised by his friends, and was held in high estimation.

The press made a severe attack on the Bombay Government for stigmatizing a man like Outram as a weak-minded fanatic. The Authorities did not succeed in keeping the official disgrace of the Bombay Presidency from the public eye. The hero who was thought unfit for any high employment, was declared by Lord Dalhousie the "fittest man in India" for the post from which he had been dismissed. In the end all those who disbelieved in the existence of such a system of corruption and bribery, realised the truth given by Outram in his "Khatpat Report".

Outram stood well with those whose opinion was of greater weight and value than that of the discomfited Government of Baroda. It was therefore a great triumph for Outram. Baroda was transferred from the Bombay Government to the Supreme Government, and Outram was re-appointed Resident at Baroda.

For the first time the head of the Indian Government went out of the usual routine to honour one who had rendered himself so obnoxious to an almost co-ordinate authority, which shows that Outram's case was a very good one.

BENGAL UNDER BRITISH RULE IN THE EARLY HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

Prof. T. A. Talukdar, Krishnagar.

(*Summary*)

Political effects

The authorities of the period emphasise that the effects of early British Rule on Bengal were rather baneful. It destroyed her indigenous institution and replaced them by a foreign system or rule which led to far greater evils in the country. The natives of the province were completely excluded from all responsible posts and replaced by Englishmen, annually recruited from England, whose chief concern was the making of money. The Zemindars—hitherto responsible for the police of the country—were divested of all power and confined only to their tax-collecting duties for the benefit of the new rulers.—While districts of vast size, in a country of fifty

millions, were placed in charge of a single individual. There were only 49 District Judges to administer justice in the whole province—even as late as the time of Bentinck. This change of the administrative system in Bengal ruined not only many well-to-do natives of the province but also the Zamindars who were severely affected by the land legislation of Cornwallis with its system of sales and attachments.

Economic effects

The effects of early British rule on the economic life of Bengal were no less adverse. Bengal which could boast of flourishing cities like Dacca and Murshidabad, of a number of industries like Muslin—Silk and Cotton and carried on prosperous export trade in Gun-powder, firearms, muslin and cotton goods with China and other countries of the East at the beginning of the 19th Century, was seriously affected by the competition of English manufactures. Justice Shore, writing in 1834, says how the ruinous system of custom duties on the finer manufacturers in England, led to the ruin of its finer industries like Muslin, while "Taxation" and "Home-charges" (such as dividends to the Company and Pensions) reached such an extreme point as to throw many lands out of cultivation, increase crimes and bring the people on the verge of starvation.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

1. *Social Intercourse between Englishmen and Indians*

The British policy of excluding the natives of the province from all responsible jobs created a wide gulf between the two classes. The Englishmen of the time thus developed a superiority complex, rarely mixed socially with the people of Bengal or returned their visits. They treated their servants with abuse and blows for the slightest fault.

Such haughty isolation on the part of Englishmen did not encourage the natives of rank of the province to develop social intercourse or invite the former to their homes except at social functions, like a "Natch". The daily contact of Englishmen was thus, not so much with Indians of the better classes but with a host of servants who simply catered to the luxury and indolent habits of their masters. They hardly mixed with Bengali ladies who remained in complete seclusion but all the same, formed connections with undesirable native women whom they were not legally allowed to marry. Such unions gave rise to a large "Anglo-Indian" population with the vices of both the communities. These Anglo-Indians were not only excluded from all responsible jobs but were also social out-castes in English Society.

2. *Effects of Education*

The indigenous oriental culture Sanskrit and Arabic was also affected by British rule. The famous educational minute of Macaulay in the time of Bentinck became the starting-point of a new educational policy in the Country whose object was the promotion of Western Science and learning. Under the impetus of this new policy a number of Colleges for Western education came to be founded, such as the Hindu College in 1817, the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 and the Hughli College in 1836. English pioneers of education like Doctors Carey and Marshman of Serampore and David Hare of Calcutta came forward to help its cause, and men like Michael M. Dutt, the famous poet of Bengal, became its first products. In spite of all opposition by the orientalists, the new system of education continued to spread in the country with an ever-increasing roll-strength of pupils. Even female education

was not neglected and a number of schools came to be founded by missionaries for the spread of education among Bengali girls. But there was hardly any higher female education till the foundation of Bethune College in Calcutta.

3. *Effects on social customs*

The spread of Western education in Bengal brought a new spirit of reform and an agitation was led against social abuses of the age such as *Kulinism* and "*The Sati-Rite*." The institution of 'Kulinism' by which Kulin Brahmins were allowed to take as many wives as they chose—even from the low castes—had become a social curse which was removed not by any legislation gradually by the force of Public opinion.

The Sati Rite:—a custom of great antiquity—was another great social abuse of the time, when as many as 441 widows performed "The Sati Rite" in one year (1817) within 30 miles of Calcutta. The custom was often abused, as unwilling widows were forced by their relatives for their own ends to embrace death in this manner. Beneinck, therefore, had "The Sati Rite," repealed by legislation on the advice of men like Raja Rammohan Roy, inspite of all opposition of the orthodox group who looked upon Bentinck's action as an interference with their social customs. Among the other evil practices of the time, the custom of drowning children at "Ganga-Sagar" in consequence of vows had already been forbidden by "Wellesly" but another equally inhuman practice—*The Charak Puja festival*, in which fanatical devotees were swung round by hooks fixed in their flesh, persisted much longer until in 1859 the Secretary of State for India passed orders for its repeal.

Religious effects

In religion also, British rule affected the life of the people of Bengal. Both Western education and missionary propaganda in the country were slowly undermining the foundations of the old social order. Idolatry and the caste-system became the main targets of attack by the Christian missionaries who not only converted the people by propaganda but even kidnapped young children from their homes with impunity. It was this rapid growth of christianity in the country which gave rise to a movement of religious reform within the Hindu fold—viz. "*The Brahmo Samaj*"—and thus saved Hinduism.

Such were the effects of British rule in the first half of the Nineteenth Century on Bengal which completely transformed the life of her people.

THE PIRATES OF OKHAMANDAL—EARLY XIX CENTURY

BY

Mr. Kersie K. D. Merchant, Bombay.

(*Summary*)

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the pirates of Okhamandal became a standing menace to the commerce of Bombay.

The chief cause which led the people of Okhamandal to practice piracy was poverty. Their country was rocky and barren, very little rain fell, and what was produced was hardly enough for them to keep body and soul together, and they took to dishonest means.

In the year 1807 Alexander Walkek, the President at Baroda, made his memorable expedition into Kathiawad, to do away with the evil practice of the annual Mulukgiri circuits of the Marathas, and while he was there he incidentally decided to curb the pirates.

From his first-hand experience of the country, he found out that Okhamandal could easily be subjugated and brought under the direct control of the Gaikwad, who in his turn was under the thumb of the British.

But his superiors did not agree with him on this point, as at that time they were too busy with other troubles, and also because they did not like to extend their Empire so far.

Walker, therefore, secured the services of Sunderji Siwji, a wealthy merchant of Mandvi, and sent him to Okhamandal to make agreements with the pirates. Sunderji succeeded in his mission and the pirates showed their readiness to give up piracy, if the British took them under their protection.

But this peaceful settlement had no lasting effect. From time to time the pirates succumbed to the temptation of ravaging commerce, and it was finally decided to subjugate them once for all by force of arms.

Accordingly several expeditions were sent against them between the years 1811 and 1820, until finally in 1820, Okhamandal was reduced to a subservient State of the Gaikwad.

THE TWO COUNCILS THEORY OF MACAULAY AND DALHOUSIE. AN INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER ACTS OF 1833 AND 1853.

BY

Mr. Prannath Malhan, Lahore.

The object of this paper is to study the text and implication of the 'Two Councils' theory, which enunciated that 3 and 4 Will. IV. Cap. 85 and 16 and 17 Vict. Cap. 95 ordained to constitute two separate and independent councils of the Governor General namely, the one Executive and the other Legislative. An endeavour is made here in the following pages to examine the soundness of this theory. The importance of the theory needs no comment, because if the correctness of the theory is established, it would alter the entire course and narration of the constitutional history of India.

Macaulay's Two Councils Theory:—

The author of the 'Two Councils' theory (under 3 and 4 Will. IV. Cap. 85) was Mr. Macaulay, the first Law Member, who while assuming the charge of his office, recorded a minute, dated 27th July, 1834,⁽¹⁾ contending that the Act of 1833 purported two councils, differently composed, the one Legislative, and the other Executive. As regards their respective competence, he was sorry to find the Act silent. Nevertheless he maintained, that failing a general principle governing the line of demarcation between the legislature and the executive, it would be safe to presume that the

1. Political consultations, 9th Aug. 1834, No. 7.

intention of Parliament was to base the division of the powers of the Government of India on the model of England, that is, the Executive Council to exercise the same prerogative as did the British Crown, and the act of the Legislative Council to be considered necessary in all such cases where correspondingly the acts of Parliament were passed. So in the light of that construction, he concluded: "It follows that the army cannot be augmented in times of peace; that taxes cannot be imposed even for local purposes; that money cannot be borrowed on the public faith of the Indian Empire, without a vote of the Legislative council. No state prisoner can be detained in custody without such a vote. No treaty with any neighbouring power, stipulating for any payment of money on our part, will be binding without such a vote...It is plain that, if this rule be adopted, the Legislative council will exercise in India, as the Parliament in England, a control over almost all the proceedings of the Executive Government. Though the Fourth Member may have no vote on a question, for example, of going to war, yet he will have a vote when the question is about furnishing the sinews of War, and his opposition to the question of supply may prevent the Executive Council from carrying into effect, or may force the Governor-General to have recourse to his extra-ordinary authority."⁽¹⁾

Lord William Bentinck, in his minute of 31st July, 1834, took strong exception to the view taken by Mr. Macaulay. He asserted that the Act made no alteration in the character of the Governor-General in Council; that it remained one and the same for the executive and legislative purposes. According to him the council in its Executive capacity could make peace and War, raise money and do all it had done before without requiring the interference of the same council in its legislative capacity to give validity to its acts; and that the only restriction imposed upon its legislative authority was that in making laws it was essential to have the advice of the Fourth Member, and that no law could be enacted unless there was a quorum of three members.⁽²⁾

The minutes, quoted above, were transmitted to the court of Directors for its consideration.⁽³⁾ But the Directors in their despatch of 4th March, merely intimated that they had referred the question, arising out of Mr. Macaulay's contention whether the Governor-General could overrule the council in its legislative capacity and whether he could make suspend, alter, or repeal the laws or regulations by his extraordinary authority, to the Crown lawyers.⁽⁴⁾ In the second despatch they pointed out that the Legislative Council was not competent to impart legality to the proceedings of the government, which were otherwise *ultra vires* of the Act.⁽⁵⁾

The reply of the Directors was too vague for Mr. Macaulay to drop his contention that the Act provided a parallelism in the authority of the Government of India. The controversy was revised when the standing orders, proposed by Mr. Macaulay, came for discussion before the council in June 1835.⁽⁶⁾ Mr. Prinsep in his minute of the 11th June, strongly objected to the rule, which provided that the communications bearing on the proposed laws should be received directly by the Legislative Council and that all the correspondence relating to such products should be carried out by the same. He proposed, on the contrary, that all the drafts of laws sent in by the subordinate Governments should, prior to their being laid before the Legislative Council, be considered by the Executive Council in the department to

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1. Political consultations, 9th Aug. 1834, No. 7, para 6 No. 8 para 3
 2. Ibid.
 3. Public letter to court No. 10 of 1834.
 4. Legislative letter from Court. No. 1 of 1835
 5. Legislative letter from Court No. 2, 1835.
 6. Legislative letter from Court No. 2 of 1835.

which they belonged; that the Executive Council might amend them, revise them, or approve them as such before transmitting to the Legislative Council; that all correspondence with the subordinate authorities, with the Law commission, and with the Local Government, should be carried on through the Executive Council only.⁽¹⁾ As for the expediency of having two governing authorities, he was of the opinion that it was highly inadvisable to teach the public authorities that they were subject to the command of two masters. Then again, he argued that the creation of the Legislative Council as an independent organ of the government would create serious practical difficulties. He indicated that a trouble was likely to arise if the orders of the Legislative Council were to be neglected or disobeyed. He pointed out that if the Legislative Council were to enforce its own orders, it would appropriate the functions of the Executive Council, if it did not, he inquired who else would then carry out its behests.⁽²⁾

Mr. Macaulay remained unimpressed by the arguments of Mr. Prinsep and reiterated his view point in a later minute of the 13th June.⁽³⁾ To the objection against having two supreme authorities, he answered that the Act provided two councils, the one vested with the supreme legislative authority, the author armed with paramount executive powers; and whether that was a convenient arrangement or not it was not for them to undo what Parliament had ordained for them. So he maintained that under no arrangement could they lawfully transfer the functions of the Legislative Council to the Executive Council. To the argument that if the Legislative Council were to take the enforcement of its orders in its own hands it would soon become an executive Council, he replied that the confusion of legislative and executive functions would of course be a frightful evil, but not a jot less, it would, if the Executive Council were to become a Legislative Council. He asked in return: What would become if the Executive Council neglected to procure the information sought for by the Legislative Council; whence was the punishment to come, and how would the information be procured; what would become if the two councils disagreed? The right course was obvious, he said, "When Parliament gave us the power of legislating, it gave us also, by necessary implication, all the powers without which it is impossible to legislate well. I see no reason why the Legislative Council may not correspond directly with the subordinate governments and with the Law Commission: why it may not directly call for information from any public functionary; why it may not, if it is considering the draft of a law, or a military or a financial subject, require the attendance of the Military or Financial Secretary." "However, towards the close of his minute, he expressed his willingness to refrain from opposing the suggestions of his colleagues, if they considered it advantageous that the Executive Council be interposed" as an organ of communication between the Legislative Council and other bodies even though personally he considered it undignified for the Executive Council to adopt that position, and viewed the imposition of such an intermediary as likely to cause delay and inconvenience in the despatch of the Legislative business. But if it was intended, as he presumed that Mr. Prinsep meant, that the Executive Council should do all the work 'incident to Legislation except the final passage of law,' he said that he had not the least hesitation in pronouncing that proposition as highly pernicious, opposed to the spirit and letter of the Act, and contrary to the instructions of the Court of Directors.

To remove the doubts, the Government of India adopted a resolution,⁽⁴⁾ declaring that the Legislative Council was not distinct from the Executive Council; and determined that there should be but one council, with separate Legislative Department. They further resolved that all legislative proposals should first be

1. Legislative consultations No. 11 of 6th July, 1835.

2. Ibid.

3. Legislative letter from Court No. 1835.

4. Legislative Letter from Court No. 2 of 1835, Resolution dated 6th July, 1835.

considered by the Governor General in Council in the Department to which it related and then if approved, be transmitted to the Legislative Department. The resolution and the draft of standing orders were communicated to the Court of Directors, who, without taking any notice of that determination of the Government of India, simply expressed their approval of the standing orders.⁽¹⁾

The theory of independence and distinctness of the Legislative Council was of great significance; had it obtained the official sanction, it would have greatly strengthened the position of the Law Member, and through him the authority and the status of the subsequent Legislatures. But unfortunately the theory, from the very start, did not find favour with the authorities in England or in India. The Resolution of the Government of India took the very bottom out of Mr. Macaulay's claim. It frustrated his attempt to raise the Executive Council of the Government of India with the addition of the Fourth Member to the status of a Legislature. Such an endeavour was bound to be abortive, because 'separation of powers' had as yet found no place in the Indian Constitution.

Most probably Macaulay's predisposition towards the original scheme of the Legislative Council,—as proposed by Lord Bentinck's government in 1830-31 and his liberalism, led him to emphasise the statutory discrimination in the constitution and quorum of the Governor-General in Council assembled for the executive and legislative purposes, and came to the conclusion that the Governor General of India in Council in its legislative capacity was an independent statutory body. Co-existing with the Executive Council for purposes akin to that of a legislature of the Parliamentary government. But despite one's regard for the ability and knowledge of Mr. Macaulay it is difficult to reconcile with his interpretation of the Act. Sections 40, 43 and 48 of the Act, did not portray that sense: section 40, which governed the composition of the Governor-General of India in Council, prescribed that the Fourth Ordinary Member, differently selected, was to be a member of the Governor General in Council with a proviso that he was not entitled to sit and vote in the Council except at the meetings for making laws and regulations; Section 48 laid down that laws and regulations should be made only at such meetings of the Governor General of India in Council when at least the Governor General and in his absence the President of the Council, and three ordinary members were present there at; Section 43 conferred upon the Governor General in Council the legislative powers enumerated therein. So to all intents and purposes, while 3 and 4 Will. IV-Cap. 85 purported to differentiate the function of legislation from that of administration, it did not contemplate to create a distinct Legislative Council. The Governor General of India in Council in its legislative capacity was very often denoted by the term 'Legislative Council'; but legally speaking it was nothing but an amplification of 'the Governor General of India in Council assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations.'

Dalhousie's Two Councils Theory:

In 1854, Lord Dalhousie reiterated the two Council's theory. The difference was that this time it came from the mouth of the Head of the Government and was accepted by his Government. The 16 and 17 Vict. Cap. 95, S: 22 related to the composition of the Governor General in Council assembled for the purposes of making laws and regulations.' According to the construction he placed upon it, the power of making laws and regulations after 20th May, 1854, i.e., the date on which the legislative Council met for the first time, were transferred from the Governor General in Council to the Legislative Council, constituted under section 22, which he implied

1. Legislative letter from Court No. 4 of 1837, para 20.

to be an independent organ, exclusively empowered to enact laws for British India.⁽¹⁾ This presumption found a more concrete form in the standing orders of the Legislative Council, which were adopted a little later by the Government. The first standing order as follows:—

“.....the words “Legislative Council” shall be deemed to mean the Council of India, constituted according to the provisions of the 16th and 17th Vict. Cap. 95 for the purpose of making Laws, and the words “Governor General in Council” shall be deemed to mean the Governor General of India in Council, not so constituted.” Similarly the distinction between the Legislative Council and the Supreme Government was emphasised in the 5th Paragraph of the circular letter issued on the 20th Aug. 1854 by Lord Dalhousie’s Government to the provincial Governments, stating therein that they should send their observations on the published bills directly to the Legislative Council.

The same sense was somewhat vaguely signified by Sir Charles Wood in his despatch of the 23rd of Dec. 1854. He wrote: “.....I look upon all the Councillors, Secretaries, etc., as so many machines for lightening the labour of the Governor General, and for doing what I may call the mechanical work of the Government. I have made him (Governor General) more absolute than he was in the Executive Council, and I do not wish to make the Legislative Council a body, which does more than aid him, in law making. The Executive Council is to aid him in administration, the Legislative Council in law making. I admit of course that the latter must be more independent, but I do not wish to make it a body that is likely to take upon itself more weight or authority than is necessary for the purpose of elaborating laws. I do not look upon it as some of the young Indians do, as “the nucleus and beginning of a constitutional Parliament in India.”⁽²⁾

Sir Barnes Peacock, (the Chief justice of the Supreme court) and Sir Charles Jackson also subscribed to this view, and their leanings towards this conception was manifestly clear in the debate on the resolution concerning Mysore Grant.⁽³⁾

Criticism of the Theory.

The exponent of the theory of independence, based their claim on the sanction of 16 and 17 Vict. C. 95, S. 22. Now let us see if this provision made any substantial alteration in the constitutional law as it prevailed before 1853.

The Section 22 read as follows:—

“For the better exercise of the powers of making laws and Regulations, now vested in the Governor General of India in Council, the several persons hereinafter mentioned shall, in addition to and together with such Governor General and the Members of the said Council, under the said Act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth, be members of the said Council of India for and in relation to the Exercise of such powers of making laws and regulations as aforesaid, and shall be distinguished as Legislative Councillors thereof.”

1. See his minute of the 17th May, 1854. The same view he implied in his despatch of the 16th March, 1855, written to the President of the Board of Control. After defending his position that he had not conceded to the Legislative Council, any greater power than the law had clearly conferred upon it, he observed: “I must be guided by the statute of 1853. Its provisions have given to the legislative Council the independence which I have ascribed to it. The Governor General cannot help himself. Except the final vote after the passing of an Act, he has none of that over-ruling power over the Legislative Council which the law gives him over the Supreme Council.”

2. Legislative letter from Court of 23rd Dec. 1854.

3. The proceedings of the Legislative council of India, vol. 6, pp. 1344-49, 1363-67 and 1402.

By the perusal of this section it will be noticed that the Act ordained to add a few members to the Governor General in Council, to be known as the Legislative Councillors so that the Council may make a better exercise of its legislative powers. The status further clarified that the Legislative Councillors should sit in the council only when it were to assemble for the purpose of enacting laws and Regulations. Lord Dalhousie interpreted the provisions to mean that the powers vested in the Governor General in Council were transferred after the enforcement of the Act to the Council constituted under Section 22. But in view of the explicit language of the Act, it is difficult to reconcile either with this opinion of Lord Dalhousie or with the conception of the independence or separation of the Legislative Council. The words *now the vested in the Governor General of India in Council* and those following read in the background of parliamentary rules, practice, and attributes of the Legislative Council might create an impression that the Act connotes the Legislative Council to be a body, different from the Governor General of India in Council. But *prima facie* this conception is not only far-fetched, but erroneous; for the words *be members of the said council of India for and in relation to the exercise of all such powers of making laws and regulations as aforesaid*, defy all such construction. The Act merely referred to the Governor General in Council in its legislative capacity. So consistent with legal tenets, the Legislative Council could be said to be another name of 'the Governor General in Council assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations.' The Legislative Councillors were members of the Governor General in Council exactly in the same manner, (except a subtle distinction that the Fourth Ordinary Member was virtually a part of the Executive, while the Legislative Councillors were not), in which previously to the Act of 1853, the legal member was a member of the council—that is to say, they were not, and he was not, entitled "to sit and vote in the Council except at the meetings thereof for making laws and regulations." These were the words used in 3 and 4 Wm. IV. C. 85 respecting the Fourth Ordinary Member of the Council and precisely the same words, as adverted to little earlier, were used in 16 and 17 Vict. Cap. 95 respecting the Legislative Councillors. So, if, legally, Macaulay was wrong, Lord Dalhousie was equally wrong in presuming that 16 and 17 Vict. Cap. 95, effected the separation of the Legislative Council from the Governor General in Council. This view finds a further support in the Legislative despatch of the Government of India No. 6 of 1861,⁽¹⁾ in which the Government advanced almost the same opinion, and the speech of Mr. Cecil Beadon on the Mysore Grant.⁽²⁾ In fact the legal position as it was created by the Act of 1833, did not undergo any change till 1915. The Legislative Council of the Governor General remained as it was in legal character, 'the Governor General in Council assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulation,' and bore no separate and independent existence from it.

Conclusions:—The concept of 'Two councils' theory was of momentous importance, for it implied a dual authority at the Centre in British India. So if instead of the Unitary form of constitution, the British system of Govt. in India would have come to be based upon this principle, the whole process of centralization and absolutism would have been reversed. The Legislative functions, which were so far then, taken to be subordinate to the Executive ones, would have come not only at par with the latter, but through their intrinsic importance, would have accrued to the Legislative Council, strength and dignity. The supremacy of the Legislative

1. The para 8 runs as follows :—We cannot but think that it is mistake to speak of the Legislative Council as an institution distinct from the Governor General in Council as is done in the standing orders of the Legislative council, or as is done in the 5th paragraph of the circular letter of 1834, to speak of the "Supreme Govt." as distinct from the legislature."

2. The proceedings of the Legislative council of India vol. VI, p. 1376, Mr. Beadon's words were :— "This council.....was not a body separate from the Governor General in Council, or in his absence the vice President in Council, and these meetings were meetings of the Council of India for making laws and regulations.

Council, even if it had not served any immediate purpose of the cause of democracy, would have surely given a flip to the growth of responsible govt. in India, when the process of indianisation of the legislative bodies commenced. The experiment of 1853 served a good example. Even if it was not a representative and responsible legislative organ; at least the boldness it had cultivated under the influence of this theory, and the attempt that it made to extend its competence and functions, could all be turned into a useful handle of power for the non official members, who entered later into the council. But this preemption which had a germ of responsible government, was soon thwarted by the Executive, not so much for its legal fallacy, as for its potentialities. The Parliamentary form, procedure, and flourish of the council, viewed in light of Lord Dalhousie's theory of Independence and his previous recommendation of including one Indian member in the Council, raised certain misgivings in the minds of the Home authorities lest under the cloak of those formal attributes, a representative system might not stealthily find its way in the fortress of their autocratic regime. Despite the fact that the council consisted wholly of the English officials, a slight boldness and inquisitiveness shown by it, a few harmless prying into the affairs of the executive—at least not very important ones, an uncereemonious presentation of few unsuccessful petitions for redressing the grievances, a reasoned out defiance of pre-natal authority of the Home Government, and the public rejection of certain bills, put the executive off its heels. The rulers of India wanted legislation to be a subordinate function of the Government and expected the Legislative council to function merely as a legislative committee of the Executive council. They could not, therefore, suffer to let the Legislative Council form a nucleus of Constitutional Parliament. Their answer was the Act of 1861, which circumscribed the competence of the Legislative council to that of mere legislation.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOA (1844-47)

BY

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(Summary)

The usual difficulties of the British Govt: in apprehending criminals who found refuge and a base for their operations in Goa presented itself in an aggravated form during the rebellion of Kolapuri and Sawunt Wadi in 1844-45. The insurgents were supported by men, money, and arms from the Goa territory. The safe refuge in Goa gave them an advantage of carrying on their depredations into Sawant Wadi state at opportune moments, without the risk of being captured by Br: forces. The sympathies of most of the Goa officials were also on the side of the rebels. Such conduct on the part of the Goa Governor-General is attributable to his misinterpretation of relations of S. Wadi with Goa, which he construed to be as that of between two independent states. He tried to apply the laws of neutrality to the rebels by giving them shelter into Goa and refusing to surrender them on demand from the British. On the British demanding the surrender of prisoners under the treaty of 1810 with Portugal, the Goa G. G. claimed that the above treaty had been superseded by that of 1842. The G. G. of Goa was also actuated by a feeling of revenge and chagrin at the Br: Govt: having given refuge to Portuguese subjects during a civil war.

The Br: authorities were very much irritated by such conduct on the part of the authorities "of a small settlement, which derived much of its security and many of its advantages from the paramount Br: power in India, to convert that settlement

into an asylum for harbouring insurgents and criminals hostile to Br: interests. A large number of letters of remonstrance, and several missions were sent to G. G. Goa but they could not secure the objects of the Br: Govt: The professions of the G. G. Goa that he was doing everything to check the rebels had no effect in preventing depredations on the frontier. The Govt: of India even had to give permission to Bombay Govt: to stop all intercourse with Goa and to allow Br: officers to pursue refugees who after committing atrocities in S. Wadi or Br: territory again sought to enter Goa. The Bombay Govt: did not make use of this permission immediately as it wanted to settle the matter as amicably as possible, and any violation of Goa Territory might have led to collisions.

Gradually the remonstrances of the British had their effect, the Goa authorities had most of the rebel leaders arrested. They also began to help the Br: authorities in apprehending criminals and on pretext of surrendering criminals engaged in recent atrocities they gave up to the Br: a large number of prisoners unconditionally. The Govt: of Portugal while rejecting the suggestion of the Govt: of Great Britain for the transfer of Goa to them: disapproved of the conduct of the G. G. Goa in his relation with criminals.

These measures of Goa Govt: led to restoration of tranquillity on the frontier and the Br: Govt: did not deem it proper to press for a formal settlement of the matter in dispute as the G. G. Goa was averse to it. Throughout these transactions Lord Hardinge showed extraordinary moderation.

THE INDIGENOUS ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BEFORE THE MUTINY

BY

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(Summary)

The advent of the British rule in India found a widespread system of indigenous education coming down from times immemorial and based on religious and national traditions. The acquisition, preservation, and dissemination of learning was enjoined and applauded by the sacred books of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Every Indian ruler—Central or Provincial considered the diffusion of knowledge as an essential duty; and although the British rule did not inherit any department of public instruction from its predecessors, yet "some form of education, both primary and secondary, was in existence during the reigns of the first six Mughal Emperors." Akbar took considerable interest in the subject and laid down certain rules of pedagogy to methodise the teaching in indigenous schools as early as the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The independent provincial rulers—Banjit Singh, the Peshwas, the Nawabs of Oudh and the Rohillas—who flourished on the ruins of the Mughal Empire very generously stretched their helping hands towards the cause of public instruction.

The village was the vital unit of organization. It was self-sufficient and isolated in everywalk of life; education was no exception. Like other villag

functionaries the office of a village schoolmaster was hereditary and inseparable from the collective village life. He enjoyed rent-free land for imparting instruction into the three R's in a *pathshala* (also known as *chatsal* or *maktub*).

The hoary indigenous institutions withstood the shocks of political revolutions. Throughout the period of Mughal rule they carried on their recognised tasks uninterruptedly.

The Court of Directors were very much impressed by the efficiency of the indigenous system, and they paid their "highest tribute" to it in 1814. They requested the Government of India to afford their "protection" to the village teachers and "take early measures" to find out the then state of indigenous institutions and "report the results of inquiries" to the Home government.

But for eight years the question was left in cold storage. Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, took the first initiative in July 1822 to carry on the required inquiry; and later on the other Presidencies followed suit.

The plan of the various investigations was to ascertain the nature and number of schools, the number of teachers and scholars and the respective community to which they belonged; the nature and amount of teachers' salary; the average age of the teachers; the average school-going and school-leaving age of the scholars; the period of pupilage; the manner, matter and media of instruction; nature of books or other materials through which instruction was conveyed.

The two agencies to impart the elementary education were: first, the public schools; and secondly, private institutions.

It is interesting to note that while the study of Persian was encouraged by its employment in public services and private correspondence, no such incentive was given to the cultivation of Hindi. Even then in the North-Western Provinces the number of *chatsals* was larger than *magtubs*; and there was the higher average number of scholars to each of the former than to each of the latter. Hence Hindi was "the proper and the most effective medium of instruction in these provinces".

The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs being the majority communities, the schools have been denominated after them. But in spite of the heterogeneity of language, creed and clime, a *general uniformity* of the indigenous system is visible throughout the entire length and breadth of the country.

The elementary institutions were preeminently *democratic*. The high and low, the rich and poor sat side by side, brushing shoulder to shoulder, to drink the font of knowledge and worship the goddess Sarswati.

Such a democratic educational organisation was essentially bound to be *free from narrow communalism*. Hindi, Bengali and Persian schools were attended by students of both the communities. These schools were manned by Hindu and Muslim teachers alike. Thus "the mutual disposition of Hindu and Musalmans towards each other" was a very important attribute of the indigenous system of elementary schools. "The Hindu and Musalman scholars and the different castes of the former assemble in the same school-house, receive the same instruction from the same teacher, and join in the same plays and pastimes."

There were four stages in all the vernacular schools but the Persian one.

The school-going and school-leaving age varied. Generally the former was from five to six and the latter from fifteen to sixteen, Printed books were unknown. Only manuscripts were read.

The daily routine was in tune with the habits and customs of the students and the climatic conditions of the country.

The curricula of studies had "a direct practical tendency" towards the boy's life. Besides this correlation between the student's actual life and his studies in school, there was a correlation between the latter and his home. With all strictness of discipline the school was pervaded with a sympathetic and homely atmosphere. There existed a "paternal relation" between the teacher and the taught. The indigenous system could be justified on psychological basis. To use the language of modern educational psychology the children *learned through their senses* and knowledge became a development from within rather than an accretion from without.

But the system was not without its drawbacks. There was no connection or inter dependence between the elementary and the higher stages. Neither the former was preparatory to the latter nor the latter was complementary to the former. There was no provision for the girls' education.

Be that as it may, the Court of Directors repeatedly expressed the conviction that it was "upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend." In the long run the indigenous institutions were incorporated and absorbed in the departmental elementary schools. This absorption proved to be one of the accessory causes for the outbreak of the Mutiny.

Various causes may be assigned to the "progressive decline" of the indigenous system. "The shifting of the population, from war or other causes, the poverty of the people" and the want of "properly qualified" teachers were responsible for the diminishing of the number.

NON-OFFICIALS IN THE COUNCILS OF 1861

BY

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The Indian Councils' Act of 1861 gave form to two new principles, one, the association of non-officials in the legislative functions of the Government, and two, the establishment of local legislative councils with a view to decentralizing legislation. The Government of India as then constituted, was centralised alien despotism. There does not, at the moment, appear to have been any intention of sharing power with the ruled or of taking even the first step towards a responsible Parliamentary government. The Mutiny had been suppressed; the Presidency Governments had not been released from central tutelage and new Chief-Commissionerships had been established. There was no effective change even in the character of administration. What then led to this radical alteration in the constitution of the Legislative Council?

The Governor-General's Council was enlarged in 1858 by the addition of two judges and four official councillors from different Presidencies of India for the purpose of improving the legislation of the country. Every testimony points to its complete success in this respect. Sir Bartle Frere considered its work "not only much greater in proportionate quantity, but.....in quantity better.....than..... during the 20 preceding years." But its main defect in the eyes of the Governor General and the Secretary of State was that it had been "vested with the forms of a Parliament, and that its deliberations were thrown open to the public." It assumed an air of independence. It called for secret papers and had pretensions of a representative chamber like the Parliament. There is no doubt that Lord Dalhousie, by the standing orders which he framed, had abetted these pretensions. Yet no purely official body, without the least vestige of representation in it, could be permitted to maintain such a farce longer. And when it demanded despatches on the Mysore grant to be laid before it, a change in its constitution was immediately sought for.

If, however, all that was desired was to restrict its powers and make it more amenable to control and less inconvenient to executive authority, a mere change in the standing orders would have secured that result. But the suggestions put forward by Lord Canning, Sir Bartle Frere and others in India, and the actual Bill sponsored by Sir Charles Wood in the Parliament were of a far-reaching character. They laid more emphasis on its composition. They put forward the scheme of establishing local councils in the Provinces. The interest shifted from mere form of its procedure to the character of its constitution. In the discussions emerged two new points, that non-official element should be introduced in the legislature, and that in place of one supreme Central Legislative Council legislating for the whole of British India there should be established in every province a Council to undertake as much local legislation as possible. Instead of withholding publicity, the legislature was to mirror public opinion as well as to direct it. This anomaly is explained by some members of the Viceroy's Council in their minutes which gives an insight into the motives of the Government in seeking these comprehensive changes.

While discussing the viewpoint that the Council should revert to the position of a mere advisory council summoned for specific purposes, deliberating in secret, Sir Bartle Frere pointed out the impracticability of this course because Englishmen "either here or in England" would not consent "to a retrograde course in this matter". He wrote, "its (Council's) suppression with any view to make our legislation more autocratic, or an alteration in the constitution or forms of the Council with any intent to lessen its independence, or to restrict the publicity of its proceedings, I am convinced, more than any Government I have seen in India could effect, or even attempt, without incurring very serious risk." It was so because of the growing public opinion which was progressive, vigilant and critical of government. The Indian "public, according to him, comprised both non-official Europeans and Indians. And it was chiefly the English section of it which, at that time, was keen to secure a due share in legislative operations. It was influential and independent of government. Even English officials had "less attachment than formerly to the government they serve." It was "inclined to be hostile to government, and is intimately connected with a great body of English writers and with the English Press, often avowedly hostile to the Indian Government." Sir Bartle frankly admitted the difficulty of managing even "one discontented non-official Englishman with a real grievance".

The non-official "English settlers were anxious to be represented in a Calcutta Parliament." This longing was not confined to Europeans of Bengal but seems to have been cherished by Europeans in other parts of the country as well. These non-official Europeans desired to control Indian legislation. This section was perhaps "most audible and immediately influential." It was therefore thought desirable to

grant moderate reform at the moment rather than wait for its being "extorted by external pressure". This accounts for the proposal to include non-official element in the Legislative Council, for some non-official Europeans of the business community must be given seats in the legislature. The plans proposed by both the Governor General and Sir Bartle Frere provided, therefore, for such representation in the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta and also Local Councils in Madras and Bombay. It may not be wide the mark to suggest that the proposal to establish local councils was itself a consequence of the project of non-official European representation in the legislature. English merchants of other Presidency towns could not afford to be long absent from their place of business to attend the sessions of the Council at Calcutta. At the same time their interests could not be neglected. Hence the proposal to decentralise legislation and provide representation to them in the local Councils which might be established in the other Presidencies. The mode was adopted "for securing representatives of the special and non-official interests of other parts of India".

The inclusion of the Indian or "native" element was a necessary corollary of non-official European representation in the Legislative Councils. Justice and expediency both required that the Indian should not be left out. As in the case of Europeans, Indian public opinion was no less inconvenient to the Government. For some time before the Mutiny "the number of natives who read English newspapers and are accessible to all the influence which sway public opinion in England, is rapidly increasing, but far more rapid is the increase in the number of those who are indirectly open to the same influence." Sir Bartle Frere remarks that the indifference to public questions other than those of a local nature which was the chief characteristic of the Indian public "has given place among the more intelligent classes to a feverish curiosity." At the same time, Mutiny had shown the unwisdom of conducting a government wholly irresponsive and out of touch with the people's will, and the Government, it seems, was no longer "prepared for the perilous experiment of continuing to legislate for millions of people, with few means of knowing, except by a rebellion, whether the laws made suit them or not." Sir Bartle Frere, therefore, opined that "the addition of the native element has become necessary, owing to our diminished opportunities of learning through indirect channels, what the native think of our measures, and how the native community will be affected by them." There being no other mode of knowing their will, their presence in the legislature was tolerated as a necessary evil. Moreover, it was considered inequitable and impolitic to provide representation for Europeans while denying it to Indians. Sir Bartle Frere regarded it as "a matter of even greater importance," and Sir Charles Wood and Lord Canning were of opinion that the Indians had an equally strong claim with the Europeans because legislation affected "the interests of millions of the native population." Nevertheless it is clear from these Minutes that the question of Indian element arose merely because it was deemed desirable to admit Europeans in the Legislature. It is true the government realised the danger of their non-association, and considered it politic to base legislation on their views and sentiments. But the question of their active association with the government could not have arisen were it not for the immediate necessity of conciliating the European group. I am even inclined to presume that the Indian element was introduced as a set-off against the inconvenient, independent and critical non-official European element. That is the reason why only such Indians were chosen as were unable to combine with the progressive forces and were incapable of taking share in the work owing to their lack of knowledge of English language and their representative character.

One other factor also influenced this decision. The financial situation of the Government of India immediately after the Mutiny was bordering on 'bankruptcy'. The Legislative Council demanded a voice in the expenditure of the taxes voted by them, and in this matter it had the support of "the unanimous opinion of all classes,

European as well as native, official as well as non-official, in all the Presidencies and throughout the length and breadth of India". The question at the time was, as Sir Samuel Laing put it, "whether the public opinion of the classes, European and Native, who pay taxes is to be consulted or disregarded in matters which immediately affect their interests." Feelings had become intense. It was difficult to delay reform for fear that "a strong and active opposition will certainly arise, which a Government financially strong might possibly afford to disregard, but which in our actual position would be a source of the most serious embarrassment". There was the danger that if fresh taxes were imposed or loans were attempted the press and the public opinion, particularly European, would raise the united cry of "no more Taxation while have secret and irresponsible expenditure". The European community had been unusually excited on the proposal of Income Tax in 1860. It was impossible to strengthen the financial position of the Government without conciliating them or taking them into confidence. Hence, inclusion of non-official Europeans, and also of Indians, had become necessary. Sir Samuel Laing was therefore prepared to go farther than Lord Canning or Sir Bartle Frere in the matter of "the introduction of non-official element". He was in favour of enlarging the functions of the legislature so as to have greater say in financial matter. He desired "that no expenditure chargeable on Indian Revenue (except in an emergency, and subject to the Governor General's overruling authority) should be lawful, unless an estimate of it should have been previously laid before the Legislative Council for a certain time, sufficient to enable them to comment upon it, if so disposed, by way of Resolution or Address". This was an advance on Mr. Wilson's precedent. He added further, "Not being strictly speaking, a Representative body, representing the Tax-payer of India, the Legislative Council could not, I think justly claim a positive right of voting or refusing to vote each item of Indian expenditure, but I certainly think that they have a right to be fully informed respecting, and to have an opportunity of commenting on, all expenditure of money charged on Indian Taxation." This measure would lead to economy, he believed, and also "strengthen the hands of the Central Government, in enforcing economy in the administration of the Army and of the Provinces". It is clear from his minute as well as that of Sir Bartle Frere that financial considerations were responsible for the extension of the Legislative Councils and the expansion of their functions.

The value and need of non-official element in the legislature being recognised it was deemed reasonable to enlarge the scope of its association. There was no idea of establishing representative institutions, and yet largest possible reflection of European non-official opinion in the legislative deliberations was desirable. It was at the same time difficult to secure attendance of Europeans of Madras or Bombay at Calcutta, while a considerable addition of non-official element in the Legislative Council of Calcutta would have affected the character of government. Hence suggestion was put forward to establish Legislative Councils in Madras and Bombay as well as in other provinces, which could admit some local non-official Europeans and Indians also. Sir Bartle Frere advised the appointment of an equal member of official and non-official members, latter being "selected by the Governor from among the leading members of the non-official community, European and Native, at the Presidency". Selection was to be such "as to secure efficient representatives of all the principal and most influential classes and interests". The main purpose of this element was to "form the ordinary medium of communication between the Executive Government and the public." Sir Bartle suggested "that the non-official members should form a sort of permanent Committee, to which Government could refer with some confidence that it fairly represented the opinions of the non-official community, and that measures approved by them would not be unacceptable to the community at large." These local Councils were to enact local rules and regulations, prepare measures for enactment by the Supreme Legislative Council and apportion funds assigned for expenditure on police, education, publication works etc. Even for local laws discussed and framed by the local councils, the Supreme Council was to be given a power of revision.

The scope of the activity of local councils was to be strictly limited. All important functions were the close preserve of the central authority and no division of powers was contemplated. The local councils could be permitted to make local laws, impose local taxes and discuss local matters, without seriously affecting the exercise of Central authority. Sir Bartle Frere most frankly appreciated the value of this contrivance. He believed that "the plan proposed provides for an ample and non-inconvenient amount of "outside" element of the best description obtainable. "If the local non-official members did not fully represent the non-official classes of all India, the want would be supplied by the local Legislatures, before which all measures would, in one form or another, be brought for consideration." The local councils were intended to give "fullest information and warning" to the government regarding the views and wishes of the people. This was their main and sole purpose; and it may be added they were the product of the contemporary need for conciliating public opinion, particularly European, and focussing it on government measures.

Thus, the constitutional changes of 1861 arose from one main motive of assimilating public opinion to government measures and thereby depriving it of its sting. Because non-official Europeans were its most active agents, and also because they so importunately demanded a voice in the administration, it was now essential to secure their participation in the legislative activities of the government. The reform could not be delayed for it was feared that on this issue the Liberal party in England would combine with the otherwise conservative English settlers in India and their supporters in England. Hence a moderate advance was contemplated. It was impossible to deny representative institutions for long to the English settlers, for for accustmed as they were to parliamentary government, they could no longer endure the wholly irresponsible and bureaucratic despotism in India. As in 1833 the opening of India to English settlers had led to the partial separation of legislative and executive agencies, so in 1861 the need of conciliating European opinion and of satisfying their demand for representation led to the expansion of the Legislative Council. But because interests of the European community were mainly commercial, and as it was subject to the biases and prejudices of the merchant class, a legislature mainly composed of Europeans would have been "the legislature of a class in its worst and most aggravated form". The Government of India therefore needed other elements also to counteract it. The Indian community was also uneasy, and the Mutiny emphasised the importance of consulting its wishes. Hence the introduction of Indian non-officials was also provided for. It served a dual purpose. One as Chesney put it, "to give an interest in the institution in the estimation of the people of India, which would be wanting to an assembly composed wholly of Europeans", and the other of acting as a check on class domination in the legislature.

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Thus, the constitutional changes of 1861 arose from one main motive of assimilating public opinion to government measures and thereby depriving it of its sting. Because non-official Europeans were its most active agents, and also because they so importunately demanded a voice in the administration, it was now essential to secure their participation in the legislative activities of the government. The reform could not be delayed for it was feared that on this issue the Liberal party in England would combine with the otherwise conservative English settlers in India and their supporters in England. Hence a moderate advance was contemplated. It was impossible to deny representative institutions for long to the English settlers, for for accustmed as they were to parliamentary government, they could no longer endure the wholly irresponsible and bureaucratic despotism in India. As in 1833 the opening of India to English settlers had led to the partial separation of legislative and executive agencies, so in 1861 the need of conciliating European opinion and of satisfying their demand for representation led to the expansion of the Legislative Council. But because interests of the European community were mainly commercial, and as it was subject to the biases and prejudices of the merchant class, a legislature mainly composed of Europeans would have been "the legislature of a class in its worst and most aggravated form". The Government of India therefore needed other elements also to counteract it. The Indian community was also uneasy, and the Mutiny emphasised the importance of consulting its wishes. Hence the introduction of Indian non-officials was also provided for. It served a dual purpose. One as Chesney put it, "to give an interest in the institution in the estimation of the people of India, which would be wanting to an assembly composed wholly of Europeans", and the other of acting as a check on class domination in the legislature.

The reform of 1861 had, therefore, its origin in the need for providing, in some form, representation to the European Community, and to that extent the Indian Council's Act of 1861 might be said to initiate the principle of representation in India.

CONFESSION OF TWO MUTINEERS

BY

Mr. Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

(Summary)

In this paper an account has been given of the mutiny of the Ramgraph Light Infantry Battalion at Dorunda on 2nd August, 1857. Lt. Graham proceeded with it towards Hazaribagh with the intention of disarming the two mutinous companies at Hazaribagh, but on the way it learnt of the Mutiny there and broke into open mutiny. It returned to Ranchi, burnt the houses of Captain Oakes and Lt. Moncrieff, relieved prisoners, fired at the Church and destroyed the cutchery. The civil and military officers left Ranchi. The mutineers failed to induce any leading men of the district to join them. There was indecision amongst themselves. Those of the battalion who belonged to the Ramghur and Chotanagpur districts were not in favour of plunder. Thakur Bisnath Sahai ultimately joined them as 'ruler'. Meanwhile Dalton restored perfect order at Hazaribagh by 1st September, the Zamindars were loyal and Col. Fisher was advancing towards Doranda. The mutineers were consequently upset (11th Sep.) and wanted to get away with guns and treasure (4 six-pounders, magazine and 2 lac rupees), by Tikoo Ghat towards Chatra or through Palamow, intending to effect junction with 5th Irregular Cavalry and with Koer Sing at Rohtasgarh. The mutineers were progressing slowly, (the Zamindars having blocked the ghats) and ultimately passed through Tikoo and Chundwa to Balamat (21st Sep.). Meanwhile Major English (with his 53rd Reg.) and Lt. Earle with his Sikhs were to advance from Hazaribagh to intercept the mutineers who were proceeding towards Chatra. In an engagement at Chatra on 2nd Oct. the mutineers were defeated, and their arms and ammunition captured. Jay Mangal Panday and Nadir Ally, Subadars of the battalion, were both taken in the jungle and tried before Major Simpson under Act XVI of 1857 and sentenced to death. They made confessions (3rd October, 1857), the subject matter of the paper—from which it appears that Kunwar Singh instigated the regiment to mutiny and join him. Jamadar Madho Singh commanded the mutineers at Chatra. They had no intention to mutiny previous to the mutiny of the detachment that sent with Graham.

THE FORGOTTEN SAVIOUR OF THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH

BY

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, Lucknow

(Summary)

The name of Lord Canning is remembered to-day with feelings of respect and gratitude by the landed aristocracy of Oudh for the boon of the famous "Taluqdari Settlement" conferred on them after the Mutiny of 1857 during his Viceroyalty. A close examination of the contemporary sources, however, compels one to revise the commonly accepted belief that Lord Canning had been the best friend of the landlords of Oudh.

It may come as a surprise to students of Indian History; still the truth is that Lord Ellenborough was really the greatest benefactor of the Taluqdars, as he saved their order from actual extinction decided upon by Lord Canning.

Contemporary papers show that the Taluqdars were treated very unjustly because of their so-called Mutiny guilt. Lord Canning's decision to wipe out the baronial class of Oudh was both duty and impolitic. His insistence on the enforcement of the drastic Oudh Proclamation was one of the many errors that made the task of reconquest and pacification of Oudh both difficult and prolonged.

Fortunately for the Oudh Landlords, Lord Ellenborough made a timely intervention in their favour in his capacity of President of the Board of Control, and prevented the Viceroy from carrying out this drastic policy. He sent a long despatch to Lord Canning protesting against the contemplated confiscation of all the lands in Oudh, and condemned the Oudh Proclamation in such scathing terms as to be almost insulting to the Viceroy, and referred to the Taluqdars as more sinned against than sinning.

THE LOOSHAI RAIDS AND LOOSHAI POLICY

(1869—1872)

BY

Mr. Ganpat Rai, Delhi.

(Summary)

This paper has been based on the original documents and records preserved in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. After giving a cursory account of the Looshai land and its people, the Looshai policy of the pre-Mayo period—a policy of concession and conciliation—has been passingly referred to.

The devastating visitations of the Looshais to Cachar, Sylhet, Manipore, Hill Tipperah and Chittagong during the year 1869 have been described. Three columns of British army marched into the Looshai land from three different quarters with purely punitive purposes, but the expedition failed and failed miserably. The chief causes of this failure are given in the words of Mr. W. S. Seton Karr, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department. Despite repeated demands by the Government of Bengal, Lord Mayo decided against renewal of active military operations against the Looshais in the ensuing cold weather and laid down in unmistakable language his Looshai policy, (vide Pol. Pros. December 1869, Nos. 248, 285-287 and 289-290) which may well be called "a strictly defensive policy".

During the year 1870 strenuous and sincere efforts were made to implement this policy. Early in 1871 it was discovered that the Looshais were implacable as ever before, and the months of January and February witnessed once again attacks by the Looshais all along the eastern frontiers of Bengal, from Cachar to Chittagong. The Government of Bengal, in view of repeated and unprovoked raids of the Looshais, urged a departure from the pet policy "uninterrupted conciliation". Lord Mayo's Government, after seeking and securing information on all possible issues of the problem, passed on 11th July, 1871, the momentous Resolution declaring, with regret, the necessity of armed intervention in the Looshai land, but saying

in the same breath that "The General policy of Government towards the tribes who inhabit the country lying between Cachar and Chittagong Districts and to the east of Hill Tipperah.....is unchanged." In obedience to this Resolution an expedition was led into the Looshai land from two sides—from Chittagong and Cachar which was a complete success, and brought in its train the desired result.

After punishing the Looshai tribes adequately, the Government of Lord Mayo began to contemplate over the question—whether or not a change in the Looshai policy was desirable. Lord Mayo, himself the Foreign Minister and the initiating member of his Council for Foreign Affairs, personally examined the knotty question of frontier policy in general and the north-east frontier policy in particular. He had before him the views of the various schools of thought and the various theories and systems of frontier defence, viz., Pure Defence; Permanent Occupation and Complete Subjugation; Conciliation; Consolidation of the Tribes under one Chief; and Military exploration. He critically studied the views of the leading exponents of various schools, notably, the views of W W. Hunter on the Frontier policy of Conciliation and Humanity, as embodied in his "Political Dissertation" prefixed to his "A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of Indian and High Asia;" the exposition of Mr. A Meecknie in favour of military occupation; Mr. Burland's advocacy in defence of consolidation of the Looshai tribes under one Chief; Sir G. Campbell's famous Minute of May 18, 1871, on what he himself called a policy of "military exploration;" and Lord Dalhousie's policy of Pure Defence.

A thesis has been urged that Lord Mayo was a man of resolute will and strong determination. He had, from the very outset, made the frontier policy of his illustrious predecessor his own by conviction and adoption. He stuck to it throughout his reign in the face of repeated raids and inroads of the Looshai tribes and in spite of repeated urgings to the contrary by the Local authorities. The Resolution of July 11, 1871, is a proof positive of it. He was convinced of the soundness of the views of Mr. W. W. Hunter and Lord Dalhousie on this complex problem, and adopted and declared them in the following terms: "..... that a general policy of conciliation and humanity, combined with firmness in the repression of crime and a determination to preserve peace, will always receive the cordial support of the Government of India". Lord Mayo found the ultimate solution of the frontier problems in this panacea. He however, indiscriminately applied this panacea to all frontiers—North-western as well as North-Eastern. Mr. A. Mackenzie had sounded a strong warning against the application of this policy to the Looshai land, and time proved that he was right. The successors of Lord Mayo had to make a complete and radical departure from the policy of "conciliation and humanity" also known as the policy of "uninterrupted conciliation" or "a strictly defensive policy" or "a policy of pure defence" and to apply to this frontier the policy of "permanent occupation and complete subjugation". But the fact cannot be gainsaid that Lord Mayo was a man of strong convictions and determination, and he brought to bear his convictions on every important question of State policy, for that reason his North-east frontier policy bears the indelible impress of his personality.

BEGINNING OF THE FORWARD POLICY IN NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA, 1874—1876.

BY

Mr. Anup Chand, M. A., Punjab.

(Summary)

The close of Mr. Gladstone's first administration, in 1874, is the date, if any single date can be given, for the change in the sentiments and aspirations of the people. There was a significant conservative reaction in the public opinion. The rapid advance of the new powers of the world aroused new jealousies and awakened new ambitions. England's economic position was being challenged and her political position had deteriorated. Russia violated the terms of the Black Sea Treaty and continued her unresisted march eastward by annexing the decadent Tartar and Turcoman states.

For manifest reasons of policy and strategy British diplomacy could not tolerate the momentum of Russian advance. They wanted to preserve a preponderating influence in the countries marching with their own territory and allow no foreign interference in them. The policy of Masterly Inactivity, which set at rest for some time to come, the Russophobia, again made the spark of mistrust against her designs over India, flicker forth into flame, and the old cry that England was sleeping while Russia was working reechoed in England. The press and the platform resounded with plans to counteract the Russian menace. Sir Henry Rawlinson envisaged in his famous Memorandum, Lord Auckland's doctrine, "of establishing a strong and friendly power" on the North West Frontier of India. It was considered to be of paramount importance, that England may obtain a dominant position at Kabul, and thereby close the "avenue of approach against Russia".

The conquest of Khiva in 1874, prompted Lord Granville, to instruct the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to direct the attention of the Russian Government, to the dangers which threatened the relations of the two Governments on account of the altered position in Central Asia. The Foreign Secretary further desired to acquaint the Russian Government that the Independence of Afghanistan was the sine qua non of the security and welfare of British India and the peace of Asia. Prince Gortchakoff, reiterated his declaration of the 7th March 1869, and while writing to the Russian Ambassador, in London, again made it clear that "he had repeated it to Lord Loftus the positive assurance that the Imperial Cabinet continues to consider Afghanistan as entirely beyond its sphere of action. Lord Northbrook, the Governor-General of India, held steadfast to the specific assurances of the Russian Government. The fall of Khiva perturbed Sher Ali. In order to ascertain definitely, the promise to aid from the British Government, he sent his Envoy Nur Muhammed to Simla. The Government of Mr. Gladstone never wanted to commit itself to any treaty or engagement with the Ameer. Because Russia had the same right to approach Afghanistan from the one side as the British Government had from the other.

But now when the Imperial reaction of the public opinion had set in England, the times were propitious for the Forward Policy. In March 1874, Mr. Disraeli formed the conservative Government. While laying

down his programme in 1872, he regarded Great Britain as an Imperial country. During the early months of his administration there was no salient change in his policy "though the diplomatic world soon began to realise that atmosphere of British diplomacy under the inspiration of Disraeli was different from that to which they had grown accustomed since 1869". Sir Bartle Frere, who was in 1874, the member of India Council, wrote a confidential letter to Sir John Kaye, for circulation amongst other members of the Council. He considered the appointment of British Agents in Afghanistan, inter alia, to be of such an imperative necessity, that Sir Bartle Frere would even go so far as to make the Amir of Afghanistan to clearly understand, that in case he objected to the proposal, "he must not count on our support unless he followed our advice".

Sir Henry Rawlinson did not lag behind in the propagation of his dogmas. In the second edition of his book, *England and Russia in the Far East*, he reminded his readers that Merv was the Central point round which the present and future interests of eastern question revolved. It would be threatening to Afghanistan. Under the circumstances England's "liability to furnish material assistance would come into active operation and the arrangements, therefore, which I have proposed for placing a British garrison in the western Afghan capital, so far from deserving to be stigmatised as an act of spoliation, would in reality be nothing more than the discharge of an onerous duty to an ally.

Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India in the cabinet of Mr. Disraeli, was a new convert to the Forward Policy, in January 1875, Lord Salisbury penned a Despatch to Lord Northbrook, in which he stressed the desirability of appointing an English Resident at the Court of Cabul. "Though no immediate danger appear to threaten the interests of Her Majesty in Central Asia and on the Frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan, the effect of affairs is sufficiently grave to inspire solicitude, and to suggest the necessity of the timely precaution". Here is the starting point of the new policy, Salisbury was convinced and Disraeli agreed with him that "with Russian emissaries at the ear of the Ameer, it was highly desirable that the Indian Government on its side should have a duly established agent at his court".

The proposal was met with abhorrence and strong representation of its inexpediency by the Government of India. Lord Northbrook did not question the bona fides of the proposal of Lord Salisbury. He considered that the time was unsuitable for making such appointments since it would be vehemently objected to by the Amir. In June 1875 Northbrook sent the Official despatch manifesting the same policy of strict neutrality. Before submitting his dispatch, Northbrook issued a questionnaire to elicit the expert opinion on the subject. The Punjab Government and Nawab Fajdar Khan and Ghulam Hussain Khan, who successively served as British Agents in Afghanistan, were all unanimously agreed that the Amir would be most unwilling to receive a British agent. But Salisbury was adamant. If the Amir of Afghanistan was unwilling to receive the Mission, the Secretary of State proposed "to tell the Government of India to make the Amir wish it. In his Secret Despatch, November 19, 1875, Lord Salisbury, instructed Lord Northbrook, that in the beginning the Amir should be induced to receive a temporary embassy and "it need not be publicly connected with the establishment of a permanent Mission within his dominions".

The policy of Lord Northbrook was the reflex of his own character. He advocated a genuine, honest and straight-forward policy, and, therefore, urged that if a permanent Mission was intended to be established, the Amir should be candidly informed of its true nature. Lord Northbrook found no reason to convince the English Cabinet, and he was reluctantly obliged to resign, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health. The instructions of the Secretary of State were so pre-emptory and ill-timed that Lord Northbrook could not become the mouth-piece of the reactionary policy. Undoubtedly, the electorate in England had returned its verdict favourably on the Imperialistic policy of Disraeli, yet the Prime Minister had not the scruples enough to disclose the resignation of Lord Northbrook, even to the members of his Cabinet, because "if imparted to the Cabinet, it will soon be babbled about by the wives" producing repercussions of a dire nature in the public mind.

HISTORY OF THE FEMALE FRANCHISE IN BRITISH INDIA

BY

Mr. P. N. Khera M.A., LL B. D.A.V. Sholapur

(Summary)

The Indian womens' movement in the recent past has had two phases, one aiming at social reform, the other at political and Civil rights. This essay traces the circumstances which have introduced the second phase.

In the nationalist movement of Lord Curzon's time, the Indian leaders had advocated the boycott of British goods. The success of this first *Swadeshi* movement depended on the output of a large amount of home-spun yarn, and this brought the women of India into the national movement for the first time.

During the Great war of 1914—18, the women of India acquired the habit of working together on non-communial lines to alleviate the sufferings of the troops. The suffrage movement in England also stirred them to activity. The allies declared that they were fighting for democracy and self-determination. The educated Indian women also thought of getting the vote for themselves, and then came the Lucknow Pact which suggested that the Provincial Legislatures should be elected "directly by the the *people*," Later on the women interpreted the word 'people' to include women.

When Mr. Montagu came to India in 1917, the women of India sent a deputation headed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to wait on him, Mrs. Annic Besant was also present and the address was drafted by Mrs. Cousins. The deputation demanded votes for women in the new constitution of India. The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress (1917) also passed a resolution in favour of granting the franchise to the women.

The Franchise Commission of 1919 received many petitions from Indian women but all members of the Commission except Mr. Hogg opposed the grant of vote to the women. The Government of India

supported the reactionary recommendation of the Commission except one member of the G. G.'s Executive Council (Sir Sankaran Nair) who supported the women's demand. The women now sent a deputation to London to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of both houses of Parliament. The Joint Select Committee recommended that the question should be left to the newly elected legislative council of each province and to the both houses of the central legislature.

Madras led the way in April 1921, and Bombay also took advantage of the clause. U. P. passed a resolution for women's suffrage in 1923, the C. P. the Punjab and Bengal in 1926. Finally Bihar and Orissa joined up, so that women were enfranchised within ten years of the passing of reforms. This was a very remarkable and unlooked for development.

However owing to the property qualification for voting and to the fact that a very few Indian women hold property in their own name, the number of women enfranchised in 1919 was very small; it was roughly six out of every one thousand.

A number of women's organisation also sprang up at about this time and contributed to the rapid growth of awakening among them.

The Simon Commission was not prepared to recommend any sweeping extension of the franchise, but nevertheless they recommended that "women's suffrage should be a cardinal part of the franchise system." In addition to the existing qualifications they recommended the grant of vote to (i) wives of men having property qualification (ii) and widows whose husband at the time of death was so qualified, provided those wives and widows are above the age of 25.

But the recommendations of the Statutory Commission were not fated to be translated into Statute. The R. T. Conference met in 1930 and the whole constitutional question was referred to it.

The Civil Disobedience movement was started in the same year, and this movement again brought women into prominence. They emerged out of this movement fully conscious of their political rights and duties and their right to an extended franchise could not possibly be denied.

At the R. T. Conference the despatch of the Government of India and the views of the Provincial Governments were considered and they were all opposed to the extension of the franchise to women. But the women were represented by two very able and energetic women, Begam Shah Navaz and Mrs. Subbarayan, and they pressed their claims so well that all agreed to disregard the proposal of the reactionary despatch of the Government of India. After the Gandhi-Irwin fact, women got accession to their strength by the coming to London of Mrs. Naidu as delegate to the R. T. Conference. They put forth concrete demands supported by the Congress. These demands were:—

- i. Complete recognition of their equal political status
- ii. Full adult franchise
- iii. No reservation of seats, no nomination or co-option.
- iv. No sex discrimination either against or in favour of women.

The discussions continued. The Lothian Committee made its proposals, the J. S. Committee of the two houses of Parliament (1933—34) further changed and modified them, and they finally emerged in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Franchise under the Act of 1935. The election to both houses of the proposed federal legislature will be indirect for women, the mass of the women having no share at all in the selection of their representatives. For the provincial legislature the franchise has been extended to all women of over 21 who are not otherwise disqualified and

- i. Who are British subjects or subjects of a federated state and
- ii. Who possess property qualification in their own right
- iii. Who are the wives or widows of men with property qualifications.
- iv. Who are the wives of men with a military service qualification for vote;
- v. Who are the pensioned widows and mothers of military men or police officers.
- vi. Who have an educational qualification.

Criticism of the Act:

- i. Women have not been granted adult franchise, only about 11% adult women have been enfranchised.
- ii. Women have been given separate representation in spite of their strong objection to it.
- iii. If it was absolutely essential to reserve seats for them, enough number of seats should have been reserved. At present only 2.5% of the Provincial and 4% of the Federal Seats are reserved for them.
- iv. Communal electorates have been foisted upon them in spite of their opposition to them.
- v. The method of indirect election for the federal legislature deprives them of their right to express opinion on all-India matters.

THE RED KAFIRS

BY

Mr. M. A. Shakoor, M.A., Peshawar.

(Summary)

The Red Kafirs are the inhabitants of Kafiristan, which is a mountainous country lying between latitude 35°30' and 36° North and from about longitude 70° to 71°30' East. The study of the languages of these Kafirs, their manners and customs, their religious ceremonies and other anthropometric observations shows that present dominant races of Kafiristan viz. the *Katirs*, the *Kams* and the *Wai* are a number of Aryan tribes of Eastern Afghanistan who refused to embrace Islam in the tenth century A.D. and fled for refuge from the victorious Muslims to the hilly and inaccessible country of Kafiristan.

The Kafirs are divided into two main sections viz. the *Siah Posh* and the *Sufed Posh*. Among the *Siah Posh* i.e. the 'black-robed' Kafirs, the

Katirs and the *Kams* are the largest and most powerful tribes, who are subdivided into many other sub-sections. While the *Sufed Posh* i.e. the 'white-robed' Kafirs, consist of the *Presuns*, the *Wai* and the *Ashkhun* among whom the first two stand out as of great importance. The accompanying map will clearly show their distribution.

They speak four different languages which are derived from the Dardic Language of the Indo-Aryan Family. The specimens of their languages are given in Appendix A.

The Kafirs are independent of one another but the affairs of each tribe are managed by a *Jast* or Headman, who rule in a more or less absolute manner. Several of these *Jasts* make a *Jirga* or Parliament who decided all question of policy whether external or internal. Besides *Jasts*, thirteen individuals are annually selected to act as Magistrates, who are called *Urir*. Disobedience to them is punished by burning the houses of the offenders or by imposing fine in the form of cows, goats and sheep. But sometimes these Kafirs are influenced very strongly by traditions and customs—the unwritten and even unspoken law of the people.

The features of the Kafirs are almost Aryan. The *Kam* and the *Wai* among them contain the handsomest people, especially the *Wai*. But the colour of the Kafirs, as a whole, is less fair than that of the upper classes of Chitral and many Badakhshanis. Generally they do not approach the black race but are equally removed from those with a white skin. The darkness of their skin is attributed to the fact that the people use a fuel which gives forth a particularly grimy smoke, the effect of which seems to be seldom or never neutralised by washing. It is also partly due to the extreme cold climate, when some of them are particularly reluctant to wash their faces. The hard field work and constant exposure to all kinds of weather also darken their complexion and make it coarse. They look powerful and are wonderful walker and capable of carrying heavy loads.

The dress of the Kafirs is composed of four goat skins, two of which form a vest, and two a kind of petticoat. The skins have long hair on the outside; the upper ones do not cover the arms—the whole if fastened on with a leather belt. All Kafir women roll their hair up and confine it in some sort of a cap. Girls confine their locks with a double thread round the brows. The virgins wear a red fillet round their heads.

The food is chiefly cheese, butter, milk with bread and a sort of suet pudding. They also eat flesh and the fruits which they grow. They drink during their meals and are elevated, but do not become quarrelsome, by this indulgence.

The Kafirs are by no means simple in character. They can concoct plots and then carry them out with the secrecy of the average Oriental. Their mental powers are often considerable and so is their judgement and intelligence. They are wonderfully brave. Intense conservatism amongst them and the isolated nature of their experience make them distrustful of new ideas. They pick up a quarrel on the instance of a mere provocation simply to assert their manhood. They think it a virtue and in accordance with their religion to kill a Mussalman.

The Kafir religion is a low form of idolatry, with an admixture of ancestor-worship and some traces of fire worship also. Their gods and goddesses are numerous and some of them represent the Hindu gods *Indra*, *Shree Mahadeo*, *Saturam* and *Sewi*, whom they worship by sacrificing cows, goats, bears and sheep; by dancing and singing hymns. In the Kafir theology there appears to be both heaven and hell. They neither burn nor bury their deads, but place the dead body in a box, arrayed in fine dress, and remove it to the summit of the neighbouring hill, where it is placed on the ground, but never interred. A year after the death of a Kafir a wooden effigy has to be erected to his memory. This is both a duty and a privilege and consequently has to be paid for by feasting the community.

A conquering race may progress in the arts and in civilisation, and may excel in warlike skill, but not so isolated a people like the Kafirs. Civilisation abruptly fell asleep centuries ago in Kafiristan and is still dormant. In the various shifts and expedients to which they have been forced in order to preserve their freedom and their lives, lying, running away and underhand devices have been particularly serviceable. In their mode of warfare no spark of chivalry is possible. Their ideas and all the associations of their history and religion are simply bloodshed, assassination and blackmailing. Yet they are not savages. Some of them have the heads of philosophers and statesmen. And, if they had been different they would have been enslaved centuries ago. Their love of decoration, their carving, their architecture, all point to a period when they were higher in the human scale than they are at present.

Their present contact with the Muslim population of Afghanistan on the one hand and that of Chitral on the other has considerably enlightened them and has tended to suppress their pagan ideas. Many of them have voluntarily embraced Islam. Some of them are employed in Kabul as Physical Instructors in the Military School there and few have entered the service of His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral.

SECTION 6

Local (Deccan) History

President

NAWAB ALI YAWAR JUNG BAHADUR, M. A. (Oxon.),

Secretary,

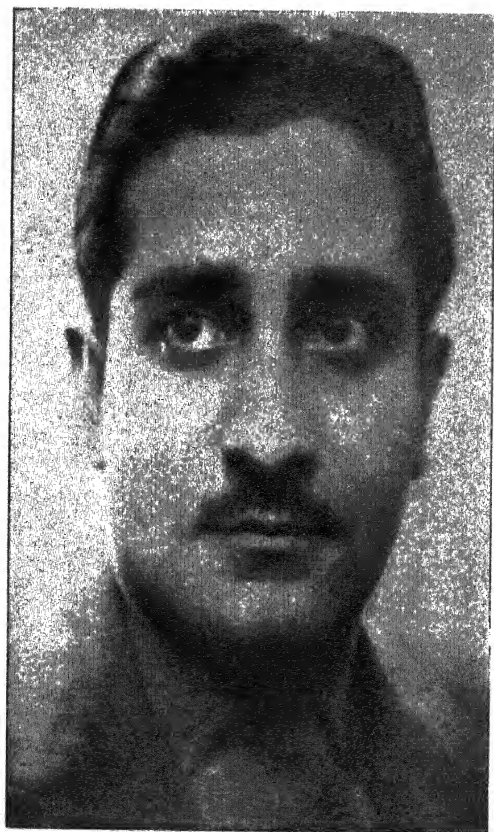
Constitutional Affairs,

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

Secretary

Mr. MIR MAHMOOD ALI, M.A.,

City College, Hyderabad-Dn.



NAWAB ALI YAWAR JUNG BAHADUR.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(DECCAN HISTORY)

BY

NAWABALI YAWAR JUNG BAHADUR,

Secretary, Constitutional Affairs, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

Members of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I must at the outset thank the Local Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me in inviting me to preside over the Deccan History Section. I should like also to take this earliest opportunity of thanking all those who have sent contributions on the many different aspects and periods of Deccan History. This is the first time that the Indian History Congress has given special place to local history and, as one who takes both a citizen's and a student's pride in the history of these Dominions, I can only say that the decision could hardly have been taken on a better occasion than when the History Congress was about to pay this welcome visit to Hyderabad.

For, our history has much both of local colour and peculiarities of national interests. The variety of its past, quite apart from its richness, is itself fascinating. Archaeological research has unearthed prehistoric graves and excavated old towns, buried literally in the sands of time, while the survival of several aboriginal tribes provides to this day an unbroken link with neolithic culture. There were also the Dravidians, without caste or priesthood, and the impact of the early Aryan settlers on their lives brought about a process of Aryanisation which threw up great ruling Houses. The first and foremost of these was the Andhra dynasty which derived its origin from a tribe living, according to a work compiled prior to the year 500 before Christ, on the southern fringes of the Aryan settlements in Berar. Pliny, the Roman encyclopaedist of the first century of the Christian era, basing his information on Megasthenes, describes them as a powerful race with a military force second only to Chandragupta Maurya, and an edict of Asoka speaks of the Andhras among the Princes to whom he had sent Buddhist missionaries. While professing Brahmenism, the Andhras were more than tolerant towards Buddhists. Villages and lands were granted for their maintenance and along with the Brahmanic worship of Shiva, the air of the Deccan was filled with chants of groups of Buddhists inhabiting the caves which overlooked the lonely, wooded gorges like those below Ellora today.

The scene changed with the fall of the Andhras, and let us pass to the third century when the Deccan came to be ruled, mainly for four hundred years, by the Rashtrakutas, and then by the Chalukyas with their capital at Kalyani. Pulkesin II, the greatest Chalukyan Ruler, vied with Harsha

in the extent of his conquests, and the river Nerbada formed the boundary between his empire in the south and Harsha's in the north. Pulakesin's fame spread far and wide and the mission sent to his court by Khusrav II of Iran has been depicted in the enduring colours of Ajanta. Hiuen Tsiang the Chinese pilgrim, visited the Deccan in his time and was much impressed by the administrative efficiency of the kingdom and by the inimitable art of Ajanta. Its exquisite sense of colour, its reproduction of past scenes, its presentation of the drama of human destiny with all the aches and ecstasies of the human soul in its search of reality, still inspire many pilgrims and seekers of beauty, and the unknown hands which painted and the minds which conceived them have since been immortalised by a Muslim Ruler who has lavished on these Buddhist monuments the gifts of unstinted patronage and appreciation.

Peace and progress promoted a thriving trade, and the ancient town of Paithan, parts of which have now been excavated, was one of the great centres of trade in cotton goods and onyx. Contemporary Arab geographers and chroniclers give copious accounts of the shelter and encouragement given by the Rashtrakuta kings to the Arab traders who settled in the land about the eighth and ninth centuries, and Sulaiman and Masudi explain the great ages attained by many of the Rashtrakuta Kings as having been due to their tolerance and protection of the Arabs.

It was thus the peaceful pursuit of commerce which first brought the Muslims to the Deccan, four centuries before the Khilji invasion. Not until the time of Mohamed Tughluq did the Deccan come directly under Delhi. In 1327, he made Deogiri, to which he gave the name of Daulatabad, the capital of his empire, and Ibn-e-Batutah, the Arab traveller who visited that city several years later, has left a description of its magnificence. With the rise of Hasan Gangu, however, under the title of Abu Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah, the Deccan was once again lost to Delhi for three centuries and a half. The successors of Alauddin Bahmani ruled the south from sea to sea for a hundred and eighty years when they yielded place to five different kingdoms of which Golconda was one of the largest and most powerful. The Bahmanis and the Rulers of the kingdoms which followed were great lovers of art and architecture, and their courts were the fountain of scholarly patronage. Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmednagar were well-known for their libraries and schools; to every mosque, however small, there was attached a school and Hindu pathshalas were equally endowed. The noble edifice of the Madrasah at Bidar still stands as a memorial to the devotion of a great Minister, Mahmed Gawan, to the cause of learning. The age was rich in chroniclers and Ferishta's monumental history was a product of it. The letters of Mahmud Gawan himself, known as the *Kiyaz-ul-Insha*, now under publication by the Peisian Manuscripts Society of Hyderabad, throw much light on the diplomatic usages of the time, while the *Taskirat-ul-Mulook*, was written by Rafiuddin who had himself witnessed the battle of Talikota in 1565 which resulted in large portions of the Carnatic and modern Mysore, then parts of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, passing under the sovereignty of the Sultans of Bijapur. Alauddin himself was a great Ruler; his treatment of the Raja of Telingana, who had become disobedient, was so generous that he was overcome by the sense of his virtues and submitted to his authority. In the clutches of a mortal disease which he knew would claim him soon, he gave public audience to his subjects twice a day

and transacted the business of State. Many of his successors were also men of learning and poets of merit; Ibrahim Adil Shah's *Auras Namah* provides to this day a useful commentary on the social conditions of the Deccan during the sixteenth century, while many of the Qutb Shahi Kings, like Mohomed Quli Qutb Shah, a benevolent Ruler, a brave warrior, the builder of the City Hyderabad, were great poets, pioneers of Deccani Urdu, great architects and builders of irrigation works which last to this day.

The annexation of the kingdom of Golconda by Aurangzebe brought the Deccan once again under the direct rule of Delhi. It was from Aurangabad that the Emperor directed his campaign against the Marathas, and that provincial capital was converted into a garden city and a centre of cultural activity which produced Vali and Siraj, the first poets of the Urdu language. New industries sprang up, like cloth of gold and embroidered silk, and there are still living in the vicinity of the city, in a locality known as Kaghazipura, the descendants of those makers of hand-made paper whom Aurangzebe had settled. There also exist many temples and Hindu shrines in the Deccan which have been endowed by Aurangzebe, and his sanads are still honoured.

There was present with the Emperor, at the time of the siege of Golconda, a daring Turkish soldier of noble and ancient blood, enjoying the title of Firoz Jung. His son, Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk, was appointed Subedar of the Deccan in 1713 by the Emperor Farukh Siyar. Through vicissitudes of fortune which led him back to Delhi and then again to the Deccan, this distinguished nobleman established himself in the south with Aurangabad as his seat of government and founded a dynasty which has since taken its name from his title of Asaf Jah. A man of high principles in public and private life, endowed with sagacity and statesmanship, dignity and poise, he was no mean scholar and poet, no less an administrator in peace than a general in war. No series on the "Rulers of India" is complete without him, and history has done scant justice to his achievements. He did not only command armies, he was a leader of men; he did not only found a State, he organised and established it. The basic divisions of Divani, Sarf-Khas and Paigah owe their origin to him. He brought peace and security to a distracted land; he had the wisdom to seek the substance, not the shadow, of power; he may never have "declared" his independence; but he was independent, and he had the stature and the sinews to maintain it; and yet, when Nadir rode with blood and thunder into Hindustan, he marched to the defence of Delhi, the scene of his ancient loyalty, against the invader of India.

European contacts are of an earlier date and the French traveller, Thevenot, found considerable trade between Golconda and the English and Dutch factories on the east coast. As early as 1583, Ralph Fitch and his companions visited Golconda and obtained the "Golden Firman." As traders in the town of Chennapatnam, as Madras was then known, these English settlers were under the kingdom of Golconda, and Abul Hasan Tana Shah had even called upon them for help against the Moghals. By the time of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, the English and French were firmly settled in their respective factories at Madras and Pondicherry, and correspondence existed between him and the French on whose Governor, Dumas he had conferred honours. It was in 1744 that, while regulating the

affairs of the Carnatic - his dominion extended as far as Trichinopoly---the English sent a mission to him, and an interesting diary of what occurred is preserved in the records of Madras and has been published in the delightful volumes of Talboys Wheeler. These relations were, however, mainly commercial, and the English settlers paid rent and tribute.

Ananda Ranga Pillai had predicted in his diary the intrigues and disorder which would break out upon Nizam-ul-Mulk's death, and the prediction came true. The struggle for succession that followed was used by the rival European powers, as in the more recent civil war in Spain, for settling the issue of supremacy, and Seely has aptly estimated that the history of the English empire in India began with the interference of the French in Hyderabad on the death of the great Nizam. Fifty years later, when the remnant of Raymond's gallant force was disbanded by the swift and sudden action of John Malcolm effective French influence ceased to exist. But the tradition of Bussy and Lallee, and of Raymond (who became a local saint) continued, and, while Napoleon's dream of the conquest of India kept Hyderabad well within the view of the Imperial Government of France and the Nizam was mentioned in a despatch of Morinas as late as the year 1807, it is an interesting projection of the Napoleonic legend that, on a critical and historic occasion in 1853, the Nizam is reported to have thought even of appealing to the Emperor of the French.

A talk at the Cape of Good Hope between an incoming Governor-General of the East India Company and an outgoing Resident first suggested the idea of developing the relations then existing with the Nizam into a subsidiary alliance, and the resulting Treaty of 1800, contracted by Wellesley, still governs the relations between Hyderabad and the British Government. Those relations have grown as times have changed, and the sons of this soil have, in obedience to the commands of the Faithful Ally, fought on the plains of Flanders and are today fighting the battle of India in the uplands of Malay.

There have been wars before, wars against external enemies, wars against internal rebels, even wars of succession; yet, like today, our Rulers concerned themselves at the same time with the growing needs of the administration, and documents still exist bearing their commands on measures like famine relief and settlement. The system of administration itself was: from the time of the first Asaf Jah based upon a degree of toleration which left the management of land revenue and finance in the hands of Hindu nobles. Vast grants were made, and so much did Hindus identify themselves with the new-Rulers that they took pride in being called Asaf Jahi. One of our unique features is the existence in many towns and villages of mosques and temples adjacent to each other and of over a hundred Muslim institutions at least which are managed by Hindus who receive grants. The impact of the West, the development of communications and the requirements of the new age induced the genius of Sir Salar Jung to inaugurate far-reaching reforms in every branch of the administration, while the noble edifice of the modern State which you see today is the result of the personal labours, during the last 30 years of His Exalted Highness himself.

These are some of the main features of our history, features which we prize. There is room indeed, as has been suggested by Sir Theodore Tasker for the writing of a volume on the "Legacy of the Deccan," if only in answer to the violence done to our history and to the history of India in general by the joint authors of a recent publication who describe the three main concerns of the Rulers of India as the maintenance of an army, the collection of revenue and the development of espionage. The scheme of this Congress to compile a comprehensive history

of India will provide a refutation of such false judgements if it includes within its scope the history of our cultural, administrative and economic development as well. A history of the Deccan, based on the inclusion of such aspects, is under contemplation, and it is in the fitness of things that it should be undertaken here and now, for, beginning with the monumental work of Khafi Khan, the Asaf Jahi period is specially rich in the histories and historians it has produced. It was during the seven years that he spent in concealment from Nizam-ul-Mulk for having supported his second son against the father that Shah Nawaz Khan wrote the greater part of his priceless biography to which we are indebted for most of our information on those times. Munim Khan's *Savaneh-e-Deccan*, Yusuf Mohammad Khan's *Turikh-e-Futhiyah*, Mansa Ram's *Musir-e-Nizami* and *Darbar-e-Asifi*, Ijad's *Futuh-e-Asifi*, Mohammad Ameen's *Majma-ul-Insha*, Ram Singh's *Gulshan-e-Ajaib* and Wali Mohammad's *Chuhar Gulshan* are valuable source books for the earlier period, while for the latter, Mir Abu Turab's *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami's *Musir-ul-Karam*, Tajalli Ali Shah's *Tuzuk-e-Asafiyah*, and the *Turikh-e-Rasheeduddin Khani* are authorities which can hardly be dispensed with. The student of Deccan history would do well, as a matter of fact, to begin with the study and classification of the bibliography of the period; he would no doubt include those many French and English sources which have already been published, and the invaluable collections of original document in London and Paris, Delhi, Poona, Madras and Pondicherry, where much of our history is preserved. There are treasures nearer home; among the private collections may specially be mentioned the documents in the possession of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur and the Paigahs and the Peshkari Estate, not to mention the manuscripts at Kalyani and Aurangabad and in the Saidiyah Library. The Asafiyah State Library, which has just celebrated its golden jubilee, and the Daftar-e-Divani, have also large collections of manuscripts bearing on the history of the Deccan. The latter, an amalgamation of three or four old offices, each with a history of its own contains an exhaustive record of sanads and grants, and of documents dating back to the Emperor Jahangir. Many of the treaties and engagements contracted by the State are preserved in the Daftar which also possesses innumerable Firmans of different Rulers, letters from news-agents at different Courts in India and much interesting material dealing, among other matters, with Hyderabad's trade by sea on the east coast and its ship-building activities for which timber was brought from the Northern Circars. I have the privilege of belonging to a Committee which is at work at present busy completing the classification of these documents and settling the methods of their arrangement; it will shortly embark on the task of editing and publication which will make many of these records available for the general reader as has been done in the Peshwa's Daftar by my respected friend, Professor G. S. Sardesai, and in Pondicherry by Monsieur Gaudart. A welcome addition to this collection of State records would be the transfer to it of all the official papers belonging to past Ministers which, by an accident, are still found in their respective families; it would ensure their preservation where, in the past, many may have been lost. My own Department has recently had occasion, in view of the constitutional importance of such records, to recommend legislation for "historical" documents in private custody which, while respecting private ownership, will make listing and preservation obligatory and will also prevent alienation without the consent of the State. I am glad to be able to say that His Exalted Highness has been pleased to accept the principle of such legislation and the Bill itself is in the course of preparation. Our University emphasises the study of Deccan History by devoting a special paper to the subject in its curriculum for graduation, but as one having had the honour of once belonging to its staff, I would like to see even more and to urge the establishment of a special Chair of Deccan history which, one is entitled to hope may be made possible by generous endowments from our nobles whose associations with that history have been so intimate and rich. Their ancestors had once inspired the writing of the *Hadiqat-ul-Alam* and the *Turikh-e-Rasheeduddin Khani* their varied interests resulted in the establishment of an Observatory in Hyderabad and

one of them, as may be seen from the records preserved in the Asman Jahi Paigah, first raised the question, some fifty-four years ago, of reorganising the records of the old offices. It is but right to expect of their descendants that they will collectively endow a Chair designed to recall a legacy to which their own houses had once made distinguished contributions.

It is a legacy the variety of which itself speaks of the diversity of its sources, but the continuity of its evolution endows it with a community of interest shared alike by different races. In its associations with great scenes of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharatha*, in its having been the abode of the earliest writers of Maharashtra and the great poets of the language of Kannada, in the fact of its having housed the Andhra Nagari of ancient times, in its expression in colour and its symbolism in form on the rocks of Ajanta and Ellora, and again, in its noble ruins of the Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar and the library of Malik Amber at Aurangabad, in the great dams of recent times constructed to contain reserves of water for the peasant and in architecture such as you find in this building, harmonising the concepts of the two great cultures which have found one home, in all these and many more we have common objects of pride, and the resulting heritage belongs to one and all of us equally. No political controversy or economic urge of the day can alter that fundamental fact of history. It has led to the age-long consciousness of an entity and to an instinct to defend it against external interference which found its personification in Chand Bibi and Malik Amber. The same instinct runs down the ages to the present and, when the wealth of the heritage is known and seen, and the traditions are felt to which it has given birth, none will stand in need of an apology from us. What has now become known as Mulki or Deccani sentiment is in essence our pride in our past and our determination to defend and strengthen ourselves by our own exertions. It will explain the existence of that quality, something more than mere local patriotism, of State-consciousness which, far more than in any other Indian State, you will find influencing our thoughts and ambitions, and no student of our history or our politics could arrive at a true appraisal of the forces at work without appreciation and sense of that perspective. The sentiment does not come in the way of others; it only asks for internal development on the lines of our own genius; it therefore naturally resents interference by outside elements which have not solved their own problems and have, therefore, nothing to teach beyond what we may ourselves, in accordance with our needs, choose to learn or adopt of their best. It is not mere isolationism or the assertion of a kind of Monroe doctrine which we have seen buried in our own days in the very place of its birth. The independence of Nizam-ul-Mulk did not come in the way of his marching to the defence of Delhi against an Iranian invader, and today the armed forces of his seventh successor are fighting against an even greater menace to the integrity of India. They signify the bonds which unite us with the rest of India, and the homage we pay to the continuance of the unity of Indian history.

PROCEEDINGS OF SECTION VI

(Local, Deccan History).

The President of the Section, Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, explained at the outset that, as the time was limited considering the number and quality of papers received, no paper could be read in extenso though he would much liked all the papers to be read out in full. Summaries might, therefore, be read out and the more important points explained for the discussion which might follow. A time of fifteen minutes could be given for each paper and the discussion on it. As far as possible, the chronological order would be followed, while the discussion itself had been made easier by the excellent manner in which the Local Secretary of the Indian History Congress had summarised the principal papers received.

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan, owing to some urgent official work, was permitted to read his paper on "*The City of Aurangabad*" first. Dr. Joshi of Bombay opened the discussion by enquiring in what sense Aurangabad was called the biggest city of the time. Mr. A. G. Pawar of Kolhapur asked the speaker to explain in what sense it could be said that Shivaji had been inspired by Malik Amber. A discussion ensued and Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan replied; the President explained with reference to Mr. Pawar's question, that what the speaker probably meant was that Shivaji had taken not a little of his idea of opposing the incursion of the Mughal Emperor in the south from the ideals which had inspired Malik Amber in his fight against the Mughals; that that ideal moved southerners in general and that thought if the Maharatta movement acquired the characteristics of a racial movement, it had this tendency in common with the struggles of Malik Amber, that it opposed northern encroachments on the southern preserves.

Prof. Banhatti read his paper on "*The History of the Yadavas of Devagiri*". A discussion followed specially on 'Leela Charitra' Mr. Joshi, the retired Professor of Marathi in the Osmania University asked questions relating to death of one of the Yadava Kings and Professor Banhatti replied.

Dr. Abdullah Chaghtai of the Deccan College, Poona summarised his paper in Urdu on "*The Founder of the Bahmani Kingdom*", and Mr. Sirajuddin Ahmad of the Osmania University read out parts of his paper on "*Alauddin's Deccani Policy*".

The afternoon session commenced at 2-15 P.M. Prof. Mir Ahmed Ali Khan of the Training College, Hyderabad Deccan, read a very interesting paper on "*The Condition of Education under the Bahmanis*." Discussion followed in which Dr. Basu, Mr. Kasim Ali Sujan Lal and Dr. Chaghtai took part. Among the matters raised were questions with regard to secular as opposed to religious education, State aid and the organization of teaching. Mr. Yazdani also contributed to the discussion by dilating on the school system in vogue among the Bahmanis and the organization of the Madrasa of Mahmood Gawan; he also referred to the correspondence between the great minister and people in different countries in the East where the minister's name was well-known.

Prof. Verma of Fergusson College, Poona, read his paper entitled "*Shah's letter to a Minister of Bijapur.*" Dr. Joshi of Bombay, Dr. Basu and Mr. A. G. Pawar of Kolhapur took part in a brief discussion which followed.

Dr. K. K. Basu of Bhagalpur read a short paper on the "*Culture of the Bijapur Court*" and was followed by Dr. Joshi of Bombay who read out parts of his very interesting paper on "*Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Golconda*" which elicited enquiries from Mr. Yazdani, Dr. Basu and Mr. Pawar, who wanted to know the amount of and system of wage payment to labour, State Legislation on labour, and the condition and facilities existing regarding exports and imports. Dr. Joshi's replies were revealing and he said he was pursuing his investigations on the subject from the source books of the period.

Mr. Kasim Ali Sujana Lal of the Education Department of Hyderabad read his paper on "*The Battle of Shrigonda*" and was followed by Mr. G. Dikshit who read a short paper on "*An Unidentified Jatuka Scene from Ajanta*".

The third session of the Deccan History Section commenced the next morning when Mr. Mir Mahmood Ali, the Secretary of the Section, read a paper on "*The contribution of the Bahmani Kings to Indian Civilization.*" Dr. Joshi threw light on some aspects of the subject and illustrated the economic motive behind the wars of the period by showing that the Raichur Doab was contested for its ruby-mines, and other areas for their forests. Mr. Kasim Ali Sujana Lal asked about the system of education under the Bahmanis; Mr. Yazdani's elucidation was accepted that the system was what was generally in vogue in those days, namely, that the students gathered round their teachers. Dr. Chaghtai asked how the system financed and Mr. Mahmood Ali replied that lands were given rent-free and endowed to finance the educational institutions.

Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan's paper which followed and was on the subject of the *reason for Nasir Jung being summoned to Delhi* evoked much interest.

Mr. Nasiruddin Hashmi read his paper in Urdu on the "*Daftar-e-Diwani-va-Mal*" of Hyderabad. The President and Mr. Yazdani opened the discussion. Dr. Joshi of Bombay suggested that since many of the valuable records in India had been transferred to London, Dominion Status should be followed by a request to hand back the records to India for custody by Indians. Mr. Yazdani said that we should thank the British for preserving them and working on them; otherwise there was a time when books and records were sold twenty seers a rupee in Delhi. Prof. Sherwani asked whether we should have to go to England to find out historical facts about India? It would be like old graves to talk of days when book and records were sold by weight. Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan emphasised the importance of the records in France and Pondicherry, adding that some of the Farmans of Nawab Salabat Jung Bahadur were found in original in Pondicherry. Mr. Mahmood Ali asked how it was that some of the original records concerning Hyderabad were not found in Hyderabad at all. Mr. Yazdani replied that where letters were sent to different Governors like those in the Carnatic, the originals naturally remained in the Carnatic and, since the

Garnatic did not belong to the State now, are to be found in the Madras records. Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan emphasised the need for urging Government to centralise the records and not only to preserve and classify them but to throw them open to scholars and to publish them. Some members thought there was scope for bringing the matter to the notice of the Government by means of a resolution on behalf of the Deccan History Section. The President, Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, explained why no such resolution was needed. He said that the Government was fully aware of the position and was anxious and zealous in the matter. He himself was on a committee appointed by Government for the purpose and the committee had not only recommended steps in the direction of better classification, better preservation and publication of records. As he had explained in his Presidential Address, he himself had moved for a very far-reaching scheme properly in the sense even of such documents as were in private custody continuing to be in private custody being made subject to Government inspection, rules of preservation, classification and cataloguing and the right to Government to veto sale or alienation, unless first option was given to Government. He detailed the scheme to sort out "historical" documents not only from old Ministerial families for aquisition by the Daftar-e-Diwani but also from existing Secretariates and offices. He said that the work undertaken was on a vast scale and was unique in many ways as he was not aware of such radical schemes being undertaken anywhere else as the proposed legislation with regard to documents in private custody. The scheme of Deccan History to which he had referred in his Address would largely fulfil the needs of research and would be based upon the records existing and on the hope of the Record Office thus expanded being able to cater for the needs of scholars who were being invited not only locally but from all parts of India to assist and contribute. He felt that he could rely on that encouragement in that belief by the number of papers received for the Deccan History Section from eminent historians all over India. He thanked all those who had contributed papers or taken part in the discussion and hoped that the contacts made would prove both lasting and beneficial.

The remaining papers were taken as read. A vote of thanks was moved for the Chair by Mr. Yazdani, supported by Dr. Joshi, and the President in thanking the members desired to record his thanks to the Sectional Secretary for the pains he had taken.

Sd/- MIR MAHMOOD ALI,
Secretary.

Sd/- ALI YAWAR JUNG,
President.

IKSHVAKUS AND KOSALA IN DAKSHINAPATHA

BY

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.

As early as 1918, I drew the attention of scholars to one of the oldest works of Pali Buddhist Literature, namely, Sutta-Nipata, which speaks of a Brahman teacher of king Pasenadi, called Bavarin, as having left the—Kosala country of his king and settled near a village on the Godavari in the Assaka (Asmaka) territory in the Dakshinapatha. The story tells us that Bavarin sent his sixteen pupils to pay their homage to Buddha and confer with him. The route by which they proceeded northwards is also described. First, they went to Patitthana (Paithan) of the Mulaka country, then to Mahishmati, Ujjayini, and so on, till they finally reached Pāsāṇaka Chetiya where Buddha then was. The description of this route is important in more than one way. For one thing it is clear that Bavarin's settlement was much to the south of Paithan in the Hyderabad State, because Paithan was the principal town of the Mulaka province, to the south of which was the Asmaka country, where Bavarin then was. The question now arises how Asmaka and Mulaka came to be known by these names? Were they named after any kings who conquered them? In this connection I have to invite attention to a paper in Hindi entitled *Ikshvaku-vamsa-ka Hindustan-bhar-me prasur* by (Miss) Padma Misra, M.A., and published in *Prachina Bhuratha*, Vol. I, p. 134. We learn from it that Asmaka and Mulaka were the names of two Ikshvaku rulers. They mentioned both in Vayu-Purana, Cha. 88, verse 177, and Vishnu. Book IV, Chap. IV, 38. There Mulak is mentioned as being the son of Asmaka. Now the capital of Assaka (Asmaka) is given in Pali literature as Potali or Potana, as the Maha-Govinda-Suttanta mentions it (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 270). Potana reminds us of the Sanskrit form Paudanya which is said to be founded by—Asmaka as his capital town (*Mbh.* I. 179. 47).

Let us consider what the above information comes to. We see somehow members of the Ikshvaku family connected with the colonisation of South India. Asmaka was an Ikshvaku prince; and so was Mulaka. The capital town of Asmaka was Potana or Paudanya, and that of Mulaka. Pratisthana or Paithan. We have further to note that Bavarin came down to Asmaka from Sravasti, the capital town of the Kosala country, whose ruler was Pasenadi. Further we have to note that Pasenadi was identical with Prasenajit who according to the Puranas belonged to the Ikshvaku family. It may further and now be asked whether the connection of the Ikshvakus stops with the colonisation of Asmaka and Mulaka. Fortunately or unfortunately, it does not stop there, for, as a matter of fact we know that even in Dakshinapatha there was a province called Kosala known to us from the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The further question that now arises is whether there were any princes of the Ikshvaku race ruling in that region in historical times. Those who have read Nagarjunikonda and Jagayyapeta inscriptions need not be told that there were such kings as Madhariputa-Siri-Virapurushadatta, his father Vasithiputa-Siri-Chantamula and his son and successor Vasithiputa-siri-Ehuvula-Chatamala, who all belonged to the Ikshvaku dynasty and lived in the third or fourth century A.D. In fact, one of them, Siri-Chantamula is

eulogised as having performed Vedic sacrifices such as Agnihotra, Agnishtoma, Vajapeya and Asvamedha. There can thus be little doubt that there were not only the country of Kosala in South India but also Ikshvaku kings ruling over it almost upto the time of Samudragupta. The still further question that now arises is whether any town which is worthy of being called the capital of this kingdom is found mentioned in any one of the inscriptions. And it is a matter of delight that the Sonapur Plates of Maha-Bhavagupta II.—Janamejaya edited by Dr. Chhabra do speak of a place called Kosala in line 13 of the record (*E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 251). Evidently Kosala cannot but mean 'the city of Ayodhya', the capital of the north Kosala country. Unfortunately, Kosala of southern Kosala has not yet identified, but I am told by Mr. Purna Chandra Rath of Balangir that it has survived in the name of Kosli found in the Patna State, Orissa.

MATERIAL THROWING LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF
THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI, GLEANED FROM
THE MAHANUBHAVA LITERATURE

BY

Prof. S. N. Banhatti, Nagpur.

(*Summary*)

The importance of the Mahanubhava literature in Marathi as an authentic source giving reliable information cannot be over-estimated.

Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahanubhava Sect lived during the reigns of Kanharadeva, Mahadeva, Amanadeva and Ramadeva the last four sovereigns of the Yadava dynasty. After his demise one of his disciples, produced a collection of his reminiscences; this work is called Lila-Charitra, the first half of which has been published by Mr. H. N. Nene of Nagpur, in four parts.

Chawradhra's chief disciple was Nagadeva. His life was written in the same manner as Lila-Charitra. This work, entitled Smriti-sthala has been published by Mr. W. N. Deshpande.

These two are the authentic source books upon which the present paper is based.

Lila-charitra is referred to hereafter as L. C.

Smriti-sthala „ „ S. S.

Mention of facts already known to us from other sources.

Ambe of Khol Nayaka is mentioned in the course of Chakradhara's itinerary. Khol Nayaka is Kholeshwara of the inscriptions, the Brahmana General and minister of Singhama. The town Ambe was part of his estate.

All the four sovereigns, Kanharadeva, Mahadeva, Amanadeva and Ramadeva are mentioned in L. C.

A graphic description of the Mahomedan invasion in which Ramadeva was taken prisoner is given in S. S. Nagadeva's had opinion about Ramadeva is recorded there in this connection.

II. Facts hitherto unknown about the Yadava Kings, made known to us by the Mahanubhava Literature.

(1) Kanharadeva visits Chakradhara at Taratirtha, Lonar.

(2) Mahadeva's Officers Salivahana and Palha Dangiya (and others also) visit Chakradhara often. Mahadeva himself feels attracted towards him and tries to see him; but Chakradhara evades.

(3) Mention in the L. C. of the invasion of Thana by Mahadeva.

(4) Details about Mahadeva's private life: A tank was built and was named Kanharala in memory of the late king. Around the tank a forest was preserved by Mahadeva.

(5) Mahadeva's Court Pandit was one Gopala pandit.

(6) Chakradhara had a very good opinion about Kanhara and Mahadeva; but he had a very bad opinion about Ramadeva. On the other hand Jnanadeva praises Ramadeva. The reason was that Ramadeva was partial to Bhagawata Dharma propagated by Jnaneswara and was probably hostile to the Mahanubhavas.

(7) Sraddha of Mahadeva mentioned in L. C.

(8) The change of monarchy from Amanadeva to Ramadeva is described in L. C. There are two versions. One of them impugns Ramadeva.

III. Facts about personalities hitherto unknown, made known to us by the Mahanubhava Literature.

Chakradhara's story of his own past: His father was Visaladeva, the minister of a king of Gujarat. His son was Harapaladeva who became Chakra-dhara in after life. These names are not traceable in the history as it is known at present.

Rama-darana a local chief ruling in Ellichpur is mentioned in L. C. Another name, Mandaliya Mahadarana, presumably of the same family, occurs in S. S.

Kamaisa, the daughter of Mandaliya Mahadarna, was one of the queens of Ramadeva. The pathetic story of this childless woman is told in S. S. She became a disciple of Nagadeva. She was forced to immolate herself as Sati by her step-son.

IV. Coinage system in the times of the Yadavas.

Cowrie was the means of exchange of the least value. Above that came 'rua' or 'ruka' of the value of 3 or 4 pies approximately. Four ruas

حیدرآباد کا دفتر دیوانی و مال

BY

Mr. Naseruddin Hashimi, Hyderabad·Dn.

میرے مضمون کا عنوان جیسا کہ آپ سب کو معلوم ہے ”حیدرآباد کا دیوانی و مال“ ہے بظاہر عنوان کے لحاظ سے یہ ایسا موضوع نہیں معلوم ہوتا ہے جو آج کی اہم صحبت میں سماعت کے لئے پیش کیا جائے۔ مگر حقیقت یہ ہے کہ حیدرآباد کے دفاتر میں دفتر دیوانی و مال ہی کو قدامت اور اہمیت کے مد نظر دوسرے تمام دفاتر پر تفوق حاصل ہے اس لئے اس کی سرگزشت موجب پس پی ہو سکتی ہے۔

مہمیں دنیا کی ہر متمدن سلطنت کے لئے نظم و نسق آئین اور قوانین کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے لیکن ہر ملک کا آئین حکومت جدا نظام سیاست مختلف اور طریقہ حکمرانی جداگانہ ہوتا ہے۔

نظام سیاست اور آئین جہان بانی کے اجرائی کے لئے ایک صدر دفتر کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے جس کے بغیر نظام سیاست جاری ہو سکتا ہے اور نہ کاروبار مملکت چل سکتے ہیں نظم و نسق کی پابندی ہو سکتی ہے اور نہ آئین و قوانین پر عمل کیا جاسکتا ہے ہر حال ہر زمانہ میں ہر ملک میں اس کے انصرام کے لئے ایک خاص دفتر کی ضرورت لازمی ہے جس کی مختلف شاخیں ہوتی ہیں جو اپنا اپنا کام انجام دیتی ہیں صدر دفتر کو ایک درخت کے تنے سے تشبیہ دی جاسکتی ہے جس کی کئی شاخیں ہوتی ہیں جس کے بغیر درخت کا وجود ناممکن ہے۔

حکومت آصفی | ارباب تالیخ سے یہ امر پوشیدہ نہیں ہے کہ نواب آصف جاہ اول پہلی مرتبہ بزمانہ فرخ میر کاظم علی دکن کی صوبہ داری پر مامور کئے گئے تھے اور دو سال سے زیادہ عرصہ تک آپ نے اس خدمت کو انجام دیا اس کے بعد دوسری مرتبہ ۱۳۱۱ھ میں دکن کی جانب روانہ ہوئے اور زمام حکومت اپنے ہاتھ میں لی آپ کا دور حکمرانی زیادہ تر جدال و قتال میں گزرنا پھر نواب ناصر جنگ اور مظفر جنگ کے قبیل زمانہ کے بعد نواب صلابت جنگ نے کئی سال تک حکمرانی فرمائی آپ کے زمانہ میں بھی جنگ و جدل کے بادل دکن کی فضا پر منڈلاتے رہے کبھی شمالی حصہ میں خونریزی ہوتی رہی تو کبھی جنوب میں حتیٰ کہ نواب نظام علیاں

آصف جاہ ثانی کا دور حکومت آیا اگرچہ اس زمانہ میں بھی سیاسی فضا کمزور رہی اندرونی اور بیرونی
 لڑائیوں سے دکن کی زمین خون سے رنگی جاتی رہی لیکن چونکہ آپ مستقل طور پر عرصہ دراز تک حکمرانی
 کرتے رہے اس لئے باضابطہ نظم و نسق قائم کرنے کا موقع ملا آپ بہ نفس نفیس امور مالی و ملکی کو انجام
 دیتے تھے حتیٰ کہ ایک ایک دن کی سپاہی کی رخصت بھی آپ نے منظور فرمائی ہے آپ کے بعد یہ
 بات باقی نہیں رہی دیوان یا مدارالہام وقت ہی زیادہ تر انصرام ملک اور کاروبار حکومت کے
 ذمہ دار ہو گئے تھے۔ اس امر کی صراحت کر دی گئی ہے کہ ہر بادشاہ یا حکمرانی کے لئے ایک دفتر کی
 ضرورت داعی ہے۔ اسی طرح سلطنت آصفیہ کا شاہی دفتر و دفتر دیوانی اور مال تھا۔

وجہ تسمیہ | دفتر دیوانی اور مال کی وجہ تسمیہ پر ہم کو سب سے پہلے نظر ڈالنے کی ضرورت ہے
 اس کی وجہ تسمیہ کے متعلق بقول بعض ”دفتر دیوان دکن ہی کا مخف بظاہر دفتر دیوانی
 ہے۔ عام طور سے خیال یہ ہے کہ دفتر دیوانی ”دیوان“ کا دفتر تھا اس لئے اس نام سے موسوم
 ہوا دکن کی کسی تاریخ میں دفتر دیوانی و مال کی وجہ تسمیہ کے متعلق کوئی وضاحت کم از کم میری نظر
 نہیں گزری اس لئے کوئی صحیح رائے تاریخوں کے حوالہ سے بیان نہیں کی جاسکتی۔ البتہ میں اپنی
 ذاتی رائے اور خیال کا اظہار کروں گا۔

اگر اس کو دیوان کے دفتر سے موسوم کیا جائے تو فرض کرنا ہو گا کہ یہ دفتر اس وقت قائم
 ہوا جبکہ عہدہ دیوانی کا وجود ہوا۔ تاریخوں سے اس امر کا ثبوت ملتا ہے کہ حضرت آصف جاہ اول
 نے کسی کو اپنا دیوان نہیں بنایا تھا۔ البتہ نواب ناصر جنگ نے اپنی مسند نشینی کے بعد ۱۱۶۲ھ
 میں مصصام الملک کو اس خدمت سے سرفراز فرمایا اس کے برخلاف دفتر دیوانی و مال میں اس کے
 پہلے کے کاغذات موجود ہیں اس لئے اس امر کا ثبوت ملتا ہے کہ اس کے قبل دفتر کا وجود تھا۔
 دوسرا اقتراض یہ ہے کہ اگر دفتر دیوانی کو دیوان کا دفتر تسلیم کیا جائے تو پھر یہ بحث پیدا
 ہوتی ہے کہ آخر حکمران وقت کس طرح انصرام ملک کرتے تھے بہت سلطنت کس طور پر انجام
 پاتے تھے، اگر کوئی شاہی دفتر علیحدہ تھا تو وہ کونسا تھا۔ حالانکہ حیدر آباد میں دفتر دیوانی و مال
 سے قدیم دفتر کوئی نہیں ہے اور نہ قدیم کاغذات کسی اور جگہ محفوظ ہیں۔

تیسرا اقتراض یہ ہے کہ دیوان یا مدارالہام کے فرائض مالی امور کا انجام دینا تھا۔ فوج کا
 تعلق بالکلیہ بیچار اور بخشی الملک سے ہوتا تھا۔ فوجی کاغذات سے جو دفتر دیوانی میں موجود ہیں
 ان سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ وہ بخشی الملک کے اجراء کردہ ہیں اس لئے دفتر دیوان کو ان سے تعلق

نہیں ہو سکتا حالانکہ قدیم زمانہ سے دفتر دیوانی و مال میں فوجی کا خدات بھی موجود ہیں۔
دفتر دیوانی میں خاص شاہی ”سیاہ“ موجود ہے حالانکہ دیوان کے دفتر کو خاص شاہی
سیاہ سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس سیاہ کے دیکھنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہاں چارم کے کاغذ
جد گناہ ہوتے تھے یعنی مال سیاہ محلات اور متفرق۔

بہر حال ان دجہ سے میرا خیال ہے کہ دفتر دیوانی اور مال دیوان کے دفاتر نہیں تھے
بلکہ شاہی دفاتر تھے۔ ان کا تعلق بادشاہ وقت سے ہوتا تھا۔ البتہ زمانہ مابعد میں جبکہ دیوان
یاد ارالہام امورات مالی و ملکی میں زیادہ ذخیل ہو گئے تو یہ دفاتر بھی ان کی نگرانی میں آ گئے تھے۔
میرا خیال ہے کہ لفظ ”دیوان“ سے جس کے معنی دفتر کے ہیں لفظ دیوانی مخفف ہوا ہے۔
زمانہ مابعد میں اس کے ساتھ دفتر کا لفظ مکرر اضافہ ہو گیا ہوگا۔ اس طرح ”دفتر دیوانی“ کی اصل
قرار دی جاسکتی ہے۔

دفتر کو دیوان سے موسوم کرنے کی ابتدا حضرت عمرؓ سے ہوئی ہے چنانچہ ”الغاروق“
کے مطالعہ سے معلوم ہوگا کہ آپ نے جو سرکاری عمارتیں تعمیر کرائیں ان میں دارالامارۃ۔
بیت المال۔ قید خانہ، ہمان خانہ اور ”دیوان“ شامل تھے۔

”دیوان“ کے متعلق یہ صراحت ہے کہ ایک مکان تھا جہاں دفتر کے کاغذات ملکی اور
مالی رہا کرتے تھے فوج کا دفتر بھی اسی مکان میں رہا کرتا تھا۔ سلطنت کے نظم و نسق حساب
کتاب کا بھی یہی مکان مخزن و معدن تھا۔ بے الفاظ دیگر اس کو محکمہ شاہی کہا جاسکتا ہے حضرت عمرؓ
کے بعد یہی دستور حکومت اسلامیہ میں رائج رہا مگر چونکہ کام کی کثرت ہونے لگی اس لئے بجائے
ایک ”دیوان“ کے مختلف ”دیوان“ ہوتے تھے۔ چنانچہ دیوان الانشاء، دیوان الزما، دیوان
استغناء، دیوان الجند، دیوان الحجراج وغیرہ ناموں کا پتہ چلتا ہے۔

ہندوستان کے اسلامی حکومتوں اور خود مغلیہ دور میں یہ لفظ مستعمل رہا ہے اس طرح
سلطنت آصفیہ کے ابتدائی دور میں شاہی دفتر کو لفظ ”دیوان“ سے موسوم کرتے ہوں گے
اور زمانہ مابعد میں وہ دفتر دیوانی کی صورت میں آگیا ہوگا۔ اس دفتر کے دفتر دیوانی سے موسوم
ہونے کی ایک وجہ یہ بھی ہو سکتی ہے کہ دور مغلیہ میں ہر صوبہ دار کے ساتھ ”دیوان“ (ریاضیت
سکرٹری) کا دفتر بھی ہوتا تھا۔ اس طرح حضرت آصف جاہ اول کے ساتھ دکن کا جو دیوان
مقرر ہوا ہوگا اس کا دفتر دفتر دیوان سے موسوم ہوا۔ چونکہ دفتر دیوانی میں آپ کے صوبہ داری

کے زمانہ کے کاغذات بھی ہیں اس لئے اس خیال کی تائید بھی ہوتی ہے۔ اسی طرح دفتر مال کی وجہ تسمیہ کے متعلق میرا خیال ہے کہ چونکہ مالی امور اس دفتر سے متعلق تھے اس لئے دفتر مال سے اس کو موسوم کیا گیا ہوگا۔ اس کی تائید اس سے بھی ہوتی ہے کہ دفتر دیوانی میں جو سیاہ نواب آصف جاہ ثانی کے دخلی کاغذات کا موجود ہے اس میں "مال" کے عنوان کے تحت جن کاغذات کی کھتیاؤں کی ہوئی ہے وہ عموماً مالی انتظام سے متعلق ہیں فوج یا محلات اور دیگر متفرق نوعیت کے کاغذات کی اس کے سلسلہ میں کھتیاؤں کی نہیں ہوئی ہے بلکہ ان کو جداگانہ عنوانوں کے تحت رکھا گیا ہے۔

بہر حال جیسا کہ میں نے ظاہر کیا ہے کہ ان دفاتر کے وجہ تسمیہ کے متعلق کسی تاریخ سے کوئی صحیح خیال ظاہر نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ جو خیال میں نے ظاہر کیا ہے ممکن ہے صحیح ہو ممکن ہے غلط ہو۔ ان دفاتر کے وجہ تسمیہ کے بعد ان کے ابتدا کے متعلق صرف دفتر دیوانی اور مال کی ابتدا کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ بعض اصحاب کا خیال اس کی ابتداء کے متعلق یہ ہے کہ۔

”حضرت مخزن آب نواب آصفیہ اول نے دکن میں سلطنت آصفیہ کا نظم نسق دہی رکھا جو سلطنت مغلیہ میں رائج تھا۔ تمام امور کی انجام دہی کے لئے دفتر دیوان قائم کیا گیا۔“

اس سے واضح ہے کہ حضرت آصفیہ اول نے دفتر دیوانی قائم کیا تھا لیکن دفتر دیوانی میں ایسے کاغذات بھی موجود ہیں جو ۱۲۰۷ھ میں جاری ہوئے ہیں اس سے یہ تصور کرنا ہوگا کہ آپ کے ابتدا، صوبہ دارمی کے کاغذات بھی یہاں موجود ہیں اس لئے دفتر دیوانی کی ابتدا کو ۱۲۰۷ھ سے تسلیم کرنے میں کوئی امر مانع نہیں معلوم ہوتا۔

دفتر مال کی ابتدا کے متعلق دکن کی مشہور اور معتبر تاریخ گلزار آصفیہ میں مرقوم ہے۔

نواب آصفیہ بہادر برائے انتظام دکن اڑھائی
خلافت رخصت انصاف یافتہ راجہ ساگر مل بہادر
بقدر دانی افزائش مراتب حرمت و حرمت ہمراہ اژدہ
شاہ جہاں آباد دکن آوردہ مختار کار و بار و دفتر مال و ملک
ساختہ ”مشہور آفاق است کہ مقصد بیان ذی مرتبہ
نواب آصفیہ بہادر جب دہلی سے
دکن کی جانب روانہ ہوئے تو راجہ ساگر مل
کو عزت و حرمت کے ساتھ اپنے ساتھ
دارالخلافہ شاہ جہاں آباد سے ہمراہ لاکر
دفتر مال کا محنت رکھل فرمایا مشہور ہے

دیکھ رہی مال پوش دستی و اطاعت امر راجہ موصوف || کہ آپ کی کچھری میں سات سو مقصدی کام
ہے بوند (۲۵۳)۔

اس سے واضح ہے کہ دفتر مال ۱۳۶ھ میں قائم ہوا ہے۔

سر دفتر | اس امر کی وضاحت ہو چکی ہے کہ دفتر دیوانی اور مال و نواب آصفیہ اول کے زمانہ
میں قائم ہوئے ہیں ان دفاتر کے افسر اعلیٰ سر دفتر سے موسوم تھے۔ دفتر مال کے
پہلے سر دفتر راجہ ساگر مل تھے۔ ان کے بعد ان کی اولاد سے کوئی شخص اس خدمت سے سرفراز ہوتا
رہا آخری شخص راجہ شبو راج آجھمانی تھے جن کے مرنے پر ۱۳۳۸ھ ۱۹۲۲ء میں یہ دفتر و دفتر دیوانی
کے ساتھ ضم کر دیا گیا۔ دفتر مال کی وجہ سے راجہ ساگر مل کا خاندان مال والوں کے خاندان سے موسوم ہوا
ہے۔ اور ان کے رہنے کا محلہ آج تک مال والوں کی گلی کہلاتا ہے راجہ دہرم کرن بہادر صدر الملہام تمبیر
اس وقت اس خاندان کے چشم و چراغ ہیں۔

آصفیہ اول کے زمانہ میں دفتر دیوانی کے سر دفتر کون تھے ہنوز تحقیق طلب ہے۔ البتہ
نواب میر نظام علی خاں آصفیہ ثانی کے زمانے میں راجہ رائے راباں کلاں دفتر دیوانی کے سر دفتر
مقرر ہوئے۔ راجہ صاحب کے بعد ان کے خاندان میں یہ خدمت رہی راجہ شنکر رائے راباں
انتقال پر ۱۳۵۸ھ سے یہ دفتر جارج کیسین واکر نے راست سرکاری نگرانی میں لے لیا اس کے بعد
یکے بعد دیگرے دفتر مال، دفتر استیفاء، دفتر ملکی وغیرہ دفتر دیوانی کے ساتھ ضم ہوتے گئے
راجہ رائے راباں کے خاندان کے چشم و چراغ راجہ شام راجہ اجونت بہادر اس وقت بقیہ جہان
اب مجھے یہ بیان کرنا ہے کہ زمانہ سابق میں دفتر
دیوانی اور مال سے کیا کام لیا جاتا تھا۔

جیسا کہ میں نے عرض کیا ہے یہ شاہی دفاتر تھے جلد امور سلطنت اور انصرام ملکیت کا کام نہی
دفاتر سے وابستہ تھا۔ خواہ وہ کام مالی ہوں یا حسابی فوجی ہو یا انتظامی سیاسی ہوں یا تجارتی سب
تعلق بالکل انہی دفاتر سے متعلق تھا۔

اکرم ان دفاتر کے کاروبار کے متعلق مزید وضاحت کریں تو کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ تقرر عمالان و
تعمد داران "انتظام مالیہ" حساب و کتاب ریاست، ترتیب موازنہ وصول مالگزاری و دیگر
ابواب اجرائی اسنادات معاشدہ داران "عطاء جاگیر" "انعام" یومیہ اور منصب وغیرہ نگہداشت
جمعیت "تقرر و تبدل و تعیناتی و برطرفی اہل سیف و اہل قلم و قاتل گاری" عہد نامہ جات سیاسی

و تجارتی غرض ایسا کوئی کام نہیں تھا جو ان دفاتر سے متعلق نہ ہو۔ دفتر مال سے متعلق صرف صوبہ جید آباد و بیدرتھے اور دفتر دیوانی سے صوبہ خجستہ بنیاد "برابر" بجا پور کو متعلق تھا۔ علاوہ انہیں دفتر مال سے زیادہ ترمالی امور طے ہوتے تھے اس کے برخلاف دفتر دیوانی کو ہر قسم کے کاروبار متعلق رہا۔ لیکن حضرت آصفیہ ثانی کے بعد اس میں کچھ تغیر بھی ہو گیا تھا۔ دفتر مال میں بھی دوسرے امور طے ہونے لگے تھے۔

اب ان دفاتر سے کیا کام لیا جاتا ہے | اب میں اس امر کی صراحت کروں گا کہ گزشتہ چالیس بیس سال سے ان دفاتر سے کیا

کام لیا جا رہا ہے نواب مختار الملک نے جب ۱۸۶۱ء میں دیگر دفاتر سرکار عالی قائم کر دیے تو یہ دفاتر گویا بیکار ہو گئے تھے، البتہ صرف تصدیق اسنادات کا کام لیا جاتا رہا جو جاگیر دار، انعام دار اور یومیہ دار وغیرہ اپنی معاشوں کا دعویٰ متعلقہ دفاتر میں دائر کرتے ہیں تو ان کے اصل اسناد کی تصدیق ان دفاتر سے چاہی جاتی ہے یہاں ہر نوعیت کی معاش کے داخلے مختلف ہوتے ہیں جو کہ مد نظر سند اور معاش زیر بحث کی تصدیق یا تکذیب کی جاتی ہے۔

دوسرا کام ان دفاتر میں تہذیب کا غذات کا ہوتا رہا ہے چونکہ یہ دفاتر ایک عرصہ تک غیر تہذیب حالت میں تھے ان کا کوئی پرسان حال نہیں تھا اس لئے رومی کی سی حالت ہو گئی تھی اس طرح صد ہا کا خذ تلف بھی ہو گئے تھے باقی ماندہ کا خذ کو اچھی حالت میں لانا اور رکھنا ایک ضروری امر تھا اس کے مد نظر یہ کام بھی ہوتا رہا ہے چنانچہ تہذیب اور ترتیب کا بہت کچھ کام ہو چکا ہے۔

چونکہ اس دفتر کو ایک کارآمد دفتر اور تاریخی مخزن بنانا سرکار عالی کے پیش نظر ہے۔ اس لئے ایک مختصر مگر نادر کتب خانہ بھی فراہم کر لیا گیا ہے۔

آئندہ کیا کام لیا جاسکتا ہے | مجھے بالآخر یہ بتانا ہے کہ اس دفتر سے کیا کام لیا جاسکتا ہے۔ اور پہلے کہ کیا فائدہ پہنچ سکتا ہے۔

(۱) سب سے پہلے تو یہ ہے کہ تاریخ دکن سے پیش پی رکھنے والوں کے لئے یہاں کافی ذخیرہ موجود ہے، خواہ وہ تاریخ ملکی ہو یا انتظامی فوجی ہو یا سیاسی۔ دفتر دیوانی اور مال کے ذخیرہ سے معلوم ہو سکتا ہے کہ ملک سرکار عالی کی تقسیم کیاتھی۔ کتنے صوبہ، ضلع اور تعلقہ تھے، مواضع کتنے، کون کون موضع کس تعلقہ اور ضلع کے

تحت تھا، ہر صوبے میں کتنے ضلع اور کتنے تعلقہ ہوتے تھے۔ ان کی حیثیت کیا تھی سرکاری خالص میں شامل تھے۔ دیاکسی کی جاگیر و انعام میں۔

ان کا محل سالانہ کیا تھا اس کے اصول کرنے کے کیا کیا طریقے رائج تھے سرکاری آمدنی کے کیا کیا ابواب تھے، مالگزاری اراضی، جنگلات، اہکاری، کروڑگیری کے کیا طریقہ مروج تھے، سالانہ آمدنی کیا ہوتی تھی، رقم کہاں جمع ہوتی ارسال رقم کا کیا طریقہ تھا، سرکاری خزانہ کہاں کہاں تھے۔

آمدنی و خرچ کا موازنہ کس طرح مرتب ہوتا خرچ کے ابواب کیا ہوتے تھے، اخراجات کے بعد بچت ہوتی تھی یا فاضل خرچ برآمد ہوتا، قرضہ تھا تو اس کی ادائیگی کا کیا طریقہ تھا کون کون سکے رائج تھے ان کی مالیت کیا ہوتی تھی، دار الضرب کہاں کہاں تھے اور اس کا انتظام کیا تھا مالی اور انتظامی حمدہ دار کون کون ہوتے تھے۔ ان کے فرائض منصبی کیا تھے ان کے تقرر، تبدیل، تنزل، برطرفی کا کیا طریقہ تھا، رعایاء کے ساتھ ان حمدہ داروں کا برتاؤ کیسا ہوتا تھا، ملک میں عدالت اور پولیس کے انتظامات کیسے تھے، قاضی کے فرائض کیا تھے اور کو تو ال کیا کیا امور انجام دیتا تھا، تعمیرات پبلک و کس بلدی انتظامات کیا تھے، ملک میں آبپاشی کے کیا ذرائع تھے، ان کی کس طرح تعمیر و ترمیم ہوتی تھی، تعلیم کا کیا انتظام تھا، ”دواخانوں، حکیموں، دیدوں، مشائخ، حافظوں، عالموں، پندوں کو کس لئے روزیئے مقرر ہوئے تھے۔ ”مسجدوں، دیولوں، خانقاہوں، معصوموں وغیرہ کو معاش کیوں جاری ہوتی تھی۔ ان کے انتظامات کیسے تھے۔ ملک میں شپہ کا کیا طریقہ اور کیا انتظام تھا، نخل کے موقع پر کیا انسدادی تدابیر اختیار کئے جاتے تھے۔

فتح کا کیا انتظام تھا اس کی تفصیل کیا تھی، ان کی تنخواہیں کیا ہوتی تھیں، قلعہ کتنے تھے، دن کون قلعہ مشہور تھے، قلعہ دار کون تھے۔ ان کے فرائض کیا تھے، قلعوں کی حفاظت کا کیا انتظام تھا، سرکار اصفی کے معابدات اور حمد نامحاجات سرکار کمپنی پیشوا اور جید رعلی کے ساتھ کیا کیا ہوئے تھے۔ ان پر کس طرح عمل ہوا ہر کی کیا کیا خبریں کہاں سے آتی تھیں ان کا طریقہ کیا تھا۔

بہر حال تاریخ دکن کے متعلق ہر قسم کا ذخیرہ ان دفاتر میں دستیاب ہو سکتا ہے۔

(۲) اگر کسی شخص کو دکن کی ملکی اور سیاسی تاریخ سے قطع نظر صرف قلم ردا اصفی کے حاش داروں کے متعلق معلومات فراہم کرنے کی ضرورت ہو تو اس کے لئے بھی یہاں بیش قیمت نبت اور کارآمد مصالح موجود ہے اس دفتر سے معلوم ہو سکتا ہے کہ کن کن کو کب کب کتنی معاشی طاء ہوئی، بعد عطاء اس میں کس طرح کیا کیا تیزت ہوئے۔ ہر صوبہ، ضلع اور تعلقہ میں

کتنی معاش کس کس نوعیت کی جاری تھی۔

ملک میں خطاب یافتہ کون کون اصحاب تھے، کس کس سلسلہ میں ان کو کیا خطابات ملے تھے، خطاب کے ساتھ کیا لوازمات تھے اس طرح امراء، رؤساء اور جاگیردار، منصبدار کی فہرستیں تیار ہو سکتی ہیں اور ان کے معاش کے متعلق ہر قسم کا مواد مل سکتا ہے۔

(۳) جس طرح تاریخ دکن کے ریسرچ اسکالر کو مواد مل سکتا ہے اسی طرح تاریخ ہند سے دلچسپی رکھنے والوں کے لئے یہاں کافی مصالحہ فراہم ہے۔ اورنگ زیب خدادیشیاں اور شاہجہاں صاحب قرآن کے عہد کے ایسے کاغذات یہاں موجود ہیں جن سے ان کے عہد حکومت پر بہت کچھ روشنی پڑتی ہے۔ ایسے بے شمار کاغذات جو ایک عرصہ تک اورنگ آباد میں مقفل اور ردی کی حیثیت سے پئے ہوئے تھے اب دفتر دیوانی میں محفوظ ہو چکے ہیں۔

ان کاغذات میں اخبارات 'روزنامہ' انتظام ملک کے کاغذات بوقت محاصرہ جنگ قلعوں کی امداد 'مردم شماری' 'بہائم شماری' داسی بیج کا کافی ذخیرہ مل سکتا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ 'دہلی' 'لکھنؤ' پونا' میسور کے اخبارات وغیرہ سے وہاں کے حالات اور بادشاہوں کے روزانہ مشاغل پر اچھی روشنی پڑتی ہے۔

(۴) شایقین تاریخ کی طرح معاشیات کے محققین کو یہاں سے کارآمد مواد حاصل ہو سکتا ہے۔ آج سے سو دو سو تین سو سال پیشتر کے اجناس کے نرخنامہ "قطر کے زمانہ میں" ان کا نرخ کیا ہوتا تھا، سرکاری محصول کن کن اشیاء پر لیا جاتا تھا اور کیا لیا جاتا تھا ملک کی ثروت اور دولت کیا تھی چاندی سونے کا کیا نرخ تھا غرض یہ ایک سرسری خاکہ ہے جو دفتر دیوانی و مال کے ذخیرہ کے متعلق پیش کیا گیا ہے، اگرچہ کج سے پہلے شایقین کو عام طور سے ان دفاتر سے استفادہ کا بہت کم موقع ملتا ہے۔ لیکن چونکہ ابھی حال میں اس دفتر کی نظامت تبدیل ہو گئی ہے اور ایک قابل اور لائق شخص جو انگلستان کی جامعہ کے فاسطہ تحصیل ہیں اب اس دفتر کی نظامت پر فائز ہوئے ہیں اس لئے توقع ہے کہ یہاں کے بشیں بہاؤ ذخیرہ سے عام طور سے شایقین کو استفادہ کا موقع ملے گا۔

نصیر الدین ہاشمی

POSTAL SERVICES DURING THE REIGN OF
MIR NIZAM ALI KHAN

BY

Mr. Syed Badshah Husain, Hyderabad-Dn.

(Summary)

After giving a brief account of Mir Nizam Ali Khan's interest in various branches of administration, the Special Postal Service during his reign has been approached in the light of the documents preserved in the Dafter-e-Divani, Mal, and Mulki, Hyderabad-Deccan. The details of some of the duties imposed upon the Officials and members of the staff and the jagirs and monthly allowances granted to them towards their services were traced out and verified by the relative papers found in the Dafter-e-Divani.

A general survey has also been made of the contemporary Postal Services existed in British India and it is concluded that the Special Postal Services of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan's time paved the way for a public Postal Service in Hyderabad-Deccan.

THE BATTLE OF SHRIGONDA

BY

Mr. Kasim Ali Sajun Lal, Hyderabad-Deccan.

(Summary)

Nawab Nizam Ali Khan was unwilling to surrender the territories he had lost by the battle of Udgir. Bribery achieved for the Mahrathas what diplomacy could not.

Taking advantage of the disruption rampant in Maharashtra consequent to the defeat at Panipat, Nizam Ali Khan decided to attack the Peshwa's territories. Subsequently when he heard of the Peshwa's death, he made preparations for regaining the territories he had lost at Udgir.

The young Peshwa Madhav Rao started negotiations with the English which dragged on for three months, though these two self-interested parties could arrive at no agreement. Prof. Anil Chandra Banerji's query referring to these negotiations is incidentally answered.* Nizam Ali Khan as well as the Marathas prepared for war. In October 1761 Nizam Ali Khan advanced towards Poona. The Maratha forces were one and a half times that of Nizam Ali Khan. A terrible battle commenced on Sunday 15th Jamadi-ul-Awal 1175 A.H. at Shrigonda. Nizam Ali Khan fled leaving his bag and baggage at Shrigonda. He then proceeded to Dumergaon. The death of Tarabai cleared the schism among the Marathas. A peace with the Nizam was made, though it is a moot point whether the Marathas yielded any territories to him.

* Prof. A. C. Panerji, in his article on "Madhav Rao P's Relations with the English", 'says' what these proposals were we do not know! Indian History Congress proceedings. Page 1473.

APPENDIX

Kindly consider the following paper as paper No. 3 of Section III.

INSHA-I-MAHRU OR TARASSUL-I-AYNUL-MULK

BY

Mr. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh.

There are very few official documents, collections of private letters or memoirs relating to the history of the pre Mughal period. Memoirs, autobiographies, diaries, etc., must have been written during this period, but war, political revolutions, neglect and climatic conditions of our country have led to the destruction or disappearance of most of them with the exception of a few historical works that have escaped the ravages of man and nature. The only treatise on Insha or collection of specimens of epistolary style well known to the student of history and literature is the famous *Ihjaz-i-Khusrawi*. This voluminous and abstruse collection of epistles is not an official history or even a collection of official documents but is "professedly written to demonstrate his (Khusrau's) powers of rhetoric and his skill in the use of words;" but inspite of its grandiloquent style, a careful perusla of the book yield "interesting and instructive information of a varied character, besides many graphic descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and moral." Another such collection of letters and official documents which if carefully examined can yield much information of social, political, military and economic nature is the little known *Insha-i-Mahru* or *Tarassul-i-Aynul Mulki* of Aynul Mulk Multani who figures so prominently as a soldier and statesman during the Khilji and the Tughlaq periods. A rare but imperfect manuscript of the same is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The manuscript belonged originally to the library of Tipu Sultan and after the extinction of that kingdom found its way to the library of the College of Fort William at Calcutta. The manuscript consists of about 270 folios. I have not yet examined the original manuscript but have studied the transcribed copy in the Allahabad University Library which was lent to me through the courtesy of Dr. R. P. Tripathi. The transcribed copy is very defective and appears to have been carelessly made and no attempt seems to have been made to correct the obvious mistakes of the Munshi. The headings of some of the letters are given in red ink but are omitted in many cases or are incomplete and vague towards the end. It is difficult to make an analysis of the documents without detailed study and I propose to prepare at a future date, a detailed subject index and an analytical summary of the same and translations of some of the most important letters in this unique collection. The following extract from the descriptive note on the *Insha* will give a fairly good idea of the same.

"An interesting apparently rare collection of official documents and private letter dating from the end of the 8th/14th century. They were primarily intended by the author to serve generally as models for elegant official correspondence, and therefore some of them are either sufficiently vague stating on definite facts, or the names and the dates of persons and places are intentionally omitted. But inspite of this the collection as a whole contains a great number of interesting allusions and references to many people who played a prominent part in the history of India in the second half of the 8th century A.H. The student of the Indian life of that period could here find much information, especially with regard to conditions in Sind.....

Of this work apparently no other copies are known.....It is very defective at the beginning in the middle and end....."

There are 124 letters in all arranged more or less systematically: first are given the documents issued by the central government, and then the author's own letters, (a) addressed to divines, sufis, qadis etc; (b) to princes noblemen officials; (c) to friends, relatives, and subordinates.

As stated above, the collection consists of 124 letters in all. In the beginning is a collection of documents issued from the Central government relating to appointments of governors, Wazirs, Dadbegs, Muhtassibs etc; and grants for the maintenance of Khanqahs, letters to Hindu Chiefs etc. Of the first fourteen letters some are of considerable interest as they supply information on subjects on which the contemporary historians are either silent or tantalisingly vague and indefinite. The letters to the Hindu Chiefs are valuable as showing the relations between the Central government and the feudatory Hindu Chiefs. Another document is a proclamation addressed to the Aimmah, Sadat, Mashayekh, Khans, Malikhs and to all the Rayyats and the general public of Lakhnauti. There is further a draft of an oath of allegiance which the noblemen were apparently expected to take and which is valuable aid to the understanding of the relations between the Sultan and his officers and enable us as at the same time to reconstruct the theories held so far about the spirit and the structure of the Delhi Sultanate.

I have not come across any references to the *Inshai-Mahrn* in the work of the contemporary historians except that of Shams Siraj Afif who speaks of the *Tarassul-i-Aynul Mulki* as one of the many literary works of Mahrn which was extensively read and held in high esteem in his times. The book appears to have been eclipsed by the work of Abul Fazal and his contemporaries whose *Insha* have served as models for many a century. No other work of Mahrn is known to exist at present in any library.

It is very difficult to reconstruct the life and career of Aynul Mulk from the meager information that is available. Contemporary records give him a good character and present him as an eminent and capable soldier, statesman and scholar. He is mentioned as Aynul Mulk Multani, or Malik Aynul Mulk by the contemporary historians but his full name is not given by them. His name and official titles are given in the *Insha* in letter No. 3, appointing him to the governorship of Multan, which was perhaps his last official appointment. The date of his birth or death are unknown but the fact that he was a distinguished Malik at the court of Jalaluddin Feroz and Allauddin Khilji and lived through the difficult and stirring times that followed the death of the latter and attained distinction in the time of Feroz Shah Tughlaq shows that he must have lived to a ripe old age honoured and respected by his Sultan and his contemporaries.

Aynul Mulk was probably born in Multan, and his family might have settled there with the first wave of immigrants who made Multan a premier Muslim town in the 11th and 12th centuries; or if an Indian by birth his ancestors were converted to Islam during that century. In his reply to the letter of Malik Ghazi from Dipalpur requesting him to join him against the upstart Khusrav, he asserts that for ten generations his family had professed Islam. He is identified with the Indian Muslim noblemen who asserted their right to posts of power and pelf after the Khilji revolution, and come in conflict with the foreigners in the time of Mohammad Tughlaq.

Barni mentions the name of Malik Aynul Mulk Multani amongst the officers of Jalaluddin Feroz Khilji, but not amongst the favoured few who were appointed to distinguished offices on the accession of that monarch. Probably he was attached to

the staff of Alauddin when he was appointed the governor of Karra. Aynul Mulk however does not appear to have been associated with those who planned the murder of Jalaluddin. In the time of Alauddin he first appears at Rantambhor amongst those young officers who chalked out the policy and programme of that monarch. Barni speaks well of Alaul Mulk but places him amongst the notables of the "second generation" who came to prominence in the time of Alauddin. In 1300 Malik Aynul Mulk Shahab Sultani was sent against Malwa to "extirpate the rebels of that country." He was later sent to suppress the rebellion in Gujrat. When Khusrau ascended the throne Aynul Mulk was at Delhi. Ghazi Malik wrote to him to join him but he played a waiting game and to save his life, showed the Malik's letter to Khusrau, but at the same time promised the Malik to stay out of the struggle and join the Ghazi. He again figures amongst the prominent officers of Mohd. Tughlaq during whose reign he held Oudh and Zafarabad.

When in 747 A.H. (1346-47) Mohammad Tughlaq led his forces towards Hindustan he was joined at Swargdwari by Aynul Mulk. Mohammad Tughlaq wanted to send him to Daulatabad with his cavalry retainers and brothers. Aynul Mulk had previously been joined by a large number of writers from Delhi who had been accused of embazzlement, and he had the armies and resources of the Doab at his command. He got suspicious of the Sultan and fled from Swargdawari and was joined by his brother Shakirulla. A battle was fought at the fort of Lidbah. Shahr-ul-Mulk was drowned, and Aynul Mulk was taken prisoner. Bareheaded he was mounted on an ass and taken to the emperor who kept him a prisoner for some time but restored him to favour later on. Ibni Batuta who was present in this campaign has given a detailed account of this incident. Aynul Mulk appears to have wavered again in his loyalty to Delhi after the death of Mohammad Tughlaq and immediately after his accession Firoz sent his forces against him. The latter however, soon after discovered the winning horse, went over to the side of Firoz, and sent him the letter of Khwaja Jehan inviting him to join him against Firoz. Aynul Mulk was appointed Mushrif-i-Mumalik by Firoz and according to Nizamuddin, he was made Mustaufi and Mushrif of the Diwan.

Shamsi-i-Siraji Afif gives a detailed notice of Aynul Mulk's position in the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He speaks of him as an accomplished man of considerable ability. He was appointed Ashraful Mumalik in which office he came into conflict with the Wazir. Firoz, always weak and vacillating, agreed on the recommendation of the Khan-i-Jehan to remove Aynul Mulk from his office. On the third day of his dismissal Firoz compensated him by granting to him the fief of Multan, Bhakkar and Swistani. Aynul Mulk accepted this on condition that he would not be required to render his accounts to the Wazir. To this Firoz Shah agreed and the letter of appointment of Aynul Mulk to Multan finds place in his Insha. Nothing is known of Aynul Mulk after this. He is known to have lived upto 1362 A.D. and probably died soon after.

I give below a translation of three letters of Mahru. Some of the passages in this mutilated manuscript are difficult to decipher and where the text is obscure or apparently incorrect and incomplete. I have given a free translation.

This Mandate was issued for the Administration of Justice in the Province of Multan.

"The aim of sending prophets and apostles (May God bless them) and the appointment of Imams and Walis is to safeguard the welfare and the rights of the life and prosperity of the Muslims, so that there it a saying of the Amir of the Faithful, Omar (to the effect), "does not a ruler prohibit that which the Quran

prohibits" that is, the prohibitions of a ruler are mostly the prohibitions of the Quran and it is said that this saying is derived from the verse of the Quran, wherein God says, "you are certainly greater in being feared in their hearts than Allah."

The Quran is understood by a selected few, who understand its meaning and deliberate over it and follow the truth (of its teachings) but if the people at large who do not fear the Wrath of God Almighty, were not to entertain any fear of the King, or the Walis, there would be highway robbery and murders; the life, property and well being of the Musalmans would be given to destruction. Since this is an immutable law according to the Shariat, and since men of wicked nature are overcome by sensual desire, it is incumbent that such people should be admonished and prevented, (from their actions) so that such practices as are commendable may have a turn for the better and the administration may be conducted according to the Shariat. It was for these reasons that the administration of Justice and Ihtisab of the province of Multan were entrusted to such and such a person so that he may engage in this noble cause and religious affairs and should traverse the path of Shariat and justice. With those persons who transgress the bounds of Shariat and act in a manner which is against the precepts of religion, he should be able to deal firmly and in a proper manner and make them refrain from such actions. Especially some villagers of Multan take as wives women have not yet been divorced by their previous husbands and this practice which is held illegal by all religions is rife amongst them; he should punish those who are guilty of it or warn them in a suitable manner as becomes a Kazi; and when God Almighty has made legal marriage a means of strengthening of one's self, and procreation of children and propagation of race, and the continual existence of this world, and based it on a pure practice he should communicate the sinfulness of an adulterer to the ears of wisdom, according to the Quranic verse. "And go not nigh to fornication; surely it is an indecency, and evil is the way." And admonish them with the pearl-scattering saying of the prophet that has become brilliant and widely known, viz, "Nikah (legal marriage) is my Sunnat" and notify throughout the village of Multan his sinful action, so that they may desist from this practice current amongst them, that their religious beliefs be correct and may turn to God who is the creator of the world and shows the path that is right and that which is wrong. And if they say "surely we found our fathers on a course, and surely we are followers of their footsteps" that they follow in the footsteps of their parents, understand that they who have done that were misguided except those who by grace of God died as Muslims; so it is imperative that they should divorce the women whom they have kept in their houses and should observe the period of Iddat so that the children that are born to them should be deemed legitimate and save themselves from the fire of hell. Give them a period of one month to mend their ways as mentioned above, and desist from illegal things by following the legal path and turn from sin to obedience, and if after this, any person's inclination to this evil practice is complained of to you, and it is proved, he should be adequately punished.

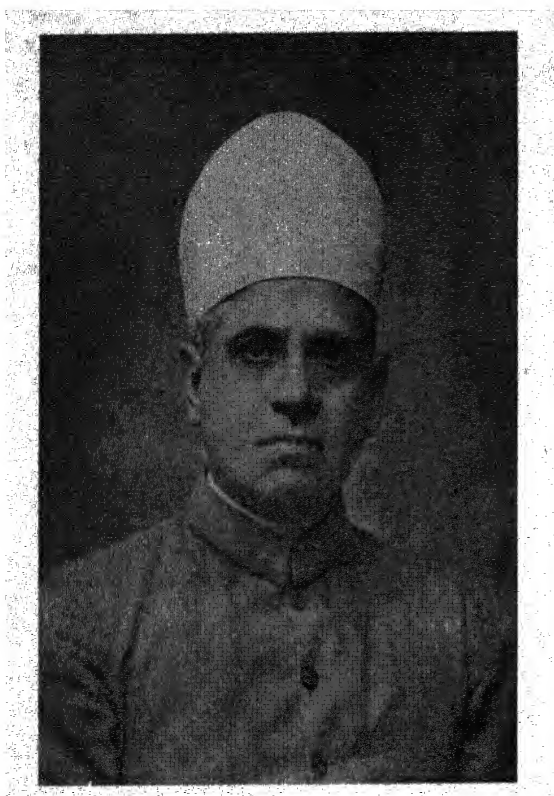
II. This Royal Mandate was issued with the purpose of conferment of the Deputyship or Viceroyalty of the Multan Province on me who is the servant of the throne

The conferment of greatness and expression of kindness in the case of loyal persons who are the creatures of our court and who have attained to high ranks from us, and to favour the great Amirs and famous Wazirs who on account of their knowledge and loyalty attained to positions of trust and who on account of their true faiths have secured a central position in our confidence and whom, because of their brilliant intellect and soundness of judgment that unravels difficult problems, we consider the means of the management of the affairs of the country and the nation, and the cause of (securing) the good things of religion and this world. We have considered it our foremost duty to train these officers of State, who have illumined by the antimony of their skill the pupil of the country, and made the garden of religion

blossom into splendour through their honesty. On account of this we have this day showered our bounties on the Lord of the East, the Wazir Aynul Mulk, Amin-ud-dawla-wad-Din, the conqueror of infidelity and infidels, the destroyer of wickedness and the refractory, the mine of greatness, the uniter of the sword and the pen, the master of knowledge and fortitude, the commander of the Persians, the grandee of the Universe, Abdullah Mahru, the chosen one of God whose countenance is adorned with greatness and zeal and who excels on the field of bravery and chivalry. And prompted by generosity, we have permitted him to undertake the government of Multan and its affairs and conferred on him powers to unloosen or to tie, to confiscate or to give away, to appoint or to remove and to bestow and take away from people, so that he may, by his experienced sound judgment, and bright vision, see to the efficient execution of the affairs of the state. And with this display of these faculties in the building of cities, in the affording of comfort to the public or the welfare of the common people with whose safety and welfare we have entrusted and committed to in this world and about whom we will be addressed and questioned in the next world. Therefore, he should act according to the dictates and requirements of knowledge, wisdom, intelligence and power and make justice, favour, beneficence and liberality his guiding principles because they constitute pillars of state, and the strengthener of the foundations of the kingdom and obey the Quranic verse. "Surely Allah enjoins the doing of justice and the doing of good (to others)." And the instructions to be followed by Maliks and Amirs of that Iqtah and others, such as, the councillors, the clerks and other workers, and the inhabitants of that place are that they should strictly render obedience to the orders contained in this mandate, so that in time they should become contented, by grace of God and His help.

III. Agreement to be executed by the Maliks, prominent Amirs, and Khans, well wishers of the Court and officers of the State.

The institution of executing bonds and firm agreements has been prescribed by the Almighty Master of the World and his Apostle and from ancient times adherents and servants of kings who are religious minded, have always taken oath of allegiance as an expression of their loyalty and their (personal) nobility. On this account I tender submission voluntarily and with pleasure, and with honest intention in good faith, I declare, in the name of God of the Universe, God of the heavens and earth, God of the heavenly throne, God of men and Genii; God on whose pavillion of splendour the dust of change does not settle; God whose perfection the eye of deliberation cannot comprehend, since his determination is free from uncertainty of accident, his pure personality is free from partnership, or a partner, God who has dinned into the ears of the faithful the word that "You who believe! fulfil the obligation." God who has made it obligatory for men to keep their promises according to the verse of the Quran, "And fulfil the covenant of Allah whom you have made a covenant and do not break the oaths after making them fast, and by the name of God who is Powerful, the Summoner, the Master of the World, the Immortal, I, from this moment, that I have bound myself to this agreement, have strengthened it with oaths, the breaking of which would be infidelity, bind myself, to be obedient and well-wisher of the king of the World, the deputy of the Amir of the Faithful, the Caliph of the Cherisher of the World, the King of kings, AlWathiq by help of the Merciful God, Abdul Muzaffar Firoz Shah, who (possesses the kingdom) May God ever preserve his kingdom and suzeramity, his commands and his dignity; who in accordance with the law of the Shariat and mandate of the Imam of the land is vested with absolute sovereignty and submission and obedience to whom is obligatory and binding on all. With steadfastness and purity of heart and pure faith, and without doubts (bind myself to be) well wisher, and sincere and unswerving (in my loyalty) and regard his (King) friends as my friends and the enemies of his kingdom as my enemies. I shall abide by these conditions throughout my life and on no account and under no circumstances shall oppose the armies, or the retainers or well-wishers or adherents or servants



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LOCAL SECRETARY.

of the court. And by God I shall not ~~waver~~ from loyalty to the orders of the king, will never make friendship with the opponents of the throne, will never be friendly with the ill-wishers of the king, will never either overtly or covertly or by words, action or writing oppose the throne, and will never think of doing ill to the king, and never entertain evil in my mind against the king in rendering whatever submission, or loyalty, or proper service may be within my power or ability. I will further render obedience and submission and conform to orders throughout with sincerely, with my heart and soul, secretly and publically, and will never come forward in opposition to the king, even if, God forbid, my sons and brothers were involved. I would leave them and try to punish and extirrate them and consider it my duty in accordance with the commands of God Almighty, as laid down in the verse of the Quran, "Obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those in authority from among you." I would render thanks, to the extent of power and ability to the court for its bounties; and in serving the king will refrain from adopting the attitude of contumacy or opposition, the fruit of which is eternal wretchedness. And if, God forbid, I were to transgress this agreement and were to act against all these conditions and oaths, or even against one of them, I would be breaking covenant of mine with God, and on the day of judgment I may be amongst those about whom the Quranic verse has been revealed "who break the covenant of Allah etc." An may I turn away from the unity of God head, the reality of Apostleship of the Prophet Mohammad, and all other Prophets, the angels, the day of judgment, the four religions and the Holy Book; and whatever woman I have or wish to have would be, without any pretext or interpretation of the Shariat, divorced from me and every time that I by pretence contract defective marriage by decree of the Qazi of the Shafite sect, the Nikah will not be valid. And every slave that I have or buy shall forthwith be free. I have admitted all the above conditions and covenants in the presence of God Almighty who is a sufficient witness, his angels, and have taken witness those who are present. So that henceforward this covenant might be a proof of the oath of allegiance taken by me.

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